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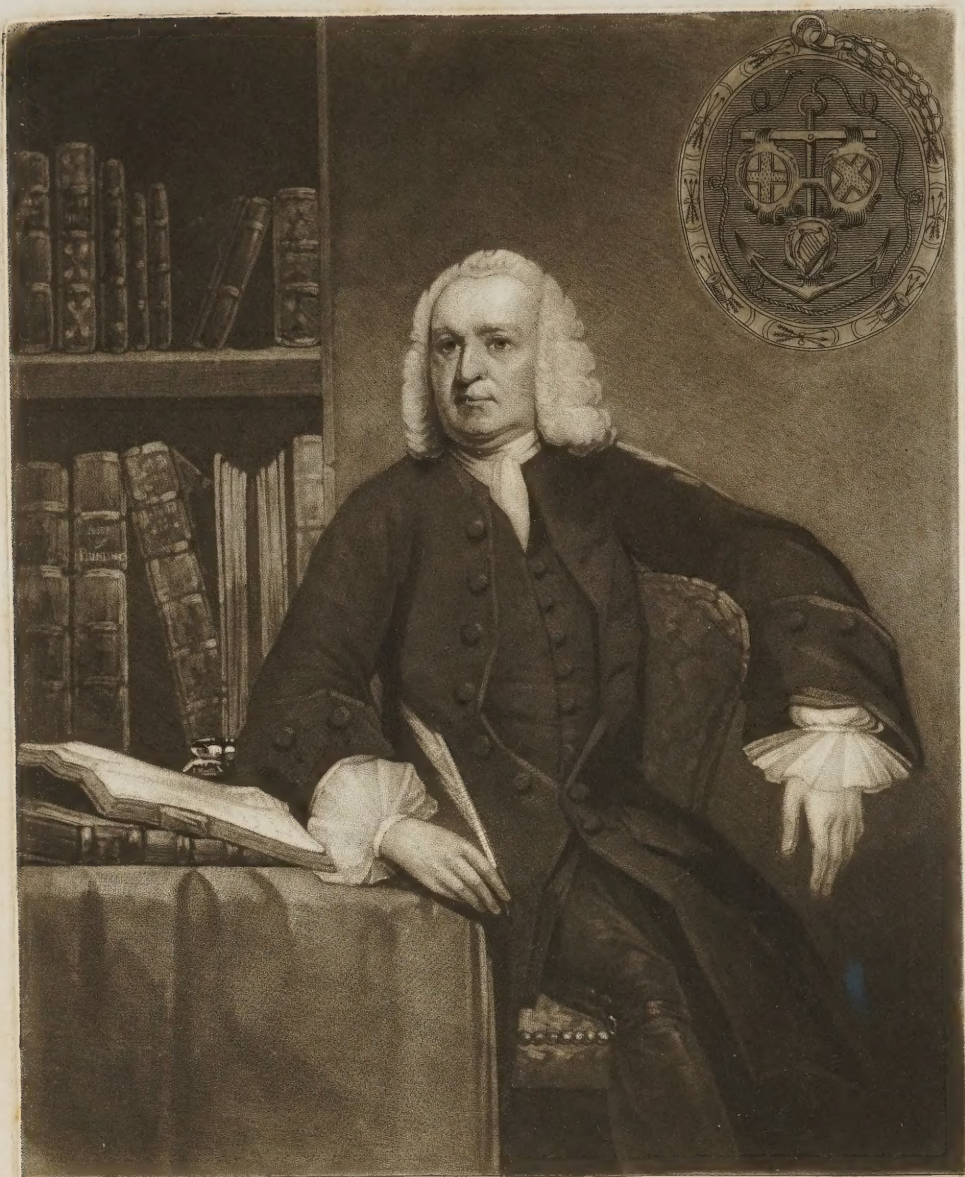
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JOSEPH AMES,



F.R.S.&S.S.A.

Typographical Antiquities;

OR

THE HISTORY OF PRINTING

IN

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND:

CONTAINING

Memoirs of our Ancient Printers,

AND A

REGISTER OF THE BOOKS PRINTED BY THEM.

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Considerably augmented by WILLIAM HERBERT, of Cheshunt, Herts;

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AND ILLUSTRATED WITH APPROPRIATE ENGRAVINGS;

*Comprehending the History of English Literature, and a View of the
Progress of the Art of Engraving, in Great Britain;*

BY THE REV. THOMAS FROGNALL DIBDIN.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY WILLIAM SAVAGE, BEDFORD BURY,
FOR WILLIAM MILLER, BOOKSELLER AND PUBLISHER, ALBEMARLE STREET.

Whereby, tongues are known, knowledge groweth, judgment increaseth, books are dispersed, the Scripture is read, stories be opened, times compared, truth discerned, falsehood detected and with finger pointed, and all (as I said) through the benefit of printing.

FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS, VOL. I. 927. Edit. 1641.



TO THE MOST NOBLE
THE MARQUIS OF BUTE,
EARL OF WINDSOR,
&c. &c. &c.

THIS EDITION OF THE
Typographical Antiquities
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY HIS
OBEDIENT AND HUMBLE SERVANT
THOMAS FROGNALL DIBDIN.

ADVERTISEMENT.

AFTER a delay, or rather preparation, of nearly three years, the first volume of a new edition of the Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain is presented to the public. The great quantity of introductory matter, and the appearance of only one printer, in the ensuing pages, may excite an apprehension that the work will be extended considerably beyond the limits originally assigned to it, and that, in consequence, the Subscribers (if they choose to continue their support) will be burthened with an expense which they had no intention of incurring. But, copious as may be the manner in which the works printed by Caxton have been described, and numerous as may be the engraved Illustrations to this and the following volumes, the Editor has no fear of subjecting his Subscribers to the inconvenience just anticipated.

In the present instance, it has been deemed necessary to lay a broad basis for making the Typographical and Literary Annals of our own country as complete as possible; while the fac-similes of Engravings, with which printed works are adorned, may exhibit a pleasing outline of the rise and progress of the sister art in the same country.

The Life of our first Printer, in which (with the exception of about a dozen irrelevant and erroneous pages) the whole of LEWIS's Life of Caxton has been included, accompanied with numerous bibliographical notes, has occupied a much larger space than will be assigned to similar matter in the subsequent volumes. This biography has been preceded by a 'Preliminary Disquisition,' which the Editor hopes will be considered in the light of a useful, as well as elegant, vestibule to the building with which it is connected. In reprinting the Prefaces of Ames and Herbert, such notes have been subjoined as appeared to give additional interest to the original pieces. For the Memoirs of the former, the Editor, like his immediate predecessor, has been indebted to the diligent pen of the late Mr. Gough. For the scantiness of the Memoirs of Herbert, it would be necessary to apologise, were not every sensible reader well apprised of the difficulty of collecting accurate materials for the biography of persons even more recently deceased; and did they not also reflect, that the events in the lives of studious and secluded characters, afford little scope for an entertaining and varied narrative.

There is one point in which it is conceived this work will be considered, by resolute lovers of black-letter antiquity, exceedingly vulnerable; and that is, in having generally adopted the modern orthography for the ancient. If the phraseology of Caxton were thereby altered and injured—if our venerable typographer were made to speak in a different style, and the character of his compositions were

totally changed in consequence—perhaps hardly any censure would be too severe for such an innovation! But, it is respectfully submitted, Caxton is here made to write in the very same language which he himself wrote—except that, in some few instances, ‘nor’ may have been substituted for ‘ne,’ and ‘understand’ for ‘understanden.’ This, it is hoped, is ‘the very head and front’ of the Editor’s ‘offending.’

The reader may be assured that the dress of our first Printer is not so completely changed, as he may imagine, into the costume of the 19th century: unless taking the tarnish from his lute, and the dust from his coat, be deemed such an alteration. However, that the afore-said ‘resolute lovers of black-letter antiquity’ may not be wholly disappointed, and that the capricious and unsettled state of ancient orthography may be indisputably manifest, the titles and colophons of the books printed by Caxton, together with the prologues and epilogues of the *English History of Troy* (vide p. 16, post.) are printed with scrupulous adherence to the ancient mode. The poetical extracts are also uniformly thus printed, because the ancient mode of spelling seems necessary to preserve the quantity of the verse. The other extracts are given in modern orthography; preserving the character of the word, whether French or Latin: by this means it is hoped that Caxton may be rendered an interesting, and somewhat popular, author.*

* It is not uncommon to find the words ‘book’ and ‘work’ spelled four different ways in the same page. The word ‘Westminster’ is equally varied by Caxton.

In fine, the Editor can honestly assure his readers, that neither pains, labour, nor expense have been spared—in visiting the two Universities, and other public repositories of books—and in the number and variety of plates—which have increased far beyond the original design) to render this volume deserving of their approbation, and of the auspices under which it is published. A great deal of curious and apposite matter has been thrown into the notes, in order to avoid swelling the book to an unnecessary size. If the letter of the text had been more generally adopted, and the work had been printed in the modern broad-margin style, the reader need not be told that two volumes would hardly have contained the matter which is here submitted to his consideration.

In the ‘GENERAL PREFACE,’ to be published with the last volume, the Editor will not fail to express the particular obligations he has been under to those literary friends and acquaintances, who have assisted him with information in the course of his arduous undertaking: an undertaking, the nature and end of which he has endeavoured fully to comprehend, and rationally to anticipate: towards the creditable completion of which, much time, care, and labour are requisite, with no small portion of health and animal spirits. The latter are in the dispensation of Providence: the former it is in human power to manage and apply. ‘To worthy and impartial men in particular,’ as Hearne has observed, this appeal, as well as*

* [“*hominibus speciatim bonis, minusque corruptis ac partibus deditis*] Johannes de Trokelowe. *Præfat.* p. xvi.

ADVERTISEMENT.

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*this undertaking, is submitted. ‘ Nos (continues * the same amiable antiquary) in studio veritatis ac antiquitatis horas collocemus, nobiscumque præclare agi putemus, si in hujusmodi nostris conatibus utile quod sit invenerint eruditi.’*

Kensington, December 23, 1809.

T. F. D.

* Ejusd. Operis. Præfat. p. xvii, xviii.

The attention of the reader is requested to the following

CORRECTIONS.

- p. viii. The Landscape here said to be in Wynkyn de Worde's edition of the *Polychronicon* was, in fact, taken from Pynson's edition of the *Fructus Temporum*, A. D. 1510; preceding the 'Description of England.' I had imagined that I had seen it in the former work: but qu. whether it may not be in Wynkyn De Worde's edition of the *Fructus Temporum* of 1497-1502? If so, the position may be accurate respecting its being the earliest landscape introduced into our printed books. I consider the group of birds, &c. with a back ground, in Wynkyn de Worde's edition of *Bartholomæus de Prop. Rer.* and the book of *Hawking and Hunting*, &c. 1496, as not strictly characteristic of Landscape-composition.
- p. x. The rude figures of '*Dives et Pauper*,' erroneously said to be in Pynson's edition of this work, of the date of 1493, are in Wynkyn de Worde's edition of it A. D. 1496.
- p. lxxv. It is here said that there are but three known copies of the Oxford book of 1468; but Herbert, p. 1391, mentions a fourth in Earl Pembroke's library, and a fifth in All Soul's library. Of the latter, a doubt may be entertained. Hearne speaks of another, and 6th copy 'in the School Tower at Oxford.' See his *Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 256.
- p. 58*—60*. The reader will transfer the two last references in the note † at page 60* to the note at p. 58*—and instead of *Bibl. Monro* will read '*Bibl. Lort.*' ‡
- p. 23 line 25—the word 'leawde' or 'lewd,' is here rather 'ignorant' and 'foolish' than 'idle.' Chaucer and the author of *Pierce Ploughman* constantly use it in the former sense.
- 33 — 4—See p. 187, upon this circumstance.
- 191 — 4—dele 'De.'
- 194 — 7—for 'Preliminary Disquisition' read 'Life of Caxton.'
- 317 — 6—for 'presques' read 'presque.'
- 23—insert a semicolon instead of a comma after the word translator.
- 319 last line but 1; insert A. D. before the figures 1794.

‡ The above pages refer to the *first* set of arabic numerals.

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DIRECTIONS FOR INSERTING THE PLATES.

- PL. I. Ames's Portrait in mezzotint; to face the title page.
- II. Herbert's d°. to face page 71*: 'Memoirs of Herbert.'
- ✓III. To face the beginning of the 'Preliminary Disquisition.' p. i.
- ✓IV. Portraits of Caxton to face page lxxiii.
- ✓V. } Plate V to be inserted immediately before Pl. VI; which latter is to face
- ✓VI. } page cxxv.
- ✓VII. To face page 2: second set of arabic numerals.
- ✓VIII. To face page 9: d°.
- IX. To face page 88: d°.
- There is no Plate numbered X.
- ✓XI. Portrait of Dr. Mead: to face page 152
- ✓XII. Portrait of Lord Oxford: d°. 241.
- ✓XIII. Portrait of Maittaire: d°. 288.
- ✓XIII*. To face page 320.
- ✓XIV. To face page 363.

* The asterisk refers to the first set of arabic numerals, which commences immediately after the 'List of Subscribers:' the arabic numerals without an asterisk, refer to those pages which begin immediately after the conclusion of the 'Life of Caxton.'

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AMES'S PREFACE.*

WHEREAS it appears from reason and ancient history, that in the most early ages of the world, mankind had industriously invented other means of communicating their ideas, than merely by the voice,* not only that they might with freedom converse at a distance, but also to enable them to preserve and transmit to their posterity the most valuable deeds, and most useful discoveries made in the world; they esteemed books, those curious repositories of the sentiments and actions of men, as a real treasure, and the happy possessors, who well understood the subjects they contain'd, were caressed by the wise, and favoured by the great, and consequently were the only truly learned, with whom all prudent princes and philosophers chose to advise.

Books being thus useful and curious, the learned thought it worthy the chief labour of their lives, either to compile, or collect those valuable tracts, and imagined themselves distinguished from mankind more or less, as they excelled in the bulk or goodness of their libraries. Of which I cannot produce a greater instance, than what Dr. Conyers Middleton says in the *Life of Cicero*, p. 136, and 137. 'Nor was he (speaking of Cicero) less eager in making a collection of Greek books, and forming a library, by the same opportunity of Atticus's help. This was Atticus's own passion, who, having free access to all the Athenian libraries, was employing his slaves in copying the works of their best writers, not only for his own use, but

* The NOTES to this reimpression of it are by the present Editor

† Consult the first two chapters of Mr. Astle's ingenious and splendid work upon '*The Origin and Progress of Writing*,' 1784, 1803, 4to. where this subject is very learnedly and satisfactorily treated.

for sale also, and the common profit both of the slave and the master; for Atticus was remarkable above all men of his rank for a family of learned slaves, having scarce a footboy in his house, who was not trained both to read and write for him. By this advantage he had made a very large collection of choice and curious books, and signified to Cicero his design of selling them; yet seems to have intimated withal, that he expected a larger sum for them than Cicero would easily spare; which gave occasion to Cicero, to beg of him in several letters, to reserve the whole number for him, till he could raise money enough for the purchase. 'Pray keep your books,' says he, 'for me, and do not despair of my being able to make them mine; which, if I can compass, I shall think myself richer than Crassus, and despise the fine villa's and gardens of them all.' Again, 'Take care that you do not part with your library to any man, how eager soever he may be to buy it; for I am setting apart all my little rents to purchase that relief for my old age.' In a third letter, he says, 'That he had placed all his hopes of comfort and pleasure, whenever he should retire from business, on Atticus's reserving these books for him.' Again, in p. 453. 'Atticus lent him two of his librarians to assist his own, in taking catalogues, and placing the books in order, which he calls the infusion of a soul into the body of his house.'*

And among other writers on this subject, Mr. Watson, in his History of Printing, tells us, from an epistle of Antonius Bononia Becatellus, surnamed Panorme, to Alphonsus king of Naples and Sicily, Lib. 5. Epist. '*Significasti mihi nuper ex Florentia*,' &c. 'You lately wrote to me from Florence, that the works of Titus Livius are there to be sold, in very handsome books; and that the price of each book is 120 crowns of gold: therefore I entreat your majesty, that you cause to be bought for us Livy, whom we use to call the king of books, and cause it to be sent hither to us. I shall in the mean time procure the money which I am to give for the price of the book. One thing I want to know of your prudence, whether I

* Consult the excellent notes of the Abbé Mongault, attached to his French translation of Cicero's Letters to Atticus; Paris, 1714, 12mo. 6 vols.

or Poggius have done best; he, that he might buy a country house near Florence, sold Livy, which he had writ in a very fair hand; and I, to purchase Livy, have exposed a piece of land to sale. Your goodness and modesty have encouraged me to ask these things with familiarity of you. Farewel, and triumph.' There are several passages, which shew the great value and esteem of manuscripts, and that the manner of their conveyance was by notaries, as lands, &c.

I have a folio manuscript in French verse called, 'Romans de la Rose' (from whence Chaucer's translation) on the last leaf of which is wrote, '*Cest lyuir costa au palas de Parys quarante coronnes dor sans mentyr*,' that is, this book cost at the palace of Paris 40 crowns of gold, without lying. (About 33l. 6s. 6d. sterling.)*

* The following further particulars from Watson, upon this interesting subject, may be acceptable to the reader:

"All the elogiums which we make of PRINTING, and the honours which we pay to it, come far short of its merit; and we cannot but easily consent to this, if we consider the vast expenses which the ancients were obliged to be at, in procuring manuscripts; whereof I shall give here a few instances.

"Galen saith, in his Commentary upon the third of the Epidemicks, and upon the first book of the 'Nature of Man,' that Ptolomeus Philadelphus gave to the Athenians 15 talents, with exemption from all tribute, and a great convoy of provisions, for the Autographs and Originals of the Tragedies of Eschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.

"But there is no need of proofs so far off, since we want not examples in modern authors, among whom James Piccolomini, Cardinal of Pavia, having intreated Donatus Acciaiolus to buy him Josephus, had for an excuse, that it was too dear: page 114 of the old edition. apud Papiens. 'Josephus, of which you writ, is, in my opinion, too dear, especially this year, when money is scarce with me; therefore let that book alone.

"But what Acciaiolus wrote back to him afterward, concerning the great price of some other books, is yet much more remarkable. See Papiens, as above: 'He has taken out the titles, as you advise me, of the 3 volumes of Plutarch, in which are contained 24 parallels. The price of it cannot be less than 80 crowns of gold. [Or rose-nobles, value 16s. 8d. sterl. a-piece.] Of Seneca's Treatises, we have as yet found only the Epistles, for which they ask 16, or at least 15 crowns of gold.'

"And that it may not be thought, that this high price was only in Italy, see what Gaguin saith of a book, which he sought out at Paris for one of his friends who wrote to him from Rome. 'I have not to this day found out a Concordance, save one that's very

About the time of our king Henry II, as I have somewhere read, their manner of publishing the works of their authors was to have them read over for three days successively before the university, or

precious, which Paschasius, the bookseller, has told me is to be sold, but the owner of it is abroad; and it may be had for a hundred crowns of gold.

"And Paul Jove observeth very pleasantly on this head, how that Jason Mainus, when studying at Padua, fell into such want by his debaucheries, that he was forced to lay in pledge a book of law writ on parchment, which he purchased at a great price. And Petrarchus reporteth of Tuscus, who taught him grammar and rhetoric, that he pawned, for the same cause, two little volumes of Cicero. [In Epist. ad Lucam Pennam.] And Braccianus tells, that the Emperor Frederick III. knew no better way to gratify John Capnion (call'd, Reuchlin, Præfat. in Salvian. de Provident.) who had been sent to him in an embassy by Edward of Witemberg, than by making him a present of an old Hebrew Bible. They us'd also to be left by testament, as some great heritage, as Nostradamus tells he hath observed in an old instrument about the year 1393 (in the fifth part of the History of Provence, p. 516.) whereby it was provided, 'that Alazie de Blevis, Lady of Romolles, spouse of the magnificent Boniface of Castellane, Baron of Germany, making her last will, left to a young lady her daughter, a certain number of books, wherein was writ the whole body of the law, done in a fair letter upon parchment; charging her, in case she would marry, that she would take a man of the long robe, a doctor, a lawyer; and that for that end, she had left her that fine and rich treasure, these exquisite and precious volumes, in abatement of her dowry.' So that he who gifted a book in those days, gave no small present: seeing four or five manuscripts made a part of the dowry of the daughter of a great lord." [This anecdote is related by Lambinet, p. 173.] Finally, those MSS. or rather those books, were so rare in those days, that they were not sold but by contracts upon as good conditions and securities, as these of an house of 20000-livres value. Witness that which is still kept in the college of Laon in this city, cited by Brenil, and made in presence of two notaries, Anno 1332, which beareth, that 'Jeffry of St. Liger, [Livre 2. des Antiquit. de Paris, pag. 608.] one of the clergy-men booksellers, and so qualified, acknowledges and confesses to have sold, ceded, quitted and transported; and sells, cedes, quits and transports upon mortgage of all and sundry his goods, and the custody of his own body, a book entitled Speculum Historiale in Consuetudines Parisienses, divided and bound up in four volumes, covered with red leather, to a nobleman, Messire Girard of Montague, Advocate to the King in the Parliament, for the sum of 40 livres of Paris; whereof the said bookseller holds himself well content and paid.' In those days, kings only and sovereigns, or the rich, could pretend to the sciences: the poor being entirely debarr'd by the excessive price of the MSS. Whereas now a-days, by means of this worthy and noble Invention of PRINTING, every body may have books of all the whole sciences, for a small sum." *Watson on Printing*, p. 2-5.

'In *Stow's Annals* [Life of Edward 1st.] it is said that William de Howton, Abbot of

other judges, appointed by the publick; and if they met with approbation, copies of them were then permitted to be taken, which were usually done by monks, scribes, illuminors and readers, brought or train'd up to that purpose for their maintenance.*

Croxton, among other gifts, left a bible, in nine tomes, fair written and excellently well glossed by Solomon, Archdeacon of Leicester, and paid for it fifty marks sterling.' Ames's marginal note in my interleaved copy of his *Typographical Antiquities*.

Most of these anecdotes are to be found in Lambinet and Peignot (*Dict. de Bibliologie*) and in other bibliographical authors. From Lambinet [who relies, however, upon the authority of Braun] I extract the ensuing particulars, which are interesting, inasmuch as they relate to the expenses attending the setting up of the first presses abroad. 'Melchior de Stamham, wishing to establish a printing office in the Abbey of St. Ulric at Augsburg, engaged a skilful workman of the same town, of the name of Saurloch. One whole year was occupied in making the necessary preparations. He bought of John Schueseler five presses, which cost him 73 Rhenish florins [about 290 livres of the present value]: he constructed with these materials five other smaller presses: cast pewter-types, and commenced printing in 1473. The 'Mirror of Vincentius de Beauvais' [vide p. 257, post] was the first effort of his press; but he died shortly after the completion of the third part of it. He had spent not less than 702 florins in establishing his office, and putting matters in a train for work. His successor, Henry de Stamham, finding the concern greatly involved, sold the three parts of the 'Speculum' for 24 florins. *Recherches, &c. de l'Imprimerie*, p. 197. For some further particulars concerning the prices of early printed books, vide p. cxxvii, post: note. There is an amusing article, in the first volume of Mr. D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, respecting the prices of manuscripts; and Mr. Roscoe, in his delightful biography of *Lorenzo de Medici*, has adduced a variety of instances of the avidity with which ancient manuscripts, and early printed books, were sought after, and esteemed, by the most eminent scholars of Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

* The present seems to be a proper place for the introduction of a few remarks relating to the regulation and encouragement of books in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, at home and abroad. Whoever reads the fourth chapter of the third book of Dr. Henry's instructive *History of Great Britain*, need not want further proof of the spirit of those times, in our own country, in the patronage of literature and the general employment of monastic scribes. It was the glorious maxim of this age that 'A convent without a library, was like a castle without an armory.' 'To provide books [says Dr. Henry] for the use of the church, and for furnishing their libraries, there was, in every monastery, a room called the *Scriptorium*, or *Writing Chamber*, in which several of the younger monks were constantly employed in transcribing books; and to which, in some monasteries, consider-

At the time that Printing was introduced, and a little after; the scribes used their utmost efforts to excel, being willing to keep their places, and would say such a book was old, and would add unprofitable; but such an one was new, neat, elegantly wrote, easy to be read, &c. which method of proceeding, by the way, may have occasioned the loss of many a good composition. Indeed before this noble art of Printing by separate types made of metal was found out, there were but few authors in comparison to the great encrease

able revenues were appropriated. A noble Norman, who was a great encourager of learning, left his own library to that of the Abbey of St. Albans, A.D. 1086, and granted two thirds of the tithes of Hatfield, and certain tithes in Redburn, to support the Scribes in the Scriptorium of that abbey. Where there were no fixed revenues for defraying the expenses of procuring books for the library, the abbot, with the consent of the chapter, commonly imposed an annual tax on every member of the community for that purpose. The monks of some monasteries in this period were bitterly reproached for the extravagant sums they expended on their libraries. [Vide M. Paris *Vita Abbatum*, p. 32: *Mabill. Annal.* vol. iv. 651-2: Martin *Col. Script.* vol. i. 1020-21: as referred to by Dr. Henry.] The monastic writers, or copiers of manuscripts, have been thought by some to be the last relics of the Jewish Scribes, or the Roman Librarii. Mr. Astle, in the 8th chapter of his '*Origin and Progress of Writing*;' and Strutt, in his '*Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*,' have slightly noticed them; but from Lambinet we obtain the following curious account of their history in the middle centuries:

"GERARD DE GROOT, or Gerard the Great, instituted a society called '*Fratres Vitæ Communis*.' This extraordinary character was born at Deventer, in the year 1340. His parents took the greatest possible care of his education; and at 15 years of age he was sent to Paris to perfect himself in philosophical and theological studies. His general knowledge afterwards procured for him the distinctive appellation of *The Great*: but, in the midst of his intellectual celebrity, he was not free from the justly founded stigma of leading a debauched and luxurious life. An accidental but serious conversation with one of his old schoolfellows suddenly converted him. He now became as grave, devout, and exemplary, as he had been formerly licentious and relaxed. He clothed himself in a doublet of grey, lined with hair, and retired to a monastery at Munikhuysen, where he devoted himself to prayer, and to the reformation of immoral characters. Meeting with unexpected success in this pious avocation, he instituted the society before mentioned; and could boast, among his followers, of such characters as RUDEWYNS and THOMAS A KEMPIS. 'One heart, one soul, one common property,' says Lambinet, 'influenced and supported this illustrious society; whose glory it was that they earned their livelihood by their pen.' They were always distinguished by wearing a grey coat, lined with hair,

of learned men since. But as the method of increasing and propagating books by writing was excessively tedious and expensive, so that few could encourage it, but sovereign princes, or persons of great wealth, the bulk of mankind was in a manner deprived of those

next their skin. A black cowl hung down behind as low as the waist; and whenever they went abroad, they wrapt themselves in a large mantle, which descended to their heels. Their hair was closely cropt in a circular manner. The following representation of their habit is faithfully copied, on a reduced scale, from the print inserted by Lambinet; who appears to have borrowed it from Héliot's *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, Religieux, et Militaires*, vol. ii. p. 339.



truly valuable advantages resulting from books ; which alone sufficiently shews, how greatly we are indebted to the inventors of that useful, or, as I may justly say, divine, art of Printing. We have now

Successive popes confirmed and extended ~~their~~ privileges ; and in 1402 not fewer than seven monasteries had admitted their rules and imitated their example. Of all the disciples of Gerard, no one seems to have eclipsed the manual fame of the celebrated Thomas à Kempis. His immediate master, Radewyns, tells us that ' he excelled in this department, and devoted his earnings to the support of the common body.' He was the copier of the Bible, in four large volumes ; of a very large Missal ; and of some opuscula of St. Bernard. The viith plate in Meerman's *Origines Typographicae* is an evidence of some minor works which were printed from a copy in his handwriting. In the middle of the 15th century the '*Brothers of a Common Life*' instituted public schools for the instruction of the poor and ignorant. As they had taken St. Gregory and St. Jerom for the patrons of their schools, and as the houses in which they dwelt had, almost all of them, some patron's name attached to it—for example, at Grammont and Bois le-Duc, that of St. Gregory ; at Ghent, that of St. Jerom ; these Scribes were, in consequence, called ' Brothers of St. Gregory, or of St. Jerom.' The Brabant Chronicle informs us that, in the year 1460, the public magistrate at Brussels invited over a body of these '*Brothers*' to establish there public schools of instruction ; and appointed colleges for their reception. Lambinet says he saw at Louvain a most beautiful manuscript Missal, '*Secundum consuetudinem Gallicorum*,' which was printed in 1481, and had been executed by one of these '*Brothers*.' ' C'est un chef-d'œuvre (he exclaims) de typographie, par la netteté des caractères, la blancheur et la force du papier, la largeur des marges etc.' Consult his very interesting account of these Scribes at p. 331, &c. of his *Recherches, &c. sur l'Origine de l'Imprimerie*. Bruxelles, An. vii. 8vo.

Having stated these few particulars relating to the monastic scribes of the middle ages, I shall add a word or two respecting the regulation and licenses for vending the books thus transcribed.

The method adopted by our Universities in the 12th century, as above stated by Ames, was probably chosen by every University in Europe during this and the two following centuries. The University of Paris, A.D. 1272, instituted a plan, not only for approving books, but for *determining the price of them*. It ordained : ' quod pro exemplaribus aliquid ultra moderatum salarium vel mercedem seu ultro id quod ab Universitate vel deputatis ab ea taxatum fuerit, non exigent à quocunque.' In the year 1323, four officers were appointed by this University to regulate the prices of all manuscript books ; and these were called '*Taxatores Librorum*.' Of the greater number of the MSS. bequeathed to the library of Sorbonne, shortly after it was founded, Chevillier tells us that a price was marked upon each ; and that from a catalogue made of them in the year 1292, this library contained more than 1000 priced volumes. ' At the end of the inven-

no occasion to wait the slow result of the transcriber, but with a little labour, and easy expence, may store our libraries with all the knowledge of our learned progenitors, and have it in our power, with a little study, to be masters of those arts, which they only attained to with the greatest labour and industry.* And I am perswaded, if

tory or catalogue, the sum total, constituting the value of these books, was thus specified : ' *Summa valoris omnium librorum hujus Domus propter intitulatos anno Domini 1292 tria millia, octogentæ duodecim libræ, decem solidi, octo denarii.*' [£3892: 12. 8.]

But the discovery of the art of printing, by multiplying books so rapidly, rendered the interference of these 'Taxatores' extremely difficult, and, in most instances, ineffectual. Instead, therefore, of taxing each individual volume, the printers, who were necessarily the first booksellers, were obliged to make out catalogues of their books, with the price affixed to each, to be kept in their shops. These prices were regulated by the four University-Officers; in this respect imitating the plan which had been adopted with the manuscripts—namely, that the book-vendor was to put a parchment label in his window, with the name and the price of each work, written in a fair and legible hand. Thus we find, in respect of the printers, that Colinaeus was obliged to sell his Greek Testament for a sum not exceeding 12 sous. The 'Promptuarum Juris' of 1520, in 2 vols. folio, was taxed at 50 sous: and a Hebrew Psalter of Robert Stephens at 7 sous. The early priced catalogues of the books of Colinaeus and Robert Stephens are in the Sorbonne collection. Consult Chevillier's *L'Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris*, p. 368, &c.; especially 373-4-5, where a variety of colophons are given respecting the sums at which printers professed to sell their publications. Chevillier seems to wish for the revival of these University Book-Censors, in order that 'les gens de Lettres, qui épuisent leur esprit par l'étude, ne se verroient pas obliger d'épuiser encore leur bourse, et d'acheter les livres à un prix excessif.' It may be worth remarking, that the act of the 25th of Henry VIII. ch. xv. § 4. granting to the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the two Chief Justices, the power of regulating the prices of books, when too exorbitant, was not repealed till the 12th of Geo. II.

* This circumstance is well alluded to in the Bishop of Aleria's address to Pope Paul II, prefixed to the first edition of St. Jerom's Epistles, printed in 1468. 'It was reserved for the times of your Holiness (says he) for the christian world to be blessed with the immense advantages resulting from the art of printing; by means of which, and with a little money, the poorest person may collect together a few books. It is a small testimony of the glory of your holiness, that the volumes which, formerly, scarcely an hundred golden crowns would purchase, may now be procured for twenty, and less—and these, well written and authentic ones!' This is extracted, in the original Latin, by Chevillier, p. 369. A good account of the learned labours of this excellent prelate will be found in the third volume of Mr. Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature*, p. 274, &c. Many of his epistles

any one would be at the trouble to compare the present body of our people, in regard to literature and their capacities in affairs, with those of our ancestors, who flourished 300 years ago, when there was no printing, they will readily acknowledge, that this curious art hath not a little contributed to the benefit and improvement of mankind.*

And here I should be tempted to say something concerning the free use and liberty of the press; but as it has been touched upon by the famous Milton and others, I chuse to drop it, and frankly acknowledge, that it requires greater wisdom and penetration to settle its bounds than I am capable of.† I do also ingenuously confess, that in attempting this history of Printing, I have undertaken a task much too great for my abilities, the extent of which I did not so well perceive at first; but though it is not so perfect a work, as I could wish, yet such as it is, I now submit it to the public; and hope, when they consider in what obscurity and confusion printing in its infancy was involved, they will acknowledge that I have at least cleared away the rubbish, and furnished materials towards a more perfect structure.‡

which throw considerable light upon the learning, and occasionally upon the politics, of the day, are inserted at the end of the catalogue of Consul Smith's books, printed at Venice in 1755, 4to.

* It may afford some idea of the immense circulation of printed books in these times, and, consequently, [it is to be hoped] of the proportionable influence of knowledge and mental improvement, when it is stated, from accurate premises, that upwards of 120,000 copies of the collective number of periodical publications, are printed and circulated in London EVERY MONTH!

† This important subject, which was strongly agitated in the case of the Dean of St. Asaph, was in a great degree settled by the act of the 32d of the present King's reign; [*Ruffhead's Statutes*, vol. xvi. p.264.] in which the doctrine of libels was so far established, as to make the Juries competent to judge of the intention of the writer, as well as of the fact of publication.

‡ From a cancelled leaf, in the interleaved copy so often mentioned in the course of the biographies of Ames and Herbert, the original passages from the end of this, to the commencement of the concluding, paragraph, stood thus:

“ I have endeavoured to make the book as plain and useful as I could, by disposing it

It may shew upon the whole, the notions which prevailed, and what the contenders had to say, for the space of 120 or 130 years; which takes in a period of time perhaps the most remarkable of any which our annals afford, a period when Britain roused herself from amidst various superstitions, and sat down on the seat of liberty, where she now remains. I think I may have leave to say, the art of Printing had no small share in the glorious Reformation.* The Holy Scriptures were printed in our mother tongue, and the people themselves saw the impositions of the monks, &c. This art in its infancy was patronized by the learned and great, and they encouraged our first printer William Caxton to begin and carry on so lauda-

into a sort of chronological descent of time, beginning with each Printers first work; then those books which followed, except those of theirs without date, and are put to the end: In my general History, I have used much the same order of time, and the like in the printing in Scotland: It may shew upon the whole, the notions which prevailed, and what the contenders had to say for the space of 120 years; also help gentlemen to complete their antient books, which often are imperfect, by copying from this; for I did not chuse to copy into my book from catalogues, but from the books themselves, and have added a very copious Index of persons names who are mentioned, by using of which any thing almost in the book may be found.'

* This sentiment had been thus strongly expressed by the bibliographer Maichelius. 'Et sane luculentissimum hic Divinæ Providentiæ documentum videre mihi videor; cum enim Deus jam diu gemiscentem sub jugo papali Ecclesiam, missis electissimis gloriæ suæ instrumentis, liberare vellet, præmisit hanc nobilissimam artem, sine quâ Reformatio non nisi difficillimum progressum habere potuit.' See the amusing little treatise called *Introductio ad Historiam Literariam De Præcipuis Bibliothecis Parisiensibus*. Lips. 1721, 8vo. In the common, but valuable and too much neglected, collection of Typographical Treatises, published by Wolfius, under the title of *Monumenta Typographica* [Hamb. 1740, 2 vols. 8vo.] there are numerous instances of similar sentiments to be found, expressed both in poetry and prose. In the 'Carmina,' from p. 936 to 1014 of the first volume, the reader will find a number of pretty thoughts very poetically expressed: among others, take the following by Tilenus—

Tum demum membris perfectum et fronte serena.
Exit opus, perque ora virum volat impete læto;

ble and useful an undertaking, and he gratefully and honestly owned it in his books.

Gentlemen may be assisted to complete their ancient books, which often are imperfect at the beginning, or end, by copying from this; for I did not chuse to copy into my book from catalogues, but from the books themselves, and have added a very copious Index of persons' names who are mentioned, by which any thing in the book may be found.

I have endeavoured to make this book as useful as I could, by shewing the rise, progress, and gradual improvements of this art. In my account of its most eminent men I have added all their privileges, licences, patents, &c. which were granted to them; together with the name of the place, and sign at which they dwelt; the encouragements and discouragements they met with; as also the charter of the company of Stationers. I have likewise adorned it with plates of specimens of their types, marks, rebus's and devices; as also with the heads of some of the most celebrated printers, from the Harleian collection. Their principal performances I have disposed as near as possible into a sort of chronological order of time, beginning with each Printer's first work; then those books of his,

Blanditiis Musæ excipiunt, anus ipsa virenti
Fama sinu fovet, et seros defendit in annos
Ornans vivaci genio, ac Parnasside lauru.
Salve, magna parens librorum, ars Dædala salve! &c. &c. &c.

The verses of George Carol, beginning thus—

Divinum cœlo demissum munus ab alto
Quo melius nil prima tulit, licet aurea multis
Nominibus, postrema nihil simile adferet ætas,

are in a graver strain; but upon this subject we must not forget the ingenious and meritorious poem of our countryman, and printer, Mr. Mac Creery; published in all the luxury of press-work.

which followed; except those without a date, which are put at the end of each Printer. In my general History I have used much the same arrangement, and the Appendix concerning printing in Scotland; but as to Ireland, I have been informed of only one book within my period, though it is probable others may be found, if diligent search were made.

I heartily acknowledge my obligations to most of my subscribers, who besides their subscriptions have kindly assisted me with their manuscripts and observations, some of which I have taken the liberty to insert in the body of this work; and to all I return my sincere thanks.

June 7, 1749.

JOSEPH AMES.*

* The work of Ames was published in rather an elegant quarto volume of upwards of 600 pages, exclusively of the Index. The plates have been uniformly adopted by Herbert; but, as will be seen in the course of this edition of the 'Typographical Antiquities,' their intrinsic merit is scarcely deserving of notice. Till the appearance of Herbert's edition, Ames's publication brought rather a large price at book-sales, and was justly considered a curious and interesting performance. Considering that it was the first book upon the dry and difficult subject upon which it treats, it has unquestionably great merit, and was attended with this good effect; namely, to stimulate similar researches in others, and thereby to bring to light valuable and long forgotten information relating to the state of ancient English literature. Every impartial living antiquary, whatever may be his opinion of the literary attainments of the author, must cheerfully acknowledge his obligations to Ames's work, in a manner as full and satisfactory, as appears to have marked the public testimonies of its worth recorded in the journals of the day. There were, I believe, no copies of it printed upon LARGE PAPER. The book was published at £1. 1s. and graced with a list of upwards of 250 subscribers, including almost all the prominent literary characters of the day.

It would appear, from several original letters, [put into my possession by the kindness of Mr. John Nichols] which passed between Ames, Lewis, and Anstis, that the former had served a sort of apprenticeship to these typographical labours under the direction of the two latter, especially of Anstis, before he went to press with his own work. He was also befriended, rather than assisted, by Maittaire; for he thus speaks of the author of the 'An-

Mr. Ames [says Herbert] has left in MS. the following addition, to be inserted in a future edition.

“Freinshemius in his Supplement to Q. Curtius, Lib. II. Cap. 5. gives us an account of a remarkable prodigy which happened before the battle near the banks of the Granicus, which may serve to convince us whence most stories of Omens had their rise; and might, I think, to an ingenious mind, also shew how the art of printing might be attained: ‘That the soldiers minds might be the better confirmed in the hopes of victory,’ says he, ‘while the priest was sacrificing for a safe passage over the river Granicus, the king gave him secret orders to write some reversed characters, with a certain liquor, in the palm of his hand, which being clapped upon the reeking liver would appear right. The writer was to signify

nales Typographici.’ ‘Mr. Maittaire is my friend, and has lent me his assistance; but he had not confined himself to English books, and therefore he can’t do much.’ Lewis requested Ames to bespeak the blocks for the water-marks of the paper used by Caxton [inserted in his own Life of the printer] for which the engraver received a guinea; and so sedulous was Ames to push Lewis’s Life of Caxton, that he tells the biographer he hopes to do more for him, in the way of taking a number of copies, than their common friend Mr. Peter Thompson. He also made the extracts relating to the burial of Caxton: vide p. cxi, post.

But to no one were both Lewis and Ames, especially the latter, more deeply indebted for curious and valuable information, than to JOHN ANSTIS, the author of the well-known work of the ‘Order of the Garter.’ Indeed, this eminent antiquary seems to have grudged no labour in anticipating, as well as satisfying, the literary wants of Ames; who does certainly appear to have started with more willingness to receive information upon, than an acquired knowledge of, the subject upon which he wrote. As early as the year 1737 [Oct. 20] Anstis tells Ames ‘to use no ceremony in commanding any thing in his power:’ again, he says—‘You may without any apology command me, for I have always thought it my duty to assist, as far as is in my power, all who oblige the public. In the month of June 1743, he thus remarks: ‘If you have not observed this passage it will not be ungrateful to you: if you have, it will however shew you how glad I am of any opportunity to communicate any thing for your service.’ Ames used to put down quæres upon a folio sheet of paper, under which Anstis wrote, in general, very satisfactory answers.

that the Gods had decreed the victory to Alexander. This inspired the soldiers with such courage, that they no longer doubted the favour of the Gods, and therefore resolutely seized on the victory, because, by the irreversible decrees of fate, they believed it their own already."

" See Frontinus's Stratagems, Lib. I. Cap. 11.—And indeed when the priest and the general club for a miracle, it is the least the soldiers can do to give an implicit faith to it. See Arrian's History of Alexander's expedition, by Mr. Rook, octavo, 1729. [*The original MS. of this additional passage* is in the possession of the present editor.*]

* Whether Ames ever intended this 'addition to be inserted in a future edition,' as Herbert intimates, may be doubted: no such intention is expressed in the interleaved copy, or original MS. passage of it, in my possession; nor indeed will it be obvious to every one how such an 'addition' is connected with the history of printing. As Herbert has inserted it, I have done the same; to prevent any remarks which the omission of it might have occasioned: although it seems to be a mere straggling extract hitched into a common-place book.

MEMOIRS OF
JOSEPH AMES,

BY THE LATE

RICHARD GOUGH, ESQ.*

* RICHARD GOUGH, the author of this memoir, was born on the 21st of October, A.D. 1735. After studying the dead languages under eminent private masters, he was entered of Bennet College, Cambridge, as a fellow commoner; but quitted the University without taking a degree. He seems to have turned his attention betimes to the study of Antiquities, and has himself dated the first perceptible origin of it to a visit paid to Croyland Abbey, rendered famous by the Histories of Ingulph and Petrus Blesensis, as well as by the memory of its once extensive library. At the distance of six and twenty years he looked back upon this visit, which occurred in 1756, with the most heartfelt delight. In 1768 he published the first edition of his *British Topography*; which was afterwards increased to two volumes, and published in 1780, 4to. The first volume of a *third* edition in 1808 perished in the fire which destroyed ‘the greater part of the labours of the long and laborious life’ of Mr. John Nichols, the printer and publisher, and among the oldest and most intimate friends of Mr. Gough. It is, however, matter of consolation to think that the original corrected copy of the edition of 1780 is preserved among the books bequeathed by Mr. G. to the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

In the year 1789 appeared the elaborate and enlarged edition of *Camden’s Britannia*, in 3 folio volumes—the text being translated anew from the Latin of Camden; which he

accomplished, we are told, 'with so little interruption of the ordinary intercourse of life, that none of his family were aware that he was at any time engaged in so laborious an undertaking.' A new edition of this work was published in four volumes, A. D. 1807, of which he superintended only the first volume. The years 1786, 1796, 1799, witnessed the progress and conclusion of his magnificent, and one may add, matchless work, in three imperial folio volumes, entitled *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*.^{*} These three are the grand leading productions on which the basis of his fame rests, and of which, as if prescient of the future celebrity to be derived from them, he ordered the titles to be ENGRAVED UPON HIS TOMB. We may next notice a few of his minor works. In 1779 he published an improved '*History of Thetford*' in 4to. In 1780 appeared an enlarged edition of *Symons's Coins* engraved by Vertue. In 1775, was republished by him Perlin's interesting and rare work of the '*Description des Royaumes d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse*,' 1558, with De La Serre's '*Histoire de l'Entrée de la Reine Mère dans la grande Bretagne*,' 1639—illustrated with cuts, notes, and an historical preface. In 1803, came out his '*History and Antiquities of Pleshy, in the County of Essex*,' 4to. This work was among the earliest efforts of his pen, and achieved when, in the year 1762, he visited Essex for the sake of making notes for his Camden: it lay by him forty years, and was 'one of the last which he committed to the press.' In the introductory part he speaks of Pleshy, and of his former visit to it, in a very pleasing strain of enthusiasm. The following year witnessed his '*Coins of the Seleucidae, Kings of Syria*,' in 4to. None of these publications, Mr. Nichols informs us, are now to be purchased.—Other minor works might have been noticed; as well, indeed, as some others of considerable moment—such as the assistance he afforded to the second edition of Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, 1795, 2 vols. folio: to Dr. Nash's '*Collections for a History of Worcestershire*,' 1781, 2 vols. folio; and to Mr. Nichols's very valuable '*History of Leicestershire*,' 1802, &c. 4 vols. folio. Mr. Gough's communications to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, his papers in the *Archæologia*, and in the *Vetusta Monumenta*—are sufficient remaining proofs, if any were wanting, of the extent of his antiquarian erudition, and of the unabating activity of his researches.

It was fortunate for a mind thus ardent, and a curiosity thus insatiable, that Mr. Gough, early in life, came into the possession of a handsome patrimonial estate. His father died in the year 1751, leaving him, at only sixteen years of age, with ample means to indulge his favourite pursuits and to gratify his ruling passions. But while the greater number of his associates might have been emulous of distinguishing themselves in the gaieties of the table or the chace, it was the peculiar feeling and master passion of young Gough's mind, to be constantly looking upon every artificial object without, as food for

^{*} 'One great object of the latter part of Mr. Gough's life was, to prepare his '*Sepulchral Monuments*' for a new edition. With this constantly in view, he spared neither trouble nor expense in obtaining an ample store of additional drawings by the FIRST artists; all which, with the beautiful copper-plates already engraved at an expense of some thousand pounds, form part of his noble gift to the UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD: which will doubtless have great pleasure in fulfilling the wishes of their generous benefactor, by presenting an improved edition of his '*Sepulchral Monuments*' to the publick.' *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxix. p. i. 320.

meditation and record. The mouldering turret, and the crumbling arch, the moss-covered stone, and the obliterated inscription, served to excite, in his mind, the most ardent sensations, and to kindle that fire of antiquarian research which afterwards never knew decay: which burnt with undiminished lustre at the close of his existence: and which prompted him, when in the full enjoyment of his bodily faculties, to explore long-deserted castles and mansions, to tread long-neglected bye-ways, and to snatch, from impending oblivion, many a precious relic, and many a venerable ancestry! He is the CAMDEN of modern times.* He spared no labour, no toil, no expense, to obtain the best information; and to give it publicity, when obtained, in a manner the most liberal and effective.

Mr. Gough married, in the year 1774, the daughter of Thomas Hall, Esq. of Golding, Herts; and died, without children, at the commencement of the year 1809. He lived almost entirely at his patrimonial seat Enfield, in Essex, which he enlarged with frequent purchases of adjacent land, and adorned with a magnificent and costly library, (partly fitted up in the gothic style) having the greater number of his books enriched with the MS. notes of some of our most celebrated antiquaries. These were left, by will, with every thing that illustrated British Topography, to the Bodleian library at Oxford.

For further particulars relating to this eminent Antiquary, consult the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March and April, 1809; and the *European Magazine* for August, 1809, vol. lvi. p. 109.

* I will not presume to criticise the multifarious labours of this great antiquary; who seems to have said with Gronovius—in defence of his favourite study—‘adeo ista res mihi placuit, ut non in dubitationem, sed liquidam sententiam adductus, exinde partem temporis mei ad hanc curam accomodans, non omiserim vel quotidie videre, si quid ampliorem ejus propositi dignitatem et emolumentum posset conducere,’ &c. *Præfat. Gæcar. Antiquit.* Thus much, undoubtedly, he might have safely affirmed with Fabricius, in reference to the past state of antiquarian researches—‘Ad hujus caliginem quæ eam undique obsedit dispellendam, et illuminandas remotissimarum ab ætate nostrâ rerum tenebras, magna cum laude elaboravi.’ *Bibl. Antiquar. Præfat.* Edit. 1716. If the style and character of his works have not been explained by himself, they are well delineated in the following language of Montfaucon. ‘Ma maxime (says this latter author) est, de ne dire sur chaque chose en particulier que ce qu’on en peut avoir de sûr, ou de fort probable. Quoique je m’arrête peu aux simples conjectures, je ne laisse pas de les rapporter quand elles ont de la vraisemblance. Si je m’étends en certains endroits plus qu’à l’ordinaire, c’est lorsque je trouve quelque jour à éclaircir des choses ou contestées, ou mal expliquées, par ceux qui m’ont précédé. Généralement parlant, je suis court presque par tout; en supposant toujours que mon lecteur n’est pas un ignorant, ni un homme sans esprit, qui ne puisse faire aucun progrès dans des routes déjà applanies,’ p. vij. *Preface Antiquités Expliquées.*

They who grieve that the hand of death has for ever suspended the labours of such a man, may receive some consolation upon reflecting that his mantle has fallen upon those, who have already convinced the public of their fitness to receive it. The name of LYSONS—will remind the reader of the many tasteful and useful antiquarian publications to which it is subjoined—“FORTUNATI AMBO!”

PEDIGREE OF AMES OF NORFOLK.

Transcribed from a MS. in the possession of Miss AMES, since Mrs. DAMPIER; written by Captain JOSEPH AMES, and his Son JOHN AMES, about 1694; and continued to 1734, by JOSEPH AMES, F.R.S.

LANCELOT AMES.

John, born in Norwich, March 3, 1576;
died April 17, 1647; aged 70.

Benjamin,
died May
8, 1647.

John.

Joseph, captain = 1. Margaret Missing, May 5, 1641;
in the navy, b. born at Norwich, July 4, 1617,
March 4, 1619, by whom he had 9 children. She
died Dec. 1, died at North Yarmouth, July 19,
1695. 1657.

2. 1661. Ruth Hardingham, widow,
born in Yarmouth, June 6, 1622,
having 5 children by her first
husband, and by Mr. Ames a
daughter, born 1661, and died two
days after; and a son James.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Haney, b. at Yar- mouth, July 5, 1643.	Joseph, born at Yar- mouth, Sept. 25, 1644; d. July 16, 1646.	Benjamin, b. Jan. 22, 1645, Sept. 1695.	Joseph, b. July, 1647, died in London; buried in White Chapel.	Abigail, b. Feb. 6, 1648.	John, b. in Yar- mouth, April 5, 1651; d. 1700; married Esther Goodall, at Yar- mouth, Sept. 1676; she died 1712; buried in Wapping Chapel.	Natha- niel, b. Aug. 26, 1652.	Samuel, b. Nov. 25, 1653.	Mary, b. Mar. 15, 1655.	Esther, b. Mar. 15, 1655.

Mary, daughter =
of Mr. Wray-
ford, merchant of
London, April
12, 1714; died
Aug. 12, 1734.

Joseph, born
January 23,
1688-9; d.
Oct. 7, 1759,
aged 71.

Eight other Children,
of whom seven died
under two years old.

Six Children, of whom only Mary survived her mother, born
Nov. 21, 1759; married to Captain Edward Dampier.

No issue.



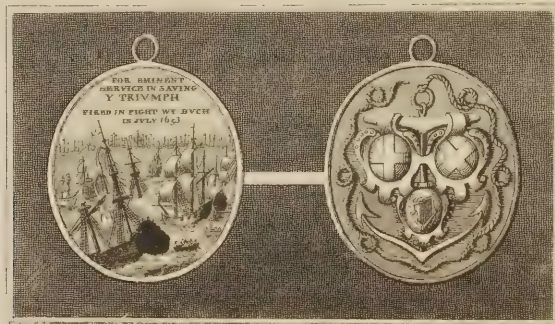
MR. JOSEPH AMES was descended from an ancient family* in Norfolk, where they are to be traced as far back as the middle of the 16th century. His great grand-father JOHN Ames was born in the parish of St. Peter, in the city of Norwich, March 3, 1576, being son of LANCELOT, also of Norwich. But of these we find little more than that they lived and died in that city.

* Of this family was probably Dr. William Ames, a Puritan Calvinistic divine in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. famous both at home and abroad for his casuistical and controversial writings. He was born 1576, and died and was buried at Rotterdam, 1633. See his life in *Biographia Britannica*: Also another William Ames, A. M. who published some theological tracts, and was living 1651. A third William Ames was a quaker at Amsterdam, editor of many books. Edward Ames was called bishop of Cork and Ross in Ireland, about 1688, but not by any legal nomination, and therefore omitted in the lists. Among Mr. Ames's MSS. was a letter from Richard Ames on education, 1682. Gough.

N.B. Mr. Gough's notes in these Memoirs have his name subjoined at length. Those of the present editor have the letter D. added; except where they are *attached* to Mr. Gough's, when they are distinguished by being inserted within crotchets.

The son of John Ames was JOSEPH, born at North or Great Yarmouth, March 5, 1619. He was brought up in the navy from his youth, commanded several ships of war, and was in various engagements, particularly in the Dutch war in the time of the Commonwealth. His services were rewarded by the Parliament with a present of a gold medal, executed by that celebrated artist, Thomas Symons, of which the subjoined representation is a fac-simile.* This commemorates the sea-fight with the Dutch, when the English fleet was commanded by Admiral Blake and General Monk, Penn, Vice-Admiral, and Lawson, Rear-Admiral. Captain Peacock of the *Triumph* was wounded, the Dutch Admiral Van Trump killed, and

* What follows here, in Mr. Gough's Memoirs, is omitted; it being a description of the medal struck to commemorate the gallantry of Ames's grandfather. The subjoined fac-simile of Vertue's engraving of the medal itself, will present the reader with a more perfect idea of the original than any verbal description, however faithful and minute. It may not be considered irrelative to add, that Mr. Gough purchased the plates of the Medals, Coins, and Great Seals, executed by the celebrated Symons, and engraved by Vertue, 1753—for the work from which this fac-simile is taken—and gave a new and enlarged edition of them in 1780. D.



at least 4500 Dutch killed and wounded ; and of 120 ships, of which their fleet consisted, only 90 returned into the Texel. This medal is engraved in Mr. Vertue's 'Collection of Medals, Coins, and Great Seals, engraved by Symons,' pl. XVI.; and at the corner of the plate of Mr. Ames's portrait prefixed to these Memoirs. It was sold at the sale of Mr. Ames's coins for £34. 2s. 6d. to Mr. Brown.

The family preserve also the following commission granted to Captain Ames :

“ 2d April, 1653.

“ By the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy.

“ Whereas we have presented Joseph Ames to be captaine of the ship Samuel (whereof captain Talbot was late commander) and the councele having thought fit to approve of him for that command. It is ordered, that the said captaine doe forthwith repaire on board the said shipp, and to take the same into his charge. And so soone as she can be got ready (which he is to endeavour with all possible expedition) to sale down into Lee Road ; and to observe such further orders as he shall receive from the councele of state, our selves, the generals vice-admiral, or rear-admiral of the fleete ; and all officers and mariners in the said ship are hereby required to be subordinate to the said captaine, for the service of the Commonwealth.

To Captaine
Joseph Ames.

J. HUNT,
GEORGE THOMSON,
JO. CAREW.”

How long Captain Ames continued in the navy cannot now be exactly known ; his grandson, Mr. Joseph Ames, used to say that he left the navy about 1673, and retired to his family at North Yarmouth, and lived there till his death, which happened on the 1st of December, 1695, in the 76th year of his age. His second marriage was disagreeable to his children, as may be gathered from an expression in his son John's manuscript, where he says, “ My father

married to his second wife, Ruth Hardingham, widow, the 22d of May, 1661, she having five children living, and my father nine, to all his children's sorrow. She was baptized in Yarmouth, the 6th of June, 1622, and was the daughter of William Bridges." Captain Ames made his will some time before his death, and devised his estate to certain trustees, the income of which he left to his wife Ruth during her life ; and, after her death, to be sold, and equally divided among his six children. To his eldest son John he bequeaths his gold medal in these words : " Item, I give and bequeath unto my eldest son John Ames my medal of Gold, which was given unto me by the late Parliament of England."

Ruth, his widow, died very soon after her husband, which brought on some disagreement among the six children about the dividing and selling the estates pursuant to Captain Ames's will. This was the occasion of John Ames, the eldest son, removing, about 1699, with his family, to Wapping, near London, where he had a small freehold about 40l. a year. There he died in 1700 ; and there his wife Esther died in 1712. They were both buried in Wapping chapel. As to Captain Ames's other children, we have no information of them : probably some of their descendants may now be living at North Yarmouth. Captain Ames lived and died a dissenter ; and by a copy of verses (which was made soon after his death) he appears to have been very much respected by his brethren the congregation of presbyterians of North Yarmouth.

Mr. John Ames, the Captain's sixth son, born at Yarmouth, April 5, 1651, appears to have been a person of some curiosity, having collected several particulars respecting the town of Great Yarmouth (which may be seen in the note below*) as well as other places

* Transcribed the 5th of December, 1759, by Sir Peter Thompson, from a manuscript written 1694, by Captain John Ames, of Yarmouth, who seems to have been a curious gentleman. He was the eldest son of Captain Joseph Ames, and father to Mr. Joseph Ames, F. R. S. and F. S. A. who died the 7th of Oct. 1759, aged 71.

" The town of Great Yarmouth is situated twenty-two miles to the east of the city of Norwich, at the mouth of the river Yare.

which he had visited, particularly the sea coast of England, Scotland, Norway, Holland, and France, which would lead us to conclude that he was master of a merchant-ship, and used to trade to these places. A folio book of his observations, &c. with drawings, is now in the hands of his grand-daughter's husband.

"The said burgh of Yarmouth in the time of Canute was a great sand bank, lying in the mouth of the river Yare, which sand bank was covered with water at full sea; from which river the said burgh took its name of Yarmouth. [History of Norfolk, vol. V. p. 1591.]

"In the reign of King Edward the Confessor the said sand grew very great, by reason of the failure of the sea; and in the reign of Harold and William the Conqueror, the said sand became dry ground, and people began to resort thither, and set up huts and booths about the selling and buying of herrings and other fish, of the fishermen, as well strangers as English, frequenting the said sand, from the year of our Lord 1040, untill the year of our Lord 1090.

"In the time of William Rufus, Herebert, Bishop of Norwich, built a chappel upon the said sand, for the health of souls thither resorting; and after a few years he began there to build the church of St. Nicholas, to which church many gifts and offerings were given by the fishermen; and the road of Yarmouth, for that cause, was called St. Nicholas Road, in the year of our Lord 1099. In the reign of King Henry the First, King Stephen, King Henry the Second, King Richard the First, the said sand became firm ground, so that divers citizens of Norwich, and inhabitants of the county of Norfolk, seated themselves there; and, by licence from the king, built themselves houses, habitations, and ships, and were governed by a provost, being there for that purpose deputed by the king; and that government continued from the year of our Lord 1100 for the space of one hundred years next following. Afterwards King John incorporated them and their edifices by the name of the Burgh of Jeremouth; and granted the said burgh, with several privileges and immunities to the burgesses and to their successors in fee-farm for ever. This charter of incorporation was dated in the year of our Lord 1200.

"King Henry the Third granted to the said burgh divers privileges, and gave them leave to inclose the said town with a wall and a ditch, in the year of our Lord 1230, now 464 years since.

"King Edward the First and King Edward the Second granted to the said burgh divers privileges, and called the said water or stream the Haven of Yernemouth, and settled the duty of tonnage and the cocket there for the loading and unloading of their ships.

"King Edward the Third granted divers privileges, and united to the said burgh, for

His eldest son JOSEPH was born at Yarmouth, January 23, 1688-9, and was about 12 years old at his father's death, and at a little grammar-school in Wapping. At 15, it is said, he was put apprentice to a plane-maker in King or Queen Street near Guildhall, Lon-

ever, a certain place in the sea called Kirlee Road, being seven miles distance from the said burgh or town.

"King Henry the Fifth impowered the said burgesses to build a bridge across the said haven at their own expence.

"The sea overflowed the said town in the year of our Lord 1287 : it was above four feet deep in St. Nicholas's church. The new work at the west end of St. Nicholas's church was begun by the said burgesses in the year of our Lord 1330.

"There was a great suit between the Hon. John Brittain, [John, Duke of Bretagne, Earl of Richmond.] Earl of Richmond, Lord of the hundred of Luddingland, of the one part, and the burgesses of Great Yarmouth, of the other part, for the one half of the haven of Yarmouth, and for the customs of shipping ; which suit was depending several years before King Edward the Second and King Edward the Third in parliament and other of the king's court ; but at length, by virtue of a commission from King Edward the Third, directed to the Lord Chancellor of England, and the two Lord Chief Justices, and other of the said king's council, in consequence of which the said suit was ended, by adjudging the haven and customs wholly to the town of Yarmouth. This was in the year of our Lord 1331 : whereupon the said King Edward the Third granted to the burgesses of Yarmouth an ample charter in the sixth year of his reign, 1331.

"The shipping belonging to Yarmouth in the service of King Edward the Third, got great reputation in the fight against the French at Swyim, in the 14th year of his reign ; at which time JOHN BERELOWNE, one of the burgesses of Yarmouth, was, by letters patent, created Admiral of the whole northern fleet of England.

"The differences between the burgesses of Yarmouth and the barons of the Cinque Ports, which had lasted several years, were determined by the king himself in the year 1320, and in the year 1334.

"In the year of our Lord 1334, there died of the pestilence 1000 persons in Yarmouth.

"King Richard the Second, upon a difference between Lowstoft and Yarmouth (after divers commissions directed to the Earl of Suffolk and others for ending the same) came to Yarmouth for that purpose in his own person, in the year of our Lord 1385 ; and in the year following, in his parliament, he confirmed the liberties of Yarmouth and of Kirlee Road.

"The said King Richard caused the staple of wool and hides to be removed from Ipswich and London to the port of Great Yarmouth, for the improving and enriching the said town in the year 1385.

don, and after serving out his time with reputation, it is added, he took up his freedom, and became a liveryman of the Joiners Company. But on the strictest enquiry, both at Joiners Hall and at the Chamberlain's Office, it does not appear that he ever took up his

“ King Henry the Sixth, King Edward the Fourth, King Henry the Seventh, King Henry the Eighth, King Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary, granted and confirmed divers privileges to the said burgesses. Queen Elizabeth did, by her charter, bountifully grant jurisdiction of admiral and clerk of the market, and divers other donations towards repairing the haven of Yarmouth.

“ The burgh of Yarmouth contains within the walls an hundred acres of land, and about a thousand dwelling houses; and the burgesses do wholly apply themselves to business relating to the sea, as do all the inhabitants, from whence they have good provisions; they do not follow either plowing or sowing, as do other inhabitants of the sea coast towns in Norfolk and Suffolk.

“ There was a suit for one half of the haven by Sir William Kinsington, Lord of the hundred of Luddingland, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, which was adjudged for Yarmouth in the year 1528.

“ The great controversy between Sir William Paston, Lord of the Manor of Castor, on the one part, and the burgesses on the other part, for the common and other liberties, was determined, by the arbitrament of Thomas Duke of Norfolk and other commissioners, and by meers and bounds put down the same common was set out and divided for ever, in the year of our Lord 1545.

“ Another contention was afterwards renewed by Sir Henry Jernegan, Lord of the hundred of Luddingland, for the ground bounding on the south part of the haven, which was ended and adjudged for Yarmouth, by the Lords of her Majesty's Council, in the Star chamber, in the year of our Lord 1572.

“ Although divers contentions had arisen between the barons of the Cinque Ports and the burgesses of Yarmouth, in the time of King Edward the First, and King Edward the Second, which were appeased by the king's decree, yet other new controversies arose afterwards between them for the liberties of the fairs at Yarmouth. But at length they were referred to the judgement of divers skilful lawyers and others on each side chosen, who determined the same under their hands in favour of Yarmouth in the year 1575.

“ The difference for granting sets in the three common rivers within the liberties of Yarmouth, that is to say, unto Hardly Cross, and unto St. Olave's Bridge, and unto Way Bridge, was ended by the Lord Chancellor in the year 1577.

“ Another controversy was begun by the inhabitants of Gorleston, Lowstoff, and Alborough, before the Lords of the Council, for the unlading of herrings and other fish at Gorleston, and other parts of the hundred of Luddingland, within the haven of Yarmouth;

freedom, perhaps thinking it would be of no service to him. Be this as it may, he settled near the Hermitage, in Wapping, in the business of a ship-chandler,* or ironmonger,† and continued there till his death.

In 1712 he lost his mother, who was buried in Wapping church near her husband. In 1714 he married Mary, daughter of William Wrayford, merchant of London, who lived in Bow-lane, right against St. Mary Aldermary church.

When Mr. Ames's father came to live in Wapping, Mr. John Russel, minister of Poole in Dorsetshire, was preacher at St. John's, and continued so till his death in 1723. During his residence at Poole he received many marks of friendship from the family of the Rev. Mr. John Lewis, minister of Margate, afterwards vicar of Minstre in the Isle of Thanet, about 40 years; an eminent divine and antiquary, well known for his many learned publications.‡ In re-

whereupon it was decreed, in the year of our Lord 1578, by the Lords of the Council, that the charter of King Edward the Third should be inviolably observed for ever.

"The ancient contention, which was almost every year renewed by the bailiffs and barons of the Cinque Ports, against the bailiffs of Yarmouth, about precedency, was raised into a flame in the year 1634, by two ambitious persons, Crump and Wivell, then bailiffs of the Cinque Ports; but in the year following, the Right Hon. Thomas, Earl of Arundell and Surrey, Lord High Marshal of England, and one of the privy counsellors of King Charles the First, having judicially heard the matter in dispute, did finally determine the same, and by his order of the 17th of February, 1635, he decreed for the bailiffs of Yarmouth." Gough.

* Mr. Walpole's Catalogue of Engravers, p. 2. note *b*.

† His letters are directed by this designation.

‡ MR. LEWIS was born at Poole, his grand-father having been Rector of Worth in Purbeck. He wrote the History of the Isle of Thanet, 1723 and 1736, 4to.; History of Feversham Abbey, 1729, 4to.; the History of the English Translations of the Bible, 1731, fol. republished in 8vo. in 1739; LIFE OF CAXTON, 1737, 8vo.; Life of Wicliffe, 1740, 8vo.; The Antiquity and Use of Seals in England, 1740, 4to.; Life of Bishop Pecocke, 1744, 8vo. He left many MSS. particularly two volumes in folio, of a History of the Anabaptists, now in the Bodleian library; and died January 16, 1746, aged 73. See

turn for this kindness, Mr. Russel invited Mr. Lewis, who then taught grammar at Poole, whither he returned after his early removal to Bristol,* to live with him at Wapping. Being himself much favoured by Archbishop Tenison, he introduced Mr. Lewis to that prelate, which Mr. Lewis acknowledges to have laid the foundation of his preferment in the church. Mr. Russel was a worthy divine, and took great notice of his neighbour, Mr. John Ames, and his in-

Hutchins's Dorset, vol. I. p. 4. His brief history of the rise and progress of Anabaptism in England, with some account of Wicliffe, with large additions in MS. prepared for the press, with several other of his treatises on ecclesiastical antiquities so prepared, were purchased at Mr. Ames's sale by Mr. West. His Life of Bishop Pecocke, with his MS. notes, by Mr. Ratcliffe. Newton's History of Maidstone, with Mr. Lewis's notes, are now in my hands. Notitia diocesis Cantuariensis, Collections for Kent, Antiquities of Richborough, Sandwich, and Stonar, were purchased by the late Dr. Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury. Wicliffe's New Testament, with a History of the several English translations of the Bible, with a great number of MS. notes and additions, was bought by Mr. D. Wilcocks, bookseller. The late Dr. Ducarel had "A New Preface to Mr. Lewis's History of John Wicliffe," an 8vo. volume, in the author's own hand-writing, which is now the property of Mr. Nichols. Mr. Lewis's library was purchased by Mr. Thomas Payne, who retailed it in a marked catalogue; his MSS. and books with his MS. notes, were sold by auction, at St. Paul's coffee-house, 1748. Among the latter were his Treatise on the Eucharist, 1714; History of Feversham, with a MS. list of plants mentioned before; the Institution of a Christian Man, corrected from the original MS.; Folke's Tables of Coins, with additions and coins drawn by Mr. Lewis; Nichols and Wheatly on the Common Prayer; Harris's History of Kent; Collier's Ecclesiastical History; Burnet's History of the Reformation; Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum; Jeake's Charters of the Cinque Ports; Chishull's Antiquitates Asiaticæ; Eadmer's Historiæ; Cranmer's Bible; Mill's Greek Testament; MS. Life of Dr. John Wallis; MS. History of the English Liturgy." Gough.

[I suppose Mr. Tutet to have bought of Wilcocks, the bookseller, the author's own copy of the edition of Wicliffe's Testament, with the History of the several Translations of the Bible—as a copy of this kind was bought at Mr. Tutet's sale [See Bibl. Tutet, n°. 358] by the late Mr. Payne, the bookseller, for £2. 15. In regard to Lewis's LIFE OF CAXTON, the reader will find a short critique upon it at page lx. ante. It will be here only necessary to add, on the authority of some original letters of Anstis, that the latter supplied Lewis with an account of the authors of the books printed by Caxton, which he inserted, as Anstis gave him liberty to do, "as his own discoveries"!]

* He was carried to Bristol so soon after his birth, that he was baptized there. Hutchins, ubi sup. Gough.

fant son; and when Mr. Joseph Ames commenced house-keeper, Mr. Russel frequently visited him, and gave him his advice, which Mr. Ames ever after gratefully acknowledged. He introduced him to the acquaintance of Mr. Lewis, with whom he soon formed a friendship that continued as long as Mr. Lewis lived.

Mr. Ames very early discovered a taste for English history and antiquities, which was encouraged by his two friends. Some time before the year 1720, in attending Dr. Desaguliers's lectures, he formed an acquaintance with Mr. Peter Thompson, another native of Poole, an eminent Hamburgh merchant, and member for St. Alban's; a gentleman of great humanity and strong natural parts, who supplied the want of a liberal education by a conversation with men and books.* He was also a lover of our national antiquities, and many years fellow of the Royal and Antiquary Societies, and pursued his mercantile engagements more than 40 years, residing in Mill-street, Bermondsey. This friendship also continued uninterrupted till the death of Mr. Ames; Mr. Thompson, who was knighted when, as Sheriff of Surrey, 1745, he carried up an address to the late king, on the suppression of the Rebellion, having survived till 1770, and purchased many of his manuscripts.

Some time before the year 1730, Mr. Lewis, who had himself collected materials for such a subject,† suggested to Mr. Ames the

* Mr. Oldys, in his *British Librarian*, published in 1737, p. 374, returns many thanks "to Mr. Joseph Ames, member of the Society of Antiquaries, for the use "of one ancient relique of the famous Wicliffe." This was an illuminated MS. on vellum, called "Wicliffe's Pore Caitiff." Mr. Oldys goes on to acknowledge his obligations to Mr. Ames, whom he styles "a worthy preserver of antiquities," and to "his ingenious friend Mr. Peter Thompson, for the use of several printed books, which are more scarce than many Manuscripts; particularly some, set forth by our first printer in England; and others, which will rise, among the curious, in value, as, by the depredations of accidents or ignorance, they decrease in number." Gough.

[Dr. Farmer, in his *Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare*, says that Ames searched after curious and rare books 'with the utmost avidity.']

† Which were purchased at Mr. Ames's sale by Mr. Tutet, and at his sale by Mr. Herbert. Gough.

idea of writing the History of Printing in England. Mr. Ames declined it at first, because Mr. Palmer, a printer, was engaged in a similar work, and because he thought himself by no means equal to an undertaking of so much extent. But when Mr. Palmer's book came out,* it by no means answered the expectations of Mr. Lewis, or Mr. Ames, or those of the public in general. Mr. Ames, therefore, at length consented to apply himself to the task, and, after 25 years spent in collecting and arranging his materials, in which he was largely assisted by Mr. Lewis and other learned friends,† and by the libraries of Lord Orford, Sir Hans Sloane, Mr. Anstis, and many others, published in one volume, 4to. 1749, his "Typographical Antiquities, being an historical account of printing in England, with some Memoirs of our ancient Printers, and a Register of the Books printed by them, from the Year 1471, to the Year 1600 ;

[In the course of his correspondence with Ames, Lewis seems to have betrayed some marks of petulancy or jealousy. "I have no other design," says he, "in being so free with you, than to serve you by doing all I can to promote your credit and reputation. I take it that good sense and judgment, attended with care and accuracy in making and sorting a collection, suits every one's palate ; and that they must have none at all who are delighted with trifles and playthings, fit only for fools and children." Again : 'I can truly say I never took ill any thing which you have written to me ; but heartily wish you well to succeed in the execution of your projects.' *From the original Letter in the possession of Mr. John Nichols.*]

* It was entitled "The General History of Printing, from its first invention in the city of Mentz, to its first progress and propagation through the most celebrated cities in Europe. Particularly its introduction, rise and progress here in England ; the characters of the most celebrated Printers, from the first invention of the art, to the years 1520 and 1550 ; with an account of their works, and of the most considerable improvements which they made to it during that interval. By S. Palmer, Printer. London, 1732." 4to. Mr. Palmer dying before he had completed his work, it was resumed by the famous George Psalmanaazar, who wrote all that relates to the English Printers, making Book III. in about 100 pages, without saying any thing of the Scotch or Irish ; as also the last page of the preface, giving an account of Mr. Palmer's intention of treating of the practical part of printing. ГОУЕН. [Vide also p. lxxiv, ante.]

† Vide p. 15, ante.

with an Appendix concerning Printing in Scotland and Ireland to the same time.* [It contained 598 pages exclusively of the Preface and Index.

* Ames had previously issued the following "Proposals for printing by subscription the History of Printing in England, from the first introduction of it by Caxton, in the year 1474, to the year 1600. Wherein will be shewn its rise, progress, and gradual improvement, with some account of the most eminent men in that art, and their most remarkable performances: the encouragements and discouragements they met with: their privileges, licences, patents, &c. the charter of the Stationers Company, and other remarkable occurrences. Adorned with the heads of some of the most celebrated printers, from the late Earl of Oxford's collection: together with their marks, rebusses, devices, &c. To which will be added an Appendix concerning Printing in Scotland to the same time. As also an Index of Authors, Printers, and Subjects.

By JOSEPH AMES, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, London.

"The whole work, which will contain about 150 sheets in quarto, is near ready, and shall be put to the press as soon as encouragement is given for 200 copies, on a good writing paper, and a neat letter of Mr. Caslon's, of the size of these proposals.

"The price to subscribers will be One Guinea: half to be paid at the time of subscribing, the other at the delivery of the book in sheets, which will be about Lady-day next."

<p>R^{<i>Eceived</i>} <i>this</i> of for</p>	<p>copy of the above-mentioned book; which I promise to deliver, when printed, upon receiving the second payment, according to the terms of these proposals."</p>	<p>174, the sum being the first payment</p>	<p>} l. s. d.</p>
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Ames

This was accompanied by two pages of the commencement of the account of Caxton, and of the first English book printed by him: with the well known wooden cut of the printer prefixed at the top. At the end of his 4to. catalogue of English Printers, presently to be

What was his own opinion on this work, may be seen by his words in the Preface :

“ I do also ingenuously confess, that, in attempting this History

mentioned, is the following notification : ‘ As the History and Progress of PRINTING IN ENGLAND, from the year 1474 to the year 1600, is in good forwardness for the press ; any Gentleman that can give the publisher, *Jos. Ames*, in *Wappin*, some account of these PRINTERS, or add others to them, or oblige him with what may be useful in this undertaking, the favour will be gratefully acknowledged. He being also possessed of the late Mr. Samuel Palmer’s MSS, concerning the practical part of printing, correcting the proof sheets, &c. shewn ; for the use of all persons that may occasionally employ the press ; any hints tending to illustrate this subject, either from professors or others, will be likewise thankfully received.’

I am in possession of the original advertisement of Ames’s work (on the cover of the *Gentleman’s Magazine*) after its publication, in which it is said that ‘ the few unsubscribed copies remaining, are to be had of Mr. J. Robinson, at the Golden Lion in Ludgate Street ; and Mr. Ames’s at the Hermitage, at 2s. stitched. Also his Catalogue of English Heads, in octavo, at 2s. 6d. each.’ The following memorandum is in Ames’s handwriting : ‘ Printed in the Supplement to the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1750, by Mr. Cave : cost 5s. He was one of my Subscribers. Mr. Cave, in his *Gentleman’s Magazine*, for the month of February, 1752, the April following, made some abstracts from my book. He desired of me the use of Caxton’s head in wood, which I lent him.’

Among these extracts, it is properly observed by Cave that ‘ To a curious person Mr. Ames’s book is certainly a great treasure ; for, besides the mutability of our language, may also be remarked the changeableness of the ordinary forms of contract, which seem insensibly to have varied according to the modes of speech.’ *Gent. Mag.* vol. xxii. p. 171.

During the progress of the work, Ames wrote the following letter to his friend Mr. George North ; which shews with what zeal and satisfaction he prosecuted his labours. It is printed from a copy in the handwriting of Herbert—in my possession :

“ Dear Sir,

London, 3d. May, 1748.

“ I am exceedingly obliged to you for the favour of both your Letters and your endeavours to serve me in my pleasant work of the history of English printing, tho’ I have been long about it, yet I am not fatigued or weary. At first reading of your Letter I rejoiced to find so early a specimen of Printing at Cambridge as 1418, but after remembering I had got such a Title down somewhere I at last found I had transcribed from Dr. Mead a book which I conceive the same, therefore desire you would be more critical about it, it runs in the same words, only the size is different ; Thus :

“ *Rhetorica nova Fratris Laurentii Gulielmi de Saona ordinis minorum Compilatum*

of Printing, I have undertaken a task much too great for my abili-

autem fuit hoc opus in Alma Vniuersitate cantabrigie, anno domini 1418, die 6 Julii Quo die festum sancte Marthe recolitur: sub protectione serenissimi Regis Anglorum Edwardi quarti ———— Impressum fuit hoc presens opus Rhetoricæ facultatis apud Villam sancti Albani anno domini m°.cccc°.lxxx°. It is divided into 3 parts, or heads, in a quarto, and printed in Red and Black Ink as you represent; only I fear your's wants the latter end; so I am yet in doubt w^t. to do 'till I have the favour of another from you: If it should be a Cambridge book the same would be more admirable; but I meet with many things I want to be better inform'd of, and should be very thankfull for information, as the ceasing of the Press at Oxford from 1519, to the year 1585.

Cambridge— 1521, ———— 1584.

St. Albans— 1481, ———— 1536.

Tavistock — 1525, ———— 1534.

Scotland— 1510, ———— 1540.

"I can hear of no Books printed between these years. I desire my best respects be return'd to the Revd. Mr. Masters whose receipt I have sign'd and sent inclos'd to you, having by me no other Frank than this, and will thankfully send you down some proposals another opportunity. I am now waiting for the sheet K. of my History of printing from the press and have discovered about 60 Books printed by Caxton which I have been more particular in, because of there scarseness. Upon the whole I please myself it will be the best Catalogue of Old English books that ever appeared. I am good Sir

Your sincere friend &

To the Revernd Mr. George North
at Codicote near Welwin Hertfordshire.
Free, Peter Thompson.

humble Serv^t.
J. AMES.

Ames seems to have been very solicitous about obtaining the Printers' Portraits; although he was not very nice or skilful in passing judgment upon their authenticity. In a letter from him to Maurice Johnson, a copy of which is preserved in the Sloanian MSS, numbered 5151, he says that Sir Anthony Westcomb promised to look out a head of Pynson in his possession. He likewise states that he had got together heads of Caxton, Wynkyn De Worde, Grafton, Day, Wolfe, and Wight; that he had some copies of rebuses, &c. which were Bagford's, and communicated to him by Thomas Baker of Cambridge, who had copied and sent to him what Bagford had collected on English Printing. Speaking of the acquisitions he had made from the Heralds' College, by means of his friend Mr. Anstis, he thus observes: "I wish I could get the same favour at Doctors Commons and the Stationers' Company, Guildhall, &c. *Some of those persons treat folks as if they came as spies into their affairs.*" D.

ties, the extent of which I did not so well perceive at first; but though it is not so perfect a work as I could wish, yet such as it is, I now submit it to the publick, and hope, when they consider in what obscurity and confusion printing in its infancy was involved, they will acknowledge that I have at least cleared away the rubbish, and furnished materials towards a more perfect structure.”*

The opinion of others may be learned from the extract from the “*Nova Acta Eruditorum*,” for the year 1754, p. 523 and seq. in the note below.†

* For the present Editor's opinion of Ames's work, vide p. 15, ante.

† “*Artium origines plerumque dubiæ sunt & obscuræ, nec punctum illud, quo cœperunt, facileprehenditur ab iis, qui aliquibus seculis post inventas tales artes animum ad conscribendam earum historiam appellant. Idem fatum typographicam artem mansit; et non minus acriter de ejus in suam patriam introductione Angli inter se certarunt, quam de prima ejusdem inventione inter Germanos & Batavos fuit disceptatum. Plerique primam Oxoniæ typographiam fuisse contendunt, & Caxtonum jam A. C. 1461 suam eo artem attulisse probare satagunt. Recentiores ubi rem curatius examinarunt, & in loco & in tempore erratum fuisse odorati sunt, partim etiam argumentis non contemnendis idem probatum dederunt. Hos inter referendi sunt Conyers Middleton, in ‘*Dissertatione de origine typographiæ in Anglia*, 1735 in lucem edita, & Anglico sermone conscripta; Joannes Lewisius. Ad priorem classem pertinent Richardus Atkinsius, in ‘*Origine & progressu artis typographiæ*,’ quem librum 1664 edidit; Josephus Moxon, in ‘*Exercitationibus typographicis*,’ 1683, editis; Samuel Palmerius, in ‘*Historia typographiæ*,’ 1733, in lucem evulgata. Quam Antonius Wood in notissimis ejus ‘*Athenis Oxoniensibus*’ sententiam foverit satis constat. Quæ autem Joannes Bagford ea de re senserit, nobis non liquet, cum ejus scripta, quantum scimus, nondum edita sint. Allegantur hi auctores a nostro: sed raro, & litibus eorum ipse vix unquam se immiscet. Ea scilicet esse in doles ‘*Amesii*’ videtur, ut a disceptationibus abhorreat. Suam potius industriam ita lectori probare studet, ut nihil afferat nisi quod ipse vidit, aut e certis rerum monumentis hausit. Eum in finem, non modo ipse sibi non contemnendam copiam vetustissimorum & rarissimorum librorum comparavit: sed bibliothecas etiam, & publicas & privatas, magno studio perquisivit, tum quoque doctorum virorum ope & auxilio adjutus fuit. Ordo, quem mente concepit, & quem tenuit, est partim geographicus, partim chronologicus. Primum Angliæ, tum Scotiæ, tandem Hybernæ, historiam typographicam proponit. In Anglia ordinem primo civitatum servat, & ultimo loco generalem, quam vocat, typographiæ historiam addit. In hæc partim illos libros recenset, qui ab Anglis extra Angliam impressi sunt, partim spicilegium inserit eorum tum operum, tum documentorum, quæ in prioribus omissa fuerant. Ubique, & typographos, & libros ab ipsis impressos, secundam*

The work was inscribed to Philip Lord Hardwicke, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. Mr. Ames was then fellow of the Royal

seriem annorum collocat; tum illos libros, ubi annus impressionis non constat, in fine ponit. Initium ubique facit vita typographi, quantum de ea constare potuit: tum libri sequuntur, quos impressit. Adduntur privilegia typographis concessa, si quæ reperiri potuerunt, nonnunquam etiam icones, symbola, emblemata, æri incisa. Signa præcipua variorum typographorum in fronte libri conspiciuntur; alia, cum iconibus, & specimine typorum, ipsi textui sunt inserta, vel peculiaribus tabulis incisa. Librorum vetustissimorum initium & finem apponit noster, ut ii, qui hos libros possident mutilatos, eos complere queant; quod consilium magnopere laudamus. Diligentiam ubique adhibet summam, & notas hinc inde addit, ne catalogum tantum librorum edere videatur. Complectitur autem hoc opus libros in Britannia impressos ab anno 1474 usque ad annum 1600. Nec negari potest, compilationes annalium typographicorum multis in locis inde augeri posse aut emendari. Liceat & nobis inde quædam excerptare, quæ alibi non facile invenias, & quæ tamen notari merentur. Typographorum enim catalogum hic inserere vix operæ pretium fore putamus. Id solum monemus, vitam primi in Anglia typographi Gulielmi Caxtoni a Joanne Lewisio, A. C. 1737, esse evulgatam. Primus quem Caxtonus impressit Coloniae A. C. 1471, liber, fuit 'Historia Troiana, ex Gallico Radulphi Fabri, ab ipso Caxtono in Anglicum sermonem translata. [pag. 2.] Anno C. 1474 primum in Anglia librum prelo subjectit, de 'ludo Seacchorum. [pag. 5.] Obiter notamus, nostrum affirmare, anno demum 1457 artem typographicam fuisse inventam. Prius autem hoc factum fuisse ex nostris auctoribus satis constat. Caxtonus ipse Anglus fuit: illi autem, qui proxime ab ipso secuti sunt, ex Germania aut Belgio in Angliam venerunt, partim etiam Caxtono in Germania socii fuerunt. In his imprimis notandus venit Wynandus (Wynken vel Wynkyn) de Worde [p. 79]. Hic primus in Anglia typis Arabicis, Hebraicis, & Chaldaicis usus est, cum A. C. 1524, Roberti Wakefeldi librum imprimeret, cui titulus: 'de laudibus & utilitate trium linguarum, Arabicæ, Chaldaicæ, & Hebraicæ, atque idiomatibus Hebraicis, quæ in utroque testamento inveniuntur. [p. 96]. In 'novis statutis' a Richardo Pinsono A. C. 1497, impressis, reperitur declaratio Richardi II. Urbanum VI. verum et indubitatum esse Papem, quæ postea in aliis editionibus omissa, & hinc supposititia, aut nunquam edita putata fuit. [p. 113.] Idem Pinson impressit 'Missale ad usum insignis & preclare ecclesie Sarum,' ex quo libro desponsationum formulas tunc usitatas noster adducit, [p. 116.] quales etiam postea, [p. 136 & 213.] ex aliis missalibus affert. In 'sermone' quandam 'Fratri Hieronymi de Ferrara,' quem idem Pinsonus, A. C. 1509, prelo subjectit, primos impressos diphthongos notavit noster: primam autem Romano seu 'albo caractere' impressam vidit orationem Richardi Pacci, A. C. 1518, a Pinsono excusam. Ex libro 'consuetudines Londinenses' dicto, & A. C. 1521, a Pinsono divulgato, notat auctor, [p. 123] regis tunc patrimonium (livelihood) 5000 libras per annum: expensas autem domesticas 24000, fuisse. Apponit nomina vicecomitum (sheriffs) in Anglia, ex

and Antiquary Societies, and secretary to the latter of these learned bodies. He was elected F. A. S. March 3, 1736; and on the resig-

'Tabula libri assisarum & placitorum coronæ' a Joanne Rastello impressa. [p. 142.] Idem Rastellus [p. 143] primam 'statutorum' Anglica lingua epitomen edidit, ex qua præfatio typographi hic apponitur. [p. 147]. De monetæ in Anglia variatione, ex libro, cui titulus: 'Oblectamentum populi,' quem idem Rastellus impressit, notatu digna adducuntur. Raynoldus Wolf primus fuit, qui regia auctoritate, Latinis, Græcis, Hebraicisque typis usus est. [p. 224] Librum, qui inscribitur, *Χριστιανισμοῦ Στοιχείωσις, εἰς τὴν τῶν παιδῶν ὑφέλειαν Ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ Ἀλβανιστὶ ἐκδοθεῖσα*, & quem Joannes Day, A. C. 1578, impressit, æqualem esse Stephanarum editionibus pronuntiat noster. Thomas Gibson, typographus, primas in N. Test. 'concordantias composuit A. C. 1535, [pag. 186]: Joannes Merbeck autem in universa Biblia. Has Richardus Grafton impressit, [p. 199] qui & "Alcoranum Franciscanorum" prelo commisit. [p. 212]. Formulæ in baptismo usitatæ ex 'manuali ad usum percelebris ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis,' per Joannem Waylandum impresso, allegantur. Ex epistola quadam Joannis Elders ad Robertum Stuardum, episcopum Cathaniensem, forma corporis Philippi, Hispaniarum regis, fuse & curiose describitur, & de unione Anglicanæ ecclesiæ cum Romano-catholica disseritur. [p. 213.] Primum prelum versatile adhibitum fuit ad librum Anglicum, cui titulus: 'Nativitas hominum,' alias, 'liber mulierum,' quem impressit A. C. 1543 Thomas Raynaldus. [p. 219]. Gulielmi Seris typographi ætate, librarii, privilegia typographis concessa ipsis extorquere cupientes nihil effecere. [p. 247]. Liber, cui titulus, 'Anglorum prælia,' &c. auctore Christophoro Oclando, in omnibus scholis legi & exponi jubetur. [p. 314] Liber ille Athæus Jordani Bruni: 'Spaccio della Bestia trionfante,' a Thoma Vautrollier, A. C. 1540, impressus, 28 libris postea venditus fuit. [p. 356]. Oxoniensis quidem academia satis cita typographos accepit, [p. 437]: sed anno jam 1468, quod plures volunt, 'Hieronymi expositionem in symbolum apostolorum' ibidem fuisse impressam a nostro recte exploditur. Miramur Palmerii eum ne verbulo quidem meminisse, qui p. 128 & 132. suæ 'historiæ' omnes nervos intendit, ut Caxtono hunc librum vindicaret, & nova, ut id probaret, argumenta ex chronico quodam vetere, & manuscriptis, produceret. Sed nec chronicon illud, quod ipse fatetur Palmerius, fidem meretur, nec cetera id argumenta evincere possunt, & jam Middletonus, Lewisius que, odorati sunt in numero anni ab impressore fuisse erratum, & legendum esse 1478 non 1468; quod eo magis nobis arridet, quo plura exempla extant, annum impressionis falso fuisse indicatum. Caxtonum illum librum non impressisse, ex forma typorum probat noster. Primus Cantabrigiæ impressus liber 1478 fuit, 'Fratris Laurencii Gulielmi de Saona, ordinis minorum, Sacre Theologie doctoris, nova rhetorica.' [p. 455] Idem primus fuit liber in fano S. Albani, impressus. [p. 463]. De 'chronico S. Albani,' seu 'fructu temporis,' fusior notitia lectori suppeditatur. [p. 464]. 'Eboraci' primus, quem vidit noster, per Hugonem Goës impressus fuit liber A. C. 1509, 'Pica, sive 'directorium Sacerdotum. [p. 467.] Tavistokiæ A. C. 1525. impressa fuit translatio Anglica 'Boëtii de con-

nation of Alexander Gordon, previous to his going to settle in Carolina, 1741, was appointed secretary. In 1754, the Rev. William Norris was associated with him; and on his decease became sole secretary till 1784. The minutes of the Society in the earlier periods

solatione philosophiæ, per Thomam Rychardum, monachum, quem noster pro illo typographo habet, qui postea Parisiis inclaruit. [p. 461]. Sudovercæ Petrus Treveris, A. C. 1514, impressit 'Catonis disticha,' & postea plures alios libros. [p. 470.] Cantuariæ primus, nempe 'Psalmorum,' liber impressus fuit A. C. 1550, per Joannem Mychell. [p. 474]. 'Ipswici' seu 'Gypswichi,' Joannes Oswen primus, A. C. 1549. [p. 475]. 'Wallienses,' vel 'Cambrienses,' varii allegantur typographi, sine anno [p. 477]. 'Grenovici' unus liber A. C. 1554, impressus fuit, [p. 479.] quem tamen pro suppositio, [p. 410.] habere noster videtur. 'Nodovici Antonius de Solmpre' primus, quantum constat, libros impressit. [p. 481]. 'Moulseiæ' autem Martinus Marprelate. [p. 482]. In 'historia typographiæ generali' disseritur de Joannis Wiclefi dialogis, libro rarissimo. [p. 490]; item de prima N. T. Anglici per Thomam Tyndallium facta editione. [p. 499]. De alia N. T. translatione Anglica, ejus auctorem nescit noster, multa specimina proferuntur. De librariorum in Anglia privilegiis, antiquitate, & numero, pluribus exponit Amesius [p. 520.]. Privilegia, quæ typographis sunt concessa, plura, quædam etiam notatu digna, partim ex Rymero, partim ex aliis manuscriptis, etiam inseruntur [p. 521.]. In Scotia primus, qui reperitur, liber est 'Breviarium Aberdoniensis ecclesiæ,' [p. 573] A. C. 1509, impressus. In Hybernica, Dublini prelum primus exercuit 'liber precum, A. C. 1551, in officina Humphredi Powelli [p. 496.] A. C. 1749, eleganter libros ibidem impressos fuisse a nostro docemur. [p. 597]." Gough.

[I am in possession of an original letter of Emanuel Mendes da Costa to Ames, accompanying a transcript of these Latin quotations, with an English translation. The letter is as follows :

Bearbinder Lane, 14 September, 1759.

" My dear friend Jo :

" I herewith send you a latin copy of all the article in the Nova Acta Eruditorum for 1754 p. 523 et seq.—of your History of Printing, and likewise an English translation of it, all as you desired. I wish you would shew it to our friend Massey, to see if it be rightly translated, and to rectify what mistakes he finds. I likewise send you your History of Printing borrowed. I hope you have performed your desire to your satisfaction, for be assured I shall always strive to pleasure you in what I can, for I am sincerely

Your very obliged friend and servant

My service to Miss Ames.

Emanuel Mendes da Costa.]

of it were barely outlines of the proceedings of each meeting;* for no secretary, before the present, had an idea of giving abridgements of papers, however indispensably necessary, before the finances of the Society enabled them to print the memoirs themselves. This office gave Mr. Ames further opportunities of gratifying his native curiosity by the communications as well as conversation of the literati; and these opportunities were further enlarged by his election into the Royal Society, and the particular friendship shewn to him by Sir Hans Sloane, then president, who nominated him one of the trustees in his will.

The circumstances of Mr. Ames's death are thus related by his friend, Sir Peter Thompson, in a short account of him, from whence the principal parts of this life are extracted: "After he had dined heartily with Sir Peter, Oct. 7, 1759, he went to Mr. Romelô's, in Basinghall-street, to see some curiosities, drank some coffee, and stayed there till past seven o'clock, when he and another friend, an ironmonger in St. Clement's-lane, whose name is not mentioned, departed to their respective homes. As they passed by the Royal Exchange, Mr. Ames was seized with a violent fit of coughing, which brought on a profuse perspiration, and lasted near a quarter of an hour. When he had recovered himself, his friend asked him to come into his house in Clement's lane, and sup with him. Mr. Ames complied with his invitation, in order to rest himself, and sat himself down on the first thing which presented itself in the shop. His friend desired him to remove into a chair in the counting-house, which he had no sooner done, than he expired without a sigh or groan. He was immediately put into a warm bed, and medical assistance called in; but without effect. He was removed to his own

* A copy of the minutes of the Society of Antiquaries, from 1717 to 1750, in 2 vols. fol. was bought by Mr. Walpole, at Mr. Ames's sale, for 15 guineas. Gough. [At the sale of Mr. Tutet's books [Bibl. Tutet. n°. 381.] 'A Journal of the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, from Jan. 1, 1718, to June 9, 1732, inclusive,' was sold for £4. 1s.]

house the next day; and from thence to the church-yard of St. George in the East, Oct. 14, 1759, where he was deposited at the depth of 8 feet in virgin earth, in a stone coffin, on the lid of which was the following inscription, drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Richard Flexman :

Depositum
JOSEPHI AMES,
Regiæ societatis Londinensis sodalis
et
Antiquariorum secretarii, qui Antiquitati
exquirendæ studiosissime addictus
Antiquitates Typographicas Britannicas
Indefesso labore et diligentia
per annos viginti quinque accurate edidit.
Modestiâ, Probitate, & Benevolentia
currente vita se gessit.
Tussi correptus violentâ subito sed placide
decessit.
Nonis Octobris,
A. D.
1759.
Ætatis 71.

Over the grave was placed a ledger-stone, having on the under side the following inscription, drawn up by his friend Mr. William Massey :

Hic conditæ jacent
Reliquiæ mortales JOSEPHI AMES,
Regiæ Societatis Londinensis sodalis
et
Societatis ibidem Antiquariorum secretarii;
Qui
Antiquitatibus exquirendis studiosissime deditus
Indefesso labore, parique diligentia,
Historiam apud Britannos typographicam
per annos viginti quinque concinnavit,
Annoque Domini 1749 in vulgum edidit.

Módestiâ, Probitate, & Benevolentia
per totum vitæ curriculum
sese gessit.

Tussi tandem violentâ correptus,
qua tamen paulo post sedata,
subito sed placide mortem obiit

Nonis Octobribus,

A° D.

1759.

suæque ætatis 71.

Αποθανων εις λαλῆσαι. Heb. xi. 4.

And on the upper side of the ledger-stone this in English :

Here lie interred
The mortal remains of Mr. JOSEPH AMES, F. R. S.
likewise Fellow and Secretary
to the Antiquarian Society of London,
Author of the History of Printing in Great Britain,
who died the 7th of October, 1759,
aged 71.

He being dead yet speaketh.

The following paragraph, inserted in the Public Advertiser, the Tuesday after his decease, contains his real character :

“ Last Sunday evening died, after a violent fit of coughing, Mr. Joseph Ames, author of the History of Printing in England, fellow of the Royal Society, and secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, for which station he was eminently qualified by an inquisitive genius and assiduous application. His judicious taste in manuscripts, medals, and other curiosities, will be submitted to the publick decision by the large and valuable collection he has left behind him. His amiable simplicity of manners, exemplary integrity and benevolence in social life, greatly endeared him to all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.”

Much as we are indebted to the eccentric Mr. Mores for his ac-

count of our founders* we cannot forbear noticing his harsh censure of Mr. Ames as an “arrant blunderer,” supposed to have made English of the *Wetsteins*, and called them the *Westons*.’ Mr. Bagford committed a similar error in changing *Wenceslaus Hollar* into *William Hillier*. Mr. Mores adds more truly, Mr. Ames “was unlearned, yet useful: he collected antiquities, and particularly old title-pages and heads of authors, which he tore out and maimed the books: for the first of these crimes he made some amends by his *Typographical Antiquities*; for the second by his *Catalogue of English Heads*, taken from the collection of Mr. Nickolls. This performance is not to be despised.”† Mr. Mores proceeds with a just invective against *portrait fanciers*, compared with whom Mr. Ames was but one sinner among many.

Mr. Ames’s collection of coins, natural curiosities, inscriptions, and antiquities, were sold by Mr. Langford, Feb. 20 and 21, 1760. His library of books and manuscripts and his prints, May 5—12, 1760, by the same auctioneer. Many of the books had notes by him; and among the MSS. besides a number of valuable historical and oriental transcripts, were

Several Saxon homilies, &c. by Mr. Elstob and his learned sister, purchased for a very small sum by the late James West, Esq. and at his sale by John Maddison, Esq.

A folio volume, handsomely bound in Turkey, inscribed *John Bull doctor of musique, organiste and gentleman of her Majesty’s most honourable chappell*; the ruled paper of which is marked in every sheet

* For the title of this curious and rare performance, vide p. cxxi, post. A Supplement of a quarter of a sheet (or four pages) was published by Mr. John Nichols; which should accompany the original work. D.

† *Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies*, p. 85. Mr. Nichols thus informs us of the cause of Mores’s bitter treatment of Ames. ‘A dispute,’ says he, ‘which I am told he had with the Society of Antiquaries appears to have long lain rankling in his heart, and here bursts out in a dreadful storm on Mr. Ames their Secretary.’ p. 98. The reader will make his own comment on a line of conduct so perfectly odious and contemptible!! D.

with T. E. the initials of Thomas East, who printed music under the patent granted to Thomas Tallis and William Birde, by Queen Elizabeth, 1575, for 21 years; few however of the tunes have the words put to them or the name of the composer; and Dr. Bull's name is not there, but only those of other persons, so that it is probable he was only owner of the book.*

A transcript of King Alfred's translation of Orosius' "*Hormesta Mundi*," purchased by Mr. Pegge, and published with a literal English translation by the Hon. Daines Barrington, 1773, 8vo.

Mr. Lewis's *History and Antiquities of Feversham*, with many MS. notes by the author.

Mr. Lewis's *History and Antiquities of the Isle of Thanet*, with many MS. notes and additions, by the author, drawings, plans, &c. it having been Mr. Lewis's own copy, and by him left to Mr. Ames.

Both these were bought by James late Lord Bishop of Hereford, came afterwards into the hands of Mr. Gulston, and on the sale of his library became my property; as are also Gardiner's *Antiquities of Dunwich*, with MS. notes by Mr. Ames; Coker's *Survey of Dorsetshire*, with MS. additions by Mr. Ames and Mr. Lewis; Martin's *Western Islands*, 1716, with MS. notes by Mr. Toland and Lord Viscount Molesworth; and Dugdale's *View of the Troubles of England*, with MS. notes by the author.†

Mr. Palmer's *History of Printing*, with a number of MS. notes, by Mr. Ames, and heads of the early printers; and an essay towards the *History of Printing in England*, by the Rev. Mr. Lewis, dated May 15, 1739.

The second volume of Mr. Palmer's work on the practical part of printing ready for press.

A variety of letters concerning printing, from Mr. Lewis, Mr.

* See *Ward's Gresham Professors*, p. 208. Gough.

† These are now in the Bodleian Library, along with the entire and matchless topographical collection of Mr. Gough. D.

Ballard, Mr. Rawlinson, Mr. North, Mr. Anstis, Mr. Thomas Baker, and others, purchased by Mr. Tutet.*

Mr. Ames's History of Printing, in two volumes, interleaved with a great number of MS. additions and notes by himself. This copy, with the plates, blocks, and copy right to the same, were purchased by his friend Sir Peter Thompson for nine pounds, and sold by him to Mr. Herbert,† who, from his own valuable library, and the access he has had to the royal and others, the assistance of his friends, and his own unwearied assiduity, during a course of 25 years, may flatter himself he has ascertained the rise and progress of the typographic art in these kingdoms, to as full an extent as any one man's life and application can attain; still however convinced, by continually recurring experience, that additions may be made even to this collection, as well as mistakes corrected in it.

Mr. Ames's collection of title-pages to books, from 1474 to 1700, in three volumes, folio, with several bundles more, and of title-pages alphabetically arranged according to the place where printed, in two more folio volumes; a written title-page with a curious border, containing some thousand letters cut in wood, a folio volume, bound in Russia, were purchased by Mr. Walpole; a collection of initial letters, from the beginning of printing, with some notes by Mr. Ames;

* Purchased at Mr. Tutet's sale [Bibl. Tutet, n°. 375] for £1. 2s. by Mr. G. Nicol. See also nos. 376-7—which two other similar articles were purchased by Dr. Southgate. Many of Ames's materials are now in the British Museum, bound in one volume, among the Sloanian MSS. marked n°. 5151.

† This book is now in my collection; although considerably shorn of its former honours. It came into the possession of young Mr. Herbert, on the decease of his uncle; and by him was disposed of to Mr. Manson, the bookseller, of Gerard Street. Mr. Manson marked it in one of his catalogues at £20; and it lay several years in his shop without a purchaser. At length it was sold to a Mr. * * * * *, and latterly was obtained by Mr. Fisk, the bookseller, who sold it to me for £50, on the assurance of a rival purchaser's having offered £48. for it. It is, no doubt, a very curious and valuable interleaved copy; although $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of it have been published. The particulars given at p. 34-6, ante [note] are taken from this copy. See too the Life of Herbert, post. Mr. Lowe, the bookseller, had once marked this interleaved copy at £26. 5s. At any rate, it is an interesting memorial of the invincible perseverance of Herbert. D.

and a catalogue of Caxton's books, portraits and devices of printers ; making in the whole seven large portfolios, and three bundles, were purchased by Mr. West, and at his sale, 1773, by Mr. Bull.*

Besides his great work, Mr. Ames printed " a Catalogue of English Printers, from 1471 to 1700," in 4to. (2 leaves) intended to accompany the proposals for the former.

" An Index to Lord Pembroke's Coins."†

" A Catalogue of English Heads, or an account of about 2000 prints, describing what is peculiar on each, as the name, title, or office of the person, the habit, posture, age, or time, when done, the name of the painter, graver, scraper, &c. and some remarkable particulars relating to their lives, 1748." 8vo. This was a kind of Index to the ten volumes of English Portraits, which had been collected by Mr. John Nickolls, F. R. and A. SS. of Ware, in Hertfordshire, in 4 volumes, folio, and 6 in 4to ; and after his death in 1745, were pur-

* They are at present in the collection of Miss Bull ; a lady, who by the magnificence of her illustrated copy of the Bible, and other splendid works in her library, seems to have even eclipsed the book-celebrity of her brother. D.

† ' The noble cabinet of the EARL OF PEMBROKE was published in 1746, in a thick quarto, containing 308 copper plates, under the title of ' Numismata Antiqua in tres partes divisa ; collegit olim, et ære incidi vivens curavit, Thomas Pembrochiæ et Montis Gomerici Comes.' It is a naked work, without a syllable of letter-press ; however, it was a noble present to the publick ; his lordship, the son of the above Earl, giving the perquisites of the publication to his Gentleman, as I have heard, for whose benefit the copies were disposed of at £1. 11s. 6d. ; but now [1770] they are sold commonly at three guineas. The credit and value of this performance depends very much on the ability and accuracy of the antiquary employed in it. However, I cannot say the coins are well-disposed ; there are too many titles which breeds confusion, and makes it difficult to consult. Certainly it would have been better to have placed all the coins together that belong to one prince, as is usually done, and at the end to have made a copious index in respect of reverses and their subjects. The late Mr. Joseph Ames, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, and F. R. S. compiled an index to the book, which he distributed as presents amongst his friends ; but it does not in the least remedy the evil complained of above, &c. A judicious critical commentary on these plates would be a performance highly acceptable to the learned world. So Mr. Wise, in Præf. p. xiii. concerning his book, ' Finito Catalogo Commentarium adjungere visum est, sine quo is parùm utilis esset Tyronibus.' *Anonymiana*, p. 432. Published by Mr. J. Nichols, 1809, 8vo.

chased for 80 guineas by the late Dr. Fothergill. Mr. Ames dedicated his catalogue to Mr. West, "well knowing," as he says, "that if ever these increase to another volume, it must be from his valuable treasure.*" Mr. Granger resumed Mr. Ames's work about twenty years after;† and we have only to regret, that the interval since the

* This treasure, on the death of Mr. West, was *cut up* and sold by auction by Mr. Langford. GOUGH.

[The Catalogue is thus dedicated :

"To the Honourable JAMES WEST.

"As you are deservedly in high esteem among the ANTIQUARIES for your great learning, extensive capacity, valuable and useful collections, permit me, among your admirers, to dedicate this small endeavour to perpetuate the memory of such English persons, as had been collected by Mr. NICHOLLS, F. R. S. well knowing, that if ever these encrease to another volume, it must be from your valuable treasure.

"In hopes of your acceptance and approbation, I subscribe myself

Your most humble, and

Most obedient Servant,

JOSEPH AMES.'

This is succeeded by a short Preface, thus: "This first attempt to describe the 'Prints of ENGLISH HEADS' will meet, I hope, the favour of the curious; as here they may find several particulars not unworthy their notice; besides others, very considerable; to know the time of the Birth, Death, and most memorable Actions of many persons, not to be found in any other records, alone must recommend its usefulness to gentlemen, historians, painters, engravers, and all lovers of the antiquities of this nation.

"The method is not yet so good as it might be; I have chosen the alphabetical to each of these ten volumes, being they are one person's entire collection. These are not always found out by the name, but often by the title, or office, so when you cannot find the head you want by one appellation, look for another. In this catalogue I call those English, who, though born elsewhere, have been naturaliz'd, or have enjoy'd some place of dignity, or office, in the British government."

At the end are his Proposals for printing his Typographical Antiquities. D.

† Mr. Granger's "Biographical History of England" was first printed in 4 vols.

period which Mr. Granger assigned to himself, has not been yet attended to, while the rapid improvement in the art of engraving daily multiplies its subjects to such an amount.

The last of Mr. Ames's literary labours was the drawing up the "Parentalia, or Memoirs of the family of Wren," 1750, in one volume, folio, from the papers of Mr. Wren.*

At Mr. Ames's expence was engraved on a scale one third of the original, a Greek inscription, in honour of Crato, the musician of Pergamus, erected in the reign of Eumenes, King of Pergamus, 150 years before the Christian æra, brought from the village of Segucque, in Asia Minor, between Smyrna and Ephesus, by Captain Thomas Morley, 1732, and preserved at the house of Mr. Timothy Tennant, in Wapping; and at the sale of Mr. Ames's coins and antiquities purchased by General Campbell. The plate is dedicated to the Society of Antiquaries.†

4to. 1769; a supplemental volume of the same size 1774; a 2d edition, with all the additions, &c. incorporated in 4 vols. 8vo. 1775. Gough.

[The fourth and last edition, with a portrait of the author prefixed to the first volume, was published in 1804 in 4 vols. 8vo. 'A Continuation' to this work, by the Rev. MARK NOBLE, was published in 3 vols. 8vo. 1806.]

* The title sets forth that they were published by Stephen Wren, Esq. grandson of Sir Christopher, "with the care of Joseph Ames, F. R. S. and Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, London." Gough.

[There is a complete analysis of this work in the *Librarian*, [vol. ii. from p. 241 to 277] published by Mr. James Savage. The portraits, 4 in number, are in mezzotinto: exclusively of these, there are ten plates of views, plans, &c. A fine copy of the book is now scarce and dear.]

† From an original letter of Ames to Lewis, we have the following curious and rather interesting account of the circumstances attending the discovery of this inscription; as well as a specimen of Ames's talents in addressing the learned body to whom the print is dedicated:

"I am to wait on the Archbishop of Canterbury with Mr. Maittaire, to present one of my inscriptions to him. I am told he is the same free gentleman he was when at Oxon, and a great lover of Greek antiquities. I have sent you three of them on large paper, such as I presented the society with, from whom I received many thanks after I read to

Mr. Ames was also possessed of the ancient marble pillar from Alexandria, with the Cufic inscription, purchased since by the late

them my speech by Mr. Gordon, which I will just transcribe for you, because it gives some further account of the stone, and you being so intimate with me.

“ Gentlemen,

“ I have presumed to dedicate the copy of a very ancient Greek inscription to you; it was erected to the honour of CRATO, a Musician, Priest, and Judge of the Games in the days of Eumenes, King of Pergamus, above 150 years before Christ, and now present to your acceptance a *proof*; in testimony of the affection I bear to this Society for the honor they did me in admitting me a member thereof.

“ Some of you, Gentlemen, may expect from me a further account of this marble than that I have given beneath the copy of the Inscription: Please therefore to know that Captain Thomas Morley, near Colchester, in Essex, in the year 1732, then using the Turkey trade, brought this stone with some others from Segegick or Segyceque, his loading place, between Smyrna and Ephesus: I think the ancient Teos. It was then a support to an ancient out-house, belonging to a barber, of whom the Captain purchased it; and with timber his men built up the house again to satisfaction. At the Captain's arrival at London, he presented it to his brother-in-law Mr. Timothy Tennant, my friend and neighbour,—with whom it yet remains.

“ I being highly pleased with such a large, fine, ancient inscription, soon applied myself to draw it out, and presented it to the Hon. Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. who put it into the hands of Mr. Maittaire to be published as an appendix to the Oxford Marbles, which he did, but yet only with the letter: so that several gentlemen have desired me to exhibit the Inscription as on the stone itself, on a single sheet; that the exact form and shape of the stone and letters might be had at one view, which I have made to a scale of 4 inches to 12 on the stone.

“ Many observations might be made both on the form and matter, as the manner of writing only with Capitals, or what we now call Initials; and without any distinction of words, but flowing on to the end of a sentence. Their form of drawing up Publick Decrees, and dating them from their kings and great men; their usages and customs at that time, and for what their honours were due, viz. Virtue and Benevolence. I add no more but may it meet your approbation is the wishes of Gent^{rs}.

Your very humble Servt.

2nd March, 1737.

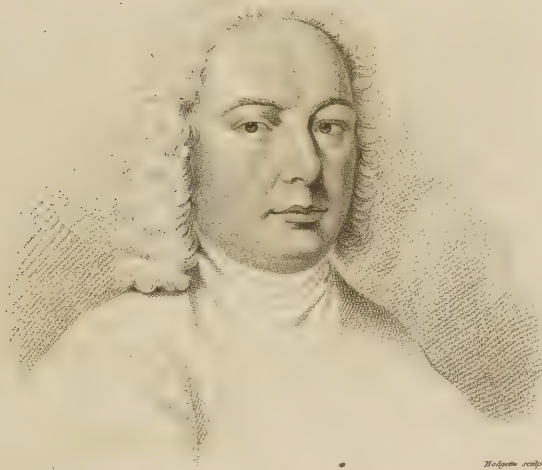
J. AMES.”

In the possession of Mr. J. Nichols. D.

Mr. West, and the late Gustavus Brander, Esq. with all the letters from Dr. Hunt, Mr. Costard, and Mr. Bohun, illustrating it; and it was by him presented to the Society of Antiquaries, and engraved and published in their *Archæologia*, vol. VIII. pl. I. p. 1.

Mr. Ames (as we before observed) married April 12, 1714, Mary, daughter of Mr. Wrayford, merchant of London, who died August 12, 1734; and by whom he had six children. Only one daughter, Mary, survived her mother. She was born Nov. 21, 1759, and married, after her father's decease, to Edward Dampier, late Commander of the Sea-horse East Indiaman, which he quitted in 1772, and is now Deputy Surveyor of shipping to the East India Company and descended from, or related to, the Voyager of that name.

R. G.



Joseph Ames. Sec. S.A.

Vide p. 1

HERBERT'S PREFACE.*

THE origin of that art which, by multiplying letters, is intitled to the first place after the invention of letters themselves, (though it gives light to all other arts) remains itself in obscurity. It has been the subject of repeated discussions. Mr. Meerman is the

* The Preface, published with the first volume, was preceded by this "ADVERTISEMENT"—

"It is now a considerable time since i published proposals for printing by subscription the *Typographical Antiquities*, &c. begun by the late Mr. Ames, with large additions from materials collected by myself, which, though very numerous, i then apprehended might be comprised in another volume of the same size and type as Mr. Ames's. In the beginning of the undertaking it was suggested to me by a friend, to whose judgement i pay great regard, that it would be more acceptable to the public if illustrated with some further account of the books than the bare titles, of which many given by Mr. Ames were so abridged as to convey a very imperfect idea of their contents; that so this edition might not be a mere catalogue of books. Desirous of giving every satisfaction, and rendering my endeavours as useful as possible, i proceeded on this plan for some time without reflecting how greatly the work by this means increased under my hands. On the suggestion of another respectable friend that my book would be very defective unless i procured the entries of copies licensed by the master and wardens of the Stationers' company, i applied to Mr. Lockyer Davis, of whose readiness to oblige on such occasions i was well assured, and by his kind intercession with the Court of Assistants, leave was granted me to have the use of their Register Books; for which great favour i desire him, with them, to accept my best thanks. The proper extracts from those large folio volumes could not be made without a considerable delay of the press; but the work has hereby been enriched with several memoirs concerning the printers, and books printed with license distinguished from those printed without, &c. and this with the introduction of a number of books of which we had before no knowledge, will i hope make ample compensation for the delay. In the mean time my printed proposals served as a powerful application to gentlemen who had any materials proper for this work, for a communication of them, that it might be as complete as possible; and this had the desired effect, by producing

last* who has written on it, and he has endeavoured to reconcile some difficulties on this head in his "Origines Typographicae," printed in 1765; and translated and abridged by Mr. Bowyer, in his two Essays on the Origin of Printing, 1784.

The more we reflect on the accidental discovery by Laurentius, of the effect produced by concave wooden types, the more we wonder that the mechanics of antiquity should never have applied the con-

many intelligences which have embellished even more than they have enlarged it. These kindnesses also were conferred on me, in so obliging a manner as i could never have expected, by gentlemen whose names and characters are above any commendations from me, and whose favours i desire ever to remember with the utmost gratitude.

At length perceiving that with all this additional matter the work could not be comprised in two volumes, though much larger than Mr. Ames's, i was apprehensive lest such of my subscribers as are unacquainted with me might be led to think hardly of the addition of another volume. Such persons, though i hope their number is but small, i must beg candidly to consider the above-stated facts, and whether they would not have censured me more had such improvements been neglected; and that though i have deviated from my proposals by the increase of a volume, and proportionably of the price, yet more than ten sheets above the proposed quota have been added to this first volume; neither is the work spun out by unnecessary blanks. If the extracts were at first too large, they were calculated for the benefit of persons not possessed of those early-printed books; such specimens having been accounted the most entertaining part of Mr. Ames's book. This objection however is obviated in the latter part of this volume, either by omitting such quotations entirely, or where thought useful, casting them into the notes.

It is a great satisfaction that this volume has obtained the approbation of those of my subscribers, who have seen it, and wished me to deliver it without staying for the remaining volumes. In compliance with their wish i now offer it to the public.

The second volume is in the press, and printing with all convenient speed; but as great care has been, and will be taken, in retaining entirely the original orthography, &c. (a circumstance greatly neglected by Mr. Ames's printer) it cannot proceed with so much expedition as i could wish.

W. H.

N. B. The notes by the present editor have the letter D subjoined.

* The following authors, since the treatise of Meerman, have published works relating to the history of ancient printing: viz. Heineken, Breitkopf, Wurdwein, Audiffredi, Lambinet, Bandini, Peignot, Renouard, and Santander—most, if not all, of whom are referred to by name in the preceding and subsequent pages. The treatises in the *Memoires de L'Institut* and in our *Archæologia* may also be mentioned. D.

cavity of their metal inscriptions to the same use as those of their intaglios, and their liquid colours or inks to an use similar to that which they made of wax. But we are not here to extend our views beyond our own country. Whether Laurentius of Haerlem, Geinsfleisch of Mentz, or Gutenberg* at Strasburgh, invented single wooden types, thus much certainly may be concluded, that the invention took place rather before the middle of the fifteenth century in Holland or Germany. We have a fact established beyond controversy, that WILLIAM CAXTON first introduced the Art of Printing with *fusile types* into England; † and some suppose that Frederic Corsellis, or some foreigner, used *wooden types* a few years before him. ‡ Be this as it may, Caxton (an eminent mercer and negotiator) within a few years of the discovery of printing, is thought to have printed a French romance § at Cologne in 1464; and a translation of it there also about 1471 by himself very probably; and in the course of 20 years he printed no fewer than 60 books in five different sorts of types.

Contemporary with Caxton were Lettou, Machlinia, and other foreigners, probably brought over with him. He was succeeded by Wynkyn de Worde, who improved the art very much, and first introduced musical notes, and (some think) Roman numerals: but the Roman character was first used by Pynson, who was by extraction a Norman.

The progress of the typographic art among us was very rapid. Margaret, Duchess of Somerset, or more properly Countess of Richmond and Derby, || took it under her patronage, and Pynson had a

* See the note at p. lxxxvii, post.

† Vide p. xciii, post.

‡ But see p. xcvi, post.

§ Herbert means Raoul Le Fevre's *Recueil des Histoires de Troye* which is a sort of melo-historical romance. Vide p. 2, post. D.

|| 'This illustrious lady was the sole daughter of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, the grandson of John of Gaunt, who has met with a literary champion in Mr. Godwin. [Life of Chaucer.] The honour of Duchess of Somerset seems to have been granted to descend only by male issue, seeing Lady Margaret never assumed the title, and Edmund, her fa-

formal appointment of the office of King's Printer, in the beginning of the reign of her grandson Henry VIII. The Stationers' Company was of great antiquity, though not incorporated before the reign of Philip and Mary. The manufactory of paper was first introduced into England by John Tate,* in the reign of Henry VIII. or perhaps of Henry VII. John Spilman had a patent for making paper in the time of Queen Elizabeth.† Some of Caxton's books are printed on paper which bears the same marks as that used by Fust, and was probably of German Manufacture.‡

Caxton, de Worde, and Pynson, with two or three before mentioned, and Julian Notary, are the only printers that occur in the beginning

ther's younger brother, had a special charter of creation to that honour, 26 Hen. the sixth. Her title of Countess of Richmond was derived from her first husband, Edmund of Haddam, son of Owen Tudor, by Katherine daughter to Charles the Sixth, King of France, by whom she had our Henry the Seventh. Her title of Countess of Derby came by her third husband, Thomas, Earl of Derby.' *Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. ii. 122 : iii. 237. See Mr. Park's edition of Lord Orford's *Royal and Noble Authors*, vol. i. p. 225-235. Caxton dedicated his 'Blanchardin and Eglantine' to her; having printed the MS. copy which he had 'tofore sold to the said lady.' Vide p. 346, post. D.

* 'Dr. Harris (p. 92) says, Sir John Spilman in Charles 1st's reign, set up on the river Darent the first paper mill that ever was built in England. That prince granted him a patent and a salary of £200 a year. He adds, that he brought over in his portmanteau two lime trees, perhaps the first ever planted in England, which he set at Dartford, and they thrived exceedingly. Sir Edward Spilman, his relation, has a Dutch epitaph in the chancel. The doctor certainly brings the establishment half a century too low. Wood, Tanner, and the catalogue of the Harleian pamphlets, are my vouchers. Vallans in the *Tale of the two Swans*, mentions a paper-mill at Hartford belonging to John Tate, jun. who made the thin paper for Wynkyn De Worde's Bartholomæus *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, and whose father was Mayor of London. Mr. North's MS. note on Ames, p. 396, adds that it was where is now Sele mill, at the Stevenage end of the town, where a meadow adjoining is still called PAPER-MILL MEAD.' Gough's *British Topography*, vol. i. 482. It is however a little singular, that, in the variety of fac-similes of water marks used by our early paper makers, as exhibited by Mr. Denne in five large plates, in the xiith volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 114, 'there is not one that has a star of eight points with a double circle, the device of John Tate, supposed to have been the first paper-maker in England.' D.

† See Herbert, p. 1599.

‡ See the plate opposite p. cxxv, post.

of the art among us in the fifteenth century. The succeeding century produced an ample harvest both of printers and of books, which are here considerably enlarged by discoveries since Mr. Ames's publication. No less than 70 new printers have consequently been inserted in their proper places in this [Herbert's] edition: most of those from p. 1309 to 1382 being unnoticed by Mr. Ames.

The art of printing once introduced among us, it was no uncommon thing to find the character of author or translator united with that of printer. The minds of men, once enlarged, indulged the opportunity of circulating their thoughts. Religion was a favourite subject; next to that, Romance or History, and Statute Law. Thus was this art a peculiar instrument in the hand of Providence for the diffusion and establishment of religious knowledge and civil liberty. The doctrines of Wickliffe were disseminated; the papal claims and superstitions were controverted; the Reformation was advanced. For some of our best digested chronicles we are indebted to Pynson and Grafton;* for the first collection of year books and statutes, to Machlinia, W. de Worde, Pynson, and Rastall; for the earliest

* Chronicles: Fabian's printed by Pynson.—The Pastyme of the People, by John Rastell.—Grafton's, printed by Tottel.—Hall's, by Berthelet. HERBERT.

Herbert's description of these Chronicles is rather confused and inaccurate. The first Chronicle, after Caxton's, was compiled by Robert FABIAN, and printed very beautifully by Pynson, in folio, A. D. 1516. A perfect copy of it is among the scarcest old English books in existence. The same printer afterwards executed FROISSART's Chronicles in folio, 1523-5, 2 vols. W. Rastall published a second edition of Fabian, in 1533; John Raynes, a third in 1542; and John Kingston, a fourth and the last, in 1559: all in folio. A reprint of the first edition of 1516 is now going through the press, superintended by a very careful editor. HALL's Chronicle was first printed by Grafton, in 1548; again in 1550: both in folio, with an index, and recently in 1809, in one thick quarto volume. HARDYNG's Chronicle was first printed in 1543, 4to. by Grafton. It is very rare. GRAFTON's own Chronicle was printed in 1563, for Tottel and Joy, in folio; and recently in 1809, 2 vols. 4to. HOLINSHED's Chronicles went through two editions in folio—the first in 1577, 2 vols.: the second in 1587, 3 vols. A reimpression of these last valuable Chronicles was published in 6 vols. 4to. 1807, &c. with a copious index. It is not necessary here to notice minor Chronicles, and Summaries of the same, by Lanquett, Cooper, Carion, and Stow. D.

translation of the New Testament* into our mother tongue, to Robert Redman, James Nicholson, and many others; and of the Bible, to Grafton, &c. within little more than half a century from the first discovery of the art.

The numerous French versions of the Classics, which appeared in the fifteenth century, enabled Caxton "to enrich the state of letters in this country with many valuable publications. He found it no difficult task, either by himself or the help of his friends, to turn a considerable number of these pieces into English, which he printed. Ancient learning had as yet made too little progress among us to encourage this enterprising and industrious artist to publish the Roman authors in their original language; and had not the French furnished him with these materials, it is not likely that Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, and many other good writers, would by means of his press have been circulated in the English tongue so early as the close of the 15th century. It is however remarkable, that from the year 1471, in which Caxton began to print, down to the year 1540, during which period the English press flourished greatly under the conduct of many industrious, ingenious, and even learned artists, only the very few following classics, some of which hardly deserve that

* The New Testament was printed in England by Redman, Nicholson, &c. in 1538, but printed at Antwerp in 1526, and frequently abroad before 1537. The Bible was first printed in English abroad, in folio, 1535, without the printer's name or place. In England by Grafton and Whitchurch, Byddell, &c. HERBERT.

There is, in the British Museum, a very valuable collection of English and other Bibles, which was made with great care and expense by Dr. Combe, who liberally parted with them for even a less sum than they cost him. In a future volume these curious articles will be particularly described: meanwhile the reader may be informed that the first *Prynmer* was printed in 1535; of which a copy UPON VELLUM was purchased at Mr. Mason's sale [*Bibl. Mason.* pt. iii. n°. 107] for £8. 18s. 6d. Lewis, the biographer of Caxton, and author of the History of the Translations of the Bible, had never seen a copy of it. He supposed the compiler of it to be George Joy; whom Fox [*Acts and Monuments of Martyrs*, &c. col. 2. p. 1340, first edit.] cavils against for not paying due homage to 'Sayntes and oure Ladye.' D.

name, were printed in England: 'Boëtius de consolatione,' both Latin and English, by Caxton, without date, and the 'Esopian Fables' * in verse for Wynkyn de Worde, 1503, 4to.; and once or twice afterwards. 'Terence,' with the comment of Badius Ascensius for the same, 1504, 4to.; 'Virgil's Bucolics' for the same, 1512, 4to.; (again 1533, 4to.); 'Tully's Offices,' with an English translation by Whittington, 1533, 4to. The University of Oxford during this period produced only the first book of 'Tully's Epistles,' at the charge of Cardinal Wolsey, without date or printer's name. Cambridge not a single classic. No Greek book of any kind had yet appeared from an English press. I believe the first Greek characters used in any work printed in England are in Linacer's translation of 'Galen de Temperamentis,' printed at Cambridge, 1521, 4to. A few Greek words and abbreviations are here and there introduced. The printer was John Siberch, a German, a friend of Erasmus, who styles himself "primus *utriusque* linguæ in Anglia impressor." There are Greek characters in some of his other books of this date. But he printed no entire Greek book. In Linacer's treatise 'De emendata structura Latini sermonis,' printed by Pynson in 1524, many Greek characters are intermixed. In the 6th book are seven Greek lines together. But the printer apologises for his imperfections and unskilfulness in the Greek types, which he says were but recently cast, and not in a sufficient quantity for such a work, † and without spirits or accents. About the same period of the English press, the same embarrassments appear to have happened with regard to *Hebrew* types, which were yet more likely, as that language was so much

* The Fables of Æsop, by Caxton. See p. 208, post. A Latin edition of them was published in 1535, 8vo. by Wynkyn De Worde. D.

† The Greek lecture was established at Cambridge by Sir John Cheke, 1540; and the first Greek book printed in England was the Homilies set forth by Sir John, from R. Wolfe's press, in 1543. He was a naturalized foreigner, and the first who had a patent for being printer to the King in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. In 1551 Dr. Turner's Herbal English edition has the Italic or English for Greek types.

HERBERT.

less known. In 1524 Dr. Robert Wakefield, chaplain to Henry VIII, published his "Oratio de laudibus & utilitate trium linguarum, Arabicæ, Chaldaicæ, et Hebraicæ," &c. 4to. The printer was Wynkyn de Worde; and the author complains that he was obliged to omit his whole third part because the printer had no Hebrew types. Some few Hebrew and Arabic characters, however, are introduced, but extremely rude, and evidently cut in wood. They are the first of the sort used in England.* It was a circumstance favourable at least to English literature, owing indeed to the general *illiteracy* of the times, that our first printers were so little employed on books written in the learned languages. Almost all Caxton's books are English. The multiplication of English copies multiplied English readers; and these again produced new vernacular writers. The existence of a press induced many persons to turn authors, who were only qualified to write in their native tongue."

Thus Mr. Warton: (History of English Poetry, vol. II. 123, 124.) the introduction of whose observations at length, so closely connected with our subject, needs no apology.

The patronage that printing met with was equal to its utility. We have seen Margaret Countess of Richmond introducing it to the royal regard. John Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, whose head, if we believe Fuller, contained more learning than those of all his contemporary peers, proved the especial patron of Caxton; as Archbishop Bourchier is supposed to have been of Corsellis.† Archbishop Parker

* The first Hebrew in any quantity is in Rhese's "Institutiones Linguae Cambro-Brit." 1592. Minsheu's "Ductor in Linguas," 1617; and Davies's "Rudimenta Linguae Cambro-Brit." Syriac is printed in Hebrew, and Arabic in Italic, characters. Oriental types appeared first in Walton's Polyglot, 1657. The first Saxon types were cut by John Day, Archbishop Parker's printer, for his edition of Asser's History, 1567. The Northern were introduced by Junius, 1654; Musical types by Wynkyn de Worde, 1495. HERBERT.

† For an account of this absurd fiction read p. xevi, post; and particularly Mr. Willet's Disquisition 'on Printing' in the xith volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 267. For Caxton's eulogy of Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, consult p. 126, post. But see *Bibl. Lort*, n°. 2980, and Collier's *Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. 110. D.

kept a press in his house.* A foreign printer settled in Cambridge so early as 1498. There was a press at St. Alban's 1480; at York and Beverley 1509; at Tavistock 1525; Ipswich 1547; Worcester 1548; Canterbury 1549; Norwich about 1570. The religious houses at St. Alban's and Tavistock maintained the presses at those places; and perhaps concurred with the opulence of the citizens in the other places in their support of the rest. The Earl of Leicester, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, presented a new printing-press 1585, and Joseph Barnes was appointed printer to the University at the same time. Cambridge had a licence for three printers from Henry VIII. 1533.

The increasing taste for the specimens of our first printers, and the great discoveries which it produced, first suggested to me the idea of continuing Mr. Ames's labours. Having purchased of his friend, Sir Peter Thompson, Knight, the copy of his book, interleaved with very considerable additions in MS. by himself, together with the plates, blocks, and copy-right,† I thought there could not be offered a more acceptable present to the lovers of science than a republication of this work with the author's own improvements, and what further could be collected from my own observations, and those of my learned friends. I accordingly in 1780 circulated proposals for printing the work by subscription, in two volumes, which I imagined might comprize all the additional materials.‡ In the beginning of the undertaking, it was suggested to me by a friend, to whose judgment I pay great regard, that it would be more acceptable to the public if illustrated with some further account of the books than the bare titles, of which many given by Mr. Ames were so abridged as to convey but a very imperfect idea of their contents: that so this edition

* The curious student, and indeed the general lover of his country's literature, will not fail to procure John Strype's *Life of this truly great man*, published 1711, fol.—before its scarceness and dearness render the acquisition of it more difficult. D.

† From the beginning of this sentence to the last line of the text on the next page, Herbert has repeated the greater part of his 'ADVERTISEMENT.'

‡ This copy is now in my possession. Vide the note at p. 46, ante.

might not be a mere catalogue of books. On the suggestion of another respectable friend, that it would be a still further improvement of my work, if i could procure the entries of the copies licensed by the master and wardens of the Stationers' Company, i applied to Mr. Lockyer Davis,* of whose readiness to oblige on such occasions i was well assured, and by his kind intercession with the Court of Assistants, leave was granted me to have the use of their register-books, for which great favour I desire him and them to accept my best acknowledgements ; as also my friend Mr. Henry Parker,† for his assistance in examining registers at Guildhall. The proper extracts from these large folio volumes could not be made without a considerable delay of the press : but the work has been hereby enriched with several memoirs concerning the printers and books printed with licence, distinguished from those printed without, &c. This, with the introduction of a number of books of which we had before no knowledge, will, i hope, make ample compensation for the delay. In the mean time my printed proposals proved a powerful inducement with gentlemen who had any materials proper for this work to communicate them, and render it as complete as possible, and produced much information, which has greatly embellished as well as enlarged it. These favours also were conferred on me in so obliging a manner as i could never have expected, by gentlemen whose names and characters are above commendation from me, and whose kindness i desire ever to remember with the utmost gratitude.

* This gentleman published an improved edition of Rochefoucault's *Maxims* in 1775, 8vo. He also presented to the company of Stationers, (when he was Master of the same) an engraved portrait of Vincent Wing, the celebrated almanack-maker, from his ' *Astronomia Britannica*,' 1669, folio. Nichols's *Anecdotes of Bowyer*, p. 465, 610. He died in 1791, at the advanced age of 73. A very pleasing account of his attainments and social disposition will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxi. pt. i. p. 390. D.

† He died at Stoke Newington, in July last, 1809, aged 84. He was formerly an eminent stationer and printseller in Cornhill ; and on his retiring from that business in 1774, he purchased the lucrative situation of Clerk of the Chamber at Guildhall, which he held till within a few months of his death. *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxix : pt. ii. p. 790. D.

My particular acknowledgements are due to the assistance and friendship of his Majesty's librarian, FREDERIC BARNARD, Esq. and to the trustees of the BRITISH MUSEUM, for the free access allowed me to those valuable collections of early printers, both foreign and domestic; and to the Rev. Dr. FARMER,* master of Emanuel College, Cambridge, who from his earliest years has availed himself of opportunities that have fallen to the lot of few collectors to form a library of this kind; from whom also I had the free use of a copy of Maunsell's Catalogue, with large MS. additions by the late Archbishop Harsnet and Mr. Thomas Baker,† in whose possession it had successively been, and was by the latter bequeathed to the public library at Cambridge. Bishop More's‡ closet in the public library, and Mr. Capel's in that of Trinity College, the libraries of Emanuel and Benet Colleges, together with the Pepysian library at Magdalen College, all in that University, afforded me several valuable materials. The Rev. Mr. John Price, with a most obliging readiness satisfied all

* For an account of this distinguished character consult the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxvii. pt. ii. p. 805, &c. p. 888. His extensive and curious library, rich in Shaksperian lore, was sold by auction in May, 1798. The sale lasted thirty-five days, and the library contained 8199 articles. The 'opus maximum' of Dr. Farmer is his '*Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare*;' a performance which has never yet been equalled in its way, and perhaps will never be surpassed. D.

† Some account of this learned and communicative antiquary will be found in a note, at p. 107, post. He was the intimate friend and liberal patron of Hearne; without whom, the latter would not have been able to have enriched his editions of the ancient historians with so much curious matter. D.

‡ He was Bishop of Ely, and died at an advanced age in the year 1714. His books, nearly as rich and complete in the old black letter literature of his country as are those of the present learned Bishop of the same see, in Greek and Roman literature, were once offered to Lord Oxford for £6000; but the offer being refused, they were purchased by George I. and by him presented to the public library of the University of Cambridge.

Some of the rarest books in this collection have been consulted by the present editor, and will be frequently mentioned in the second volume of this work. For particulars relating to their former owner, consult Mr. Nichols's *Hist. of Leicestershire*, vol. ii. pt. ii. 502: and Bentham's *History of Ely Cathedral*, p. 207. See also *Contin. Godwini de Prasul. Angliæ*, p. 277. D.

my inquiries at the Bodleian library, and furnished me occasionally with transcripts from such scarce books as coincided with my plan. By his means also i had access to her Grace the late Duchess Dowager of Portland,* who most obligingly brought her scarce "Noble Boke of Festes," &c. to town for my inspection, and very condescendingly told me, if i would come to Bulstrode, when she was there, she would allow me the use of her library; but it pleased God to take her before that opportunity offered. I have been greatly assisted by the Rev. Dr. Lort,† who omits no opportunity of gathering together whatever is rare and curious in literature, by whose means also i had access to the Lambeth library. I must likewise acknowledge my obligations to the Rev. Mr. Ashby,‡ of Barrow, in Suffolk: Dr. Billam, of Leeds: Sir John Fenn,§ Knight, who communicated to me

* The Museum of the Duchess Dowager of Portland was sold by public auction in the year 1786, and occupied a sale of 39 days. It brought the sum of £11546. 14s. None of the *books* were sold with the Museum. The above scarce and curious work, described by Herbert in his Appendix at p. 1780, was printed by Pynson, and is chiefly entitled 'A Noble boke of festes royalle and Cokery a boke for a pryncis housholde or any other estates,' &c. 1500, 4to. D.

† DR. MICHAEL LORT died in November, 1790. He was appointed domestic chaplain to Archbishop Cornwallis in 1779: was made a prebend of St. Paul's in 1780, and married in 1783. In the fourth volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 213-310, he communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, [from a MS. in the possession of Herbert, fairly written as if for press,] a work of the celebrated Dr. Woodward, "On the Wisdom of the Ancient Egyptians," &c. † Few literary characters seem to have been more known and respected in their own country. To a 'various and extensive knowledge,' he united all the mild and attractive qualities which sweeten domestic society. Consult the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lx. pt. ii. p. 1055: 1199: His curious and valuable library was sold by auction in April, 1791, and occupied a sale of 24 days. There were 6665 articles. D.

‡ He died in the year 1808—at the advanced age of 86. His library was purchased by a bookseller at Bury, with a number of the volumes enriched with his MS. remarks: among the rest, a copy of Ames's work. The year before his death Mr. Ashby wrote to me a long letter [from which an extract will be made in the account of Herbert's Life], in which he expressed much anxiety that I should examine the two black letter volumes in Bishop More's closet in the public library of the University of Cambridge—then marked D. V. ii: but now A. B. 4. 58. D.

§ This worthy and distinguished character died in the year 1794, aged 55. "If the

the notes and articles from the late Mr. Thomas Martin's collections, as also his own : and to my friend Richard Gough, Esq. of Enfield, who possesses a complete collection of missals, printed both at home and abroad, for the use of the Cathedrals of York, Salisbury, and Hereford, and has enlarged it since the publication of the last edition of the 'British Topography.' To him* i am indebted for the list of those books, and for the Memoirs of Mr. Ames prefixed to this volume. From the collections of George Mason,† Esq. of Aldenham, Hertfordshire, and of Stanesby Alchorne,‡ Esq. assay master of the Mint, i received many curious articles. George Steevens,§ Esq. favoured

inquisitive antiquary, the clear, faithful and accurate writer, be justly valued by literary characters; the intelligent and upright magistrate, by the inhabitants of a country in which he resided; the informing and pleasing companion, the warm and steady friend, the honest and worthy man, the good and exemplary christian, by those with whom he was connected; the death of few individuals will be more sincerely felt, more generally regretted, or more sincerely lamented" than that of the above character. See the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxiv. pt. i. p. 189, &c. D.

* For an account of this learned antiquary, vide p. 19, ante.

† 'A considerable portion' of the library of this gentleman was sold by auction, in four parts, in the year 1798, containing 4261 articles, selected with great taste and judgment, and many of them of the first rarity. D.

‡ MR. ALCHORNE died in November, 1800, at an advanced age, having been 50 years in the Mint Office. His collection of books printed by Caxton, Wynkyn De Worde, Pynson, &c. was purchased by Mr. Payne, the bookseller, and of him by Thomas Johnes, Esq. M. P. well known in the literary world for his translations of the early French Chronicles, which were first printed at his own press, at Hafod, in South Wales. The 'Alchorne Collection' [or *Bibliotheca Alchorniana*] forms the first division of the second part of Mr. Johnes's Catalogue of his library at Hafod, printed for the use of his friends. D.

§ GEORGE STEEVENS, who will probably be known to the latest posterity as a luminous and successful editor of Shakspeare, died in January, A. D. 1800, in the 63th year of his age. His library, consisting of 1943 articles, the greater part of them exceedingly rare and curious, was sold by auction in May, 1800, and produced the sum of £2740. 15s. His edition of Shakspeare, in 15 vols. 8vo. 1793, is one of the most beautiful and correct Variorum editions of any ancient or modern author extant. It was improved and enlarged in 1803, under the care of Mr. Reed, in an edition of 21 volumes, 8vo.: and this latter, till Mr. Malone's long-promised second edition shall appear, may be called the '*ne plus ultra*' of Shakspearian editorship. D.

ine with his observations, and a number of transcripts. I am further obliged to Thomas Astle,* Esq. of the Paper-office, F. R. & A.SS. Alexander Dalrymple,† Esq. Francis Douce, Esq. of Gray's Inn,‡ F. S. A. Joseph Ritson,§ Esq. Edmund Malone, Esq. Governor Pownall, Granville Sharpe, Esq. Mr. William White,|| of Crickhowel near Abergavenny, Mr. J. Denyer, of Chelsea, Mr. Robert Loder, bookseller and printer, of Woodbridge in Suffolk, Mr. Joseph Parker, of Upper Thames-street, London, Mr. John Voet, ¶ and Mr. Wal-

* MR. ASTLE was Keeper of the Records in the Tower, and published in 1784, again in 1803, a beautiful and very ingenious work entitled '*The Origin and Progress of Writing*,' 4to. of which latter edition there were a few copies struck off on large paper, in ROYAL FOLIO, exhibiting one of the most splendid specimens extant of modern printing. This gentleman died in 1804, and was succeeded in his situation by Samuel Lysons, Esq. His library was purchased for the Royal Institution. See Mr. Harris's preface to his judiciously-compiled Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Institution—just published in 8vo. 1809. D.

† This celebrated hydrographer and collector of Voyages and Travels died in the year 1808. His Voyages and Travels, with MS. notes, were purchased by the Admiralty. His other books were sold by auction in the following year. D.

‡ Now at the head of the MS. department in the British Museum. The frequent mention of this Gentleman's name, and reference to his works, in the course of this new edition of Ames, will shew the value of his collection, as well as the importance of his friendship to me. D.

§ JOSEPH RITSON is well known as the author of some eccentric, curious and erudite, works relating to the state of the ancient literature of this country. Of these, his '*Metrical Romances*, *Robin Hood*, and *Ancient English, and Scottish, Songs*,' are among the most popular. He died in 1803, and his library was sold at the conclusion of the same year. His copy of Shakspeare, with 3 volumes of MS. notes, 'prepared by him for the press,' was sold for 100 guineas. He had previously published an octavo volume of *Remarks upon the same author*, which is now scarce: especially with the 'cancelled leaves.' It is to be regretted that so much acuteness, accuracy, and erudition, which are observable in the works of this indefatigable author, should be tempered with such little candor, urbanity, and good humour: and, what is worse, should be so often tarnished with gross scurrility and blasphemy. D.

|| MR. WHITE, who is still living, but very aged and infirm, appears to have been a diligent hunter after old books. I have seen several of his copies in which his 'friend Mr. Herbert' is greatly extolled. D.

¶ Properly, VOIGT. This gentleman, a Commissioner of the Customs, died in the

dron.* The MS. papers of Mr. Bagford † and Mr. Lewis, who collected for a History of Printing, and Warton's History of English Poetry, have supplied much information.

To the several libraries of James West, John Ratcliffe, and William Bayntun, Esqrs. the Rev. Mr. Cole, ‡ of Milton, the Rev. Dr. Giffard, of the British Museum, Sir John Hawkins, Knight, Dr. Ducarel, Mr. Tutet, Mr. B. Ibbot, Mr. Jacob, of Feversham, and John Baynes, Esq. i had free access during the lives of their owners; and since their decease many articles have been transferred into my own library. I forbear to insist on a collection which has employed

year 1806, leaving behind a small but curious library, which was sold by auction in the same year. Among his books [nº. 1991] there was an unique tract of the Life of George Gascoigne, the poet, by Geo. Whetstone, containing about 80 pages. It was purchased for 40 Guineas!—the largest sum ever offered for a similar production. See the *Censura Literaria*, vol. iv. p. 218. D.

* Mr. Waldron, an ingenious bookseller, published the first volume of a work called the *Literary Museum*; being a collection of scarce pieces in poetry and prose, in 8vo. 1793.

D.

† In the third volume of the recent edition of the Catalogue of the *Harleian MSS.* nos. 5910, &c.—a short analysis of these papers will be found. A more particular account is reserved by me for another bibliographical work. Meanwhile it may not be unacceptable to the reader, to find the opinion advanced in my *Bibliomania*, p. 12, strengthened by the following one of Lewis, from an original letter in the possession of Mr. Nichols: "My opinion of Bagford's writings was formed by my reading his Life of Caxton: that he was a weak, unaccurate, and injudicious man, and had not learning and knowledge enough for what he undertook. It is said Bagford's papers are in his lordship's library [Lord Oxford's]; but they are good for little but to mislead people." JOHN LEWIS.

Of the merits and demerits of Lewis's Life of Caxton, vide p. lx, post. D.

‡ It was Mr. Cole who communicated [but very imperfectly] an account of the contents of the volumes in the Cambridge University Library, formerly Bishop More's, marked D. v. 4. but now A. B. Mr. Cole died towards the end of the year 1782; bequeathing his immense MS. collections [amongst other things an 'ATHENÆ CANTABRIGIENSES'] to the British Museum; but not to be opened till 20 years after his decease, He was a diligent reader, and a most indefatigable margin-annotator. His printed books were disposed of to the late Mr. White the bookseller; and his 'William of Newbury,' in my possession, gives sufficient proof, from a few MS. marginal notes by him, of his bitter antipathy to Hearne, the editor. His criticisms are generally just, but too severe. Hearne was a non-juror, and Cole was a strenuous Laudean!! D.

no inconsiderable part of my life, and, I may add, my fortune in forming it, as the reader will find so frequent reference to it. I cannot conclude the list of my benefactors without making my particular acknowledgements to the Rev. Mr. Samuel Worsley,* of Cheshunt, for his kind and constant assistance in revising the proofs of this work.

Some apology may be necessary for extending this work to a third volume; besides what has been offered to the reader's candid consideration above in p. vii. permit me to add, that having, in the course of collecting materials for the work, met with many books and anecdotes of printers and booksellers, chiefly the latter, who, toward the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, became almost the sole publishers of books, employing the former to print for them as at this day, though some of them are mentioned in the accounts of those printers whom they employed, yet it was thought expedient to collect these publications under each bookseller's name, with such anecdotes as could be gathered, finding that they had frequently books printed for them without any intimation of the printer, and these of course must have been unnoticed if not arranged in distinct articles. Many of the articles entered in the Stationers' Company's Registers would have been unnoticed, had not separate accounts been made for those who were booksellers or stationers, but not printers. Indeed the booksellers appear to have been altogether denominated stationers at that time. Some such have been dispersed in the first two volumes, wherein these also would have been inserted, had not those volumes swelled beyond their proposed size. These were designed to have been placed at the end as *Addenda*; but since they have proved so numerous, it seemed more eligible that they should follow immediately the rest of the printers and booksellers of London and Westminster, before those of Oxford, Cambridge, and other places.

The list of books entered and licenced at the end of the several articles is no small addition to the history of literature. The names

* He was a Dissenting Minister of the place; and is lately deceased. I believe that a son, the Rev. Philip Worsley, of the same persuasion, survives him. D.

of many books and authors are brought to light, which otherwise perhaps would have remained in obscurity.

The articles which have asterisks * after them were in Mr. Ames's own collection. Those which have no owner assigned them, rest on the authority of collections made at sales, &c. and often from Maunsell.

The history of printing in Scotland and Ireland, which Mr. Ames, for want of sufficient materials, threw into an Appendix after the general history, i have given in its order, with enlargement; for which in Scotland i am indebted to Mr. George Paton, of Edinburgh, whose comprehensive mind takes in every branch of literature. I had some further communications from Mr. Pinkerton. My Appendix is reserved for corrections ‡ and additions.

I have very scrupulously preserved in titles and colophons, and in all specimens of any works or quotations from them, the original orthography: Mr. Ames or his printer sometimes neglected this: he might probably not always have the books by him. I have been enabled, in a great number of instances, to represent from the books themselves the exact reading and spelling; by which means all who are possessed of the editions here noticed, will have the clearest proof of their authenticity and identity: for some readers who have imperfect copies will derive such evidence from the title-page, others from the date and colophon of the same book, and others from the extracts given.

The very great difficulty of ascertaining the different editions of many books, ought not to be charged on Mr. Ames as an omission. He has made so handsome an apology for his imperfections, that his re-publisher cannot adopt a better for his own labours. Indeed had not the general inquiry after this branch of science among us rendered a more complete history of it absolutely necessary, i should not have submitted to the drudgery and fatigue of such a compilation.

* This distinction is not attended to in the present edition. D.

‡ These 'Corrections and Additions' comprehend 70 pages, and were printed at the end of the third volume, preceding the Index of Printers and The General Index. D.

The assistance of my friends has supported me through the arduous and laborious task; and, feeling it a duty incumbent upon me to render my work as complete as possible, i flatter myself the candid Public will accept my labours with every allowance for inaccuracy or inelegance of style which may be found in it, and which writers of superior talents would not perhaps have submitted to supply.

The alterations our language has undergone may here be traced; and the patrons of learning, in its several branches, with their titles, preferments, and honors exhibited, as far as i was furnished with proper materials; and by the Index some account may be collected of the works of many authors and translators published in this period.

I might have continued this work beyond the term which Mr. Ames assigned to himself, and thus might have handed down to distant posterity the improvements of my contemporaries in this noble art. But the history of the mechanical part has been fully handled by Mr. Mores, in his *History of Letter-Founders*.* Mr. Nichols has supplied anecdotes of printers and booksellers, and therein of literature at large for the last half century, in his *Memoirs of Mr. Bowyer*,† the last of our learned printers. The infinity of tracts that swarmed from the press, charged with the pedantry or the politics of the 17th century, in the freedom of unlicensed printing, would surpass the compass of a common life to collect; and here i willingly submit to the censure of neglecting the present for the past.

W. H.

* We shall just observe here, that Mr. Mores was of opinion that W. de Worde was his own letter-founder; a circumstance that shews the quick improvement of the typographic art among us. HERBERT. [For some account of Rowe Mores's work, vide p. cxxi, post.]

† A new edition of this amusing work is now in the press; and will be published in the ensuing Spring, 1810, in 5 vols. 8vo. D.

SOME ACCOUNT
OF
WILLIAM HERBERT.





WILLIAM HERBERT Esq^r

late of Chesnut

From an original painting upon glass, in the possession of Fountain Elwin Esq^r.

Published as the Act directs Dec^r 1800.

Plate II



IT is a just, as well as trite, remark, that the lives of studious men seldom afford amusing materials for the biographer. But although a record of the same sedentary occupations, day after day, and year after year, may not be calculated to delight those whose attentions have been chiefly directed to the livelier pages of the novelist or historian, few subjects are more interesting to the antiquary or scholar, than the biographical sketches (however slender) of such characters as have laboured to preserve the literary monuments of other times from premature decay. To the list of characters of this latter description, may be added the last author of the *Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain*.

WILLIAM HERBERT was born on the 29th day of November, A.D. 1718; and received his education at Hitchin, in Hertfordshire. Of the peculiar characteristics of his young mind—whether, like an-

other Magliabechi,* he was constantly poring over old books, and collecting every scrap of printed paper—no account has been transmitted. If we may judge from his first occupations in life, a love of books does not seem to have been the favourite passion of his youth; for he commenced his career by binding himself apprentice to a Hosier. On the expiration of his apprenticeship, he took out his freedom, and settled in the same line of business in Leadenhall Street, London; but the sale of stockings and gloves did not long accord with a mind which was then, perhaps, beginning to receive impressions from the more splendid productions of art, and from the perusal of such books as treated of the works of antiquity. Herbert began to be gradually affected by the enchanting influence of these pursuits, and being conscious of an ambition which could be neither confined nor satisfied within the narrow limits of his shop, he gave up his business in disgust; not, however, before he had been admitted of the Livery, and chosen a member of the Court of Assistants.

On relinquishing the business of a Hosier, he took to making himself master of the art of painting upon glass; and for aught that is known to the contrary, he might have helped in the execution of the original painting, upon the same material, from which the engraving prefixed to this biographical Memoir is taken—as it represents him in the early part of his life. It is probable that, before he had attained his thirtieth year, he was fickle in the choice of a business by which he might hope to gain a livelihood; and, in this wavering state of mind, he accepted the situation of ‘a purser’s clerk to three ships

* “MAGLIABECHI had never learned to read; and yet he was perpetually poring over the leaves of old books, that were used as waste paper in his master’s shop. [His master was a seller of herbs and fruit.] A bookseller who lived in the neighbourhood, and who had often observed this, and knew the boy could not read, asked him one day, ‘What he meant by staring so much on printed paper?’ He said, ‘That he did not know how it was, but that he loved it of all things,’” &c. See an amusing little work published at Strawberry Hill, called *A Parallel between a most celebrated Man of Florence, and one scarce ever heard of in England*, 1758, 8vo. p. 6-7.

in the service of the East India Company. He set sail in one of them which was to take in a lading of pepper at Tellicherry ; but, before she had completed her lading, an alarm of six French men of war was given. The governor demanded thirty men out of each ship, as he had a power to do, for the defence of the place ; and the ships sailed away without lights round the Lucadine Islands, and by Mount Delhi, to Bombay. After the alarm was over they returned, and sent Mr. Herbert, in a miserable boat, full of bugs, and without change of linen, to demand their men, whom the governor refused to give up, and he returned ; but the ships having left their station, the boat could not find them, and the wind being against him, he was obliged to remain at Tellicherry. Being engaged to return to his ship by the middle of July, he was obliged to undertake a journey over land on the 16th of that month, with a Portuguese boy, [who understood a little English, Portuguese, and *Parriar*, or *Lingua Franca*] twelve Sepoys, eight porters, in all twenty, besides himself and boy ; and went round by sea to Calicut, before he ascended the heights with two Bramins, who were bound by their caste to conduct him safe. The anxiety at not meeting the ships at the appointed time, he did not recover for a twelvemonth ; though he rejoined them Aug. 8, at Fort St. David—Fort St. George being in the hands of the French.* Thus far Mr. Gough, respecting Herbert's adventures abroad.*

While he was in India he wore the usual Oriental habit, and, as he was accustomed to relate with pleasantry, suffered his beard to grow 'as long as it would.' So pleased too was he with his new costume, that he procured a drawing of himself in it to be made ; and the copper-plate impression, at the end of this Memoir, is faithfully taken from the Original drawing now in the possession of his great niece. It will be evident that a resemblance to the countenance of Herbert was the last thing which the artist thought of.

* See the Biography of Herbert in the *Gentleman's Magazine*: vol. lxxv. pt. i. 261—supposed to be written by Mr. Gough.

Herbert's voyage to India, with whatever romantic views it might have been undertaken, proved the foundation of his fortune and fame. On his return, 'having (says Mr. Gough) produced a number of plans of the several settlements, he received from his honourable masters £300. These plans were afterwards incorporated into a publication by Bowles, printseller, near Mercers' Chapel.*

He had now, probably, acquired a considerable knowledge of the relative situations of coasts, countries, and rivers, which he had surveyed abroad, and, in consequence, thought himself competent to set up the business of an Engraver of Charts and Printseller.† With this view, he took a house on London Bridge, where he commenced his career. 'The first night (continues Mr. Gough) he spent in his house on the bridge, he was witness to a dreadful fire in some part of London, on the banks of the Thames, which, with several other succeeding ones, suggested to him the thought [plan] of a floating fire engine. He proposed it to Capt. Hill of the Royal Exchange Assurance, who told him 'there must be a fire every now and then for the benefit of insurance.' He published his proposal in the *Gazetteer*, and it was soon adopted.' From these anecdotes it is evident that the mind of Herbert was not composed of very torpid materials; but that our antiquary was always alive to the application of every new incident, and turn of fortune, in a manner which might be conducive to his own benefit. It is to be regretted that he did not leave behind some memoranda, however trivial, of his adventures in India; for we might thereby have traced the progress of those thoughts and sentiments, which eventually fixed him, without wavering or dereliction, to cultivate a general study of antiquities, and to preserve, in particular, the ancient productions of the British Press. To collect these latter was, no doubt, the ruling passion of his mind while he was

* Vide *Gentleman's Magazine*, *ibid*.

† Mr. Douce possesses an indifferent mezzotint impression, from a painting of Ellsheimer, of Tobit and the Fish, on which is inscribed, to the right, 'Sold by W. Herbert on London Bridge.' Mr. Woodburn, jun. of St. Martin's Lane, informs me that Herbert's name, as a printseller, is very familiar to him.

engaged in making a handsome profit by the sale of his charts and prints.

On the pulling down of the houses on London Bridge, in 1756, Herbert removed, with all his printing materials, to Leadenhall Street, and occupied a shop which stood on the scite of the part recently attached to the India House. About this period, I believe, he entered into partnership with a Mr. Nicholson, in the publication of a "New Directory for the East Indies;" a work, (in royal quarto) accompanied with copious charts, by which the tracks of the different seas and rivers, connected with a voyage to India—together with the soundings, bearings, winds, &c.—were more accurately described than in any preceding similar publication. Although Nicholson's name stands first in the title-page, Herbert supplied the greater part of the materials, and, as we shall presently find, reserved the copyright in himself. The original price of this useful work was £3 13s. 6d.

It was, probably, when our antiquary lived on London Bridge, that he married his first wife; but of this event, as well as of the person and qualifications of the lady, I have not been able to collect the slightest traditional information. Shortly after his settlement in Leadenhall Street, he removed to n^o. 27, Goulston Square in White Chapel; and married, the second time, a woman of considerable property; who is reported to have supplied the deficiencies of a very weak intellect, by an ardent and uniform attachment to her husband—whom she would often call her 'Dear Herbert.' While resident in this place, he frequently published a list of '*Books, Charts, and Maps, Printed for William Herbert at No. 27, in Goulston-Square, White-Chapel, London.*' The sale of these, added to his wife's property, enabled our Antiquary to live in a style of comfort and ease.

Herbert had now the means, as well as the inclination, to gratify his passion for literature and antiquities. He attended book sales, made frequent purchases, chiefly of black-letter volumes, which were afterwards carefully examined, and treasured in his library, to aug-

ment the History of Printing by Ames ; of which work, as has been already observed,* he had now become the fortunate purchaser of the author's own copy, enriched with numerous manuscript notes. ' While he resided in Goulston Square,' says Mr. Gough, ' his application to possess himself of every article of information, that libraries or auctions could furnish him with, was intense. The encouragement he received from the collectors of ~~black-letter~~ books, from his Majesty's library to the smallest library of an individual, he has gratefully acknowledged in his preface,' &c. His diligence in the obtainment of the favorite objects of his pursuit was, indeed, amazing ; and never to be subdued.

In the year 176³₇, Herbert came forward as the republisher of Atkyns's ' History of Gloucestershire,' originally published in 1712 ; but rendered extremely scarce from the number of copies that were burnt in the fire, ' which destroyed the printing-office of the late Mr. Bowyer's father in White Friars.' Having purchased the old plates that had escaped the fire, and caused new engravings to be made for the lost ones, he republished the book ' correcting the literal errors, but not restoring to their proper place several particulars pointed out in the original errata. Great part of this second edition was also destroyed by fire.'† Copies of it, on large paper, are beautiful and scarce.

Having now succeeded to his utmost wishes as a vender of charts and prints, he resolved to retire equally from business and the metropolis ; and, with this view, purchased a country residence at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, which he enlarged and adorned in a style of some taste ; so as to make it one of the most respectable villas in the neighbourhood. His favorite room being his library, he built one of the wings of his house expressly for the reception of his books ; and here he used to sit, under a circular skylight, in the intervening period of every meal. Like Father Le Long‡ he always flew from

* Vide p. 46, ante.

† Mr. Gough ; in *Gentleman's Magazine*, *ibid.*

‡ In other respects, too, the similitude is an apposite one : " Prandium aut cœna vix

his eating room to his library. Finding his new situation in every respect congenial with his feelings, and wisely resolving to enjoy in a rational manner the good fortune he had acquired, without further commercial speculations, he parted with his stock of charts, copper plates, and prints; selling them to Mr. Henry Gregory, senior, for the sum of 1000 guineas.

He now turned his whole attention to editing 'AMES'S TYPOGRAPHICAL ANTIQUITIES,' but, in the midst of his hopes and fears, he was doomed, the second time, to become a widower. Either his sorrow was easily soothed, or he had conceived the state of matrimony to be absolutely necessary to his happiness, for he ventured, the third time, on a match with a lady whom he used to visit in Goulston Square as a neighbour; and this was a Miss Croshold, niece of Robert Marsham, Esq. of Stratton Strawless, in the County of Norfolk. His third wife, who also brought him a considerable property, survived him twelve years, dying in 1808: 'His name,' says one of her surviving relatives, 'was never mentioned by her but with the most affectionate veneration.'

Having settled himself to his entire satisfaction in his new residence, and seeing the fruits of his typographical labours daily accumulating, Herbert at length resolved to give them 'shape and substance' by publishing, in the year 1785, the first volume of his long projected work, the title of which is given in the note below.* The

quartam horæ partem absumebant; cibos vorare potius, quam gustare solitus, *e mensa in libros advolabat!* Vita Jacobi Le Long, p. xix: prefixed to the first volume of Boerner's and Masch's truly excellent edition of Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, in 4 volumes, 4to. 1778-85.

* 'Typographical Antiquities or an Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Printing in Great Britain and Ireland: containing Memoirs of our Ancient Printers, and a Register of Books printed by them, From the year MCCCCLXXI to the year MDC. Begun by the late JOSEPH AMES, F. R. and A. SS.: and Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries. Considerably augmented, both in the Memoirs and number of Books, by WILLIAM HERBERT of Cheshunt, Herts. In Three Volumes. London; printed for the Editor, &c. 4to. pp. 684.'

The work is uniformly printed with a worn type on an indifferent paper. Of the small

public, as they were in duty bound to do, received the work very cordially; for the diffidence, candor, and care of the Editor, added to the extraordinary stock of additional information which he brought to the History of BRITISH TYPOGRAPHY, at once disarmed criticism and silenced captious opposition. In the ensuing year, 1786, the second volume made its appearance; and after an interval of four years, and in the 72d of his age, Herbert put forth his third and last volume, with Additions and Corrections. The first volume was enriched, as preliminary matter, with the * Prefaces of Herbert and Ames; and the Memoirs of Ames by the late Mr. Gough; the whole of which, with additional observations and notes, will be found to precede the present pages. Below are inserted the opinions of two leading public Journals upon the merits and demerits of the volumes as they appeared.†

paper, 500 copies, and of the large, in ROYAL quarto, 50 copies were struck off. From a letter of his nephew, Mr. ISAAC HERBERT, in my possession, it appears that 'the paper and print stood his Uncle in twelve or thirteen shillings per volume, including the expenses of coach-hire and postage for the correction of the press: the sheets being regularly sent to Cheshunt for correction.' The price to the public was £1. 1s. in bds.

* A Dedication to the Society of Antiquaries, and a List of Subscribers, 123 in number, with about 220 copies subscribed for, preceded Herbert's Advertisement and Preface.

† On the publication of the FIRST VOLUME:

"At length appears the first volume of this valuable and elaborate work, which was first announced to the public near ten years ago.

"The reasons of this delay, as well as the many and great improvements in this new edition, as set forth by the editor in his advertisement prefixed, are the copiousness of the materials which he has been all this time collecting, the enlargement on the accounts given by Mr. Ames, the innumerable extracts from the Stationers' registers of books licensed by them, whereby the work has been enriched with several memoirs concerning the printers, and books printed with licence, distinguished from those printed without, &c. This, with the introduction of a number of books of which before we had no account, will, it is hoped, make ample compensation for the delay. Under these circumstances, and with the addition of many intelligences liberally communicated from other quarters, it being out of the Editor's power to comprise his design as at first planned and promised in two volumes, and the present volume having obtained the approbation of such of his subscribers as had seen it, who wished him to deliver it without waiting for the remaining,

Notwithstanding the pains taken by the editor, the work was no sooner published in its complete form, than [like the fate of al-

he offers it to the public with the addition of 10 sheets above the proposed quota, and every prudential recommendation of it in the press-work, modestly submitting to their candour the reasonableness of departing from the original plan.

On a review of the great improvements here made on what in Mr. Ames was thought a hardy undertaking (though we do not justify the close adherence to the cut of Mr. A's types), we cannot withhold our share of commendation from Mr. Herbert, wishing him health and life to continue his well-digested plan with all its improvements, and to enjoy the satisfaction of having added to the store of literary knowledge a great number of compositions in every department, as well as of authors, translators, and printers."

Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lv. p. 117.

"The work which formed the basis of the present publication stands deservedly high in the opinion of the Public. Antiquaries have long since admired the laborious exactness of Mr. Ames, in tracing what might be called the typographical history of these islands; and even those whose habits of study were averse from archæological inquiries, have frequently perused his narrative with an attention which the delineation of local antiquities would have solicited in vain. The subject, indeed, is one of those which must interest the curiosity of every scholar; since from him who can disdain to mark the progress of that art, which is the great preserver and dispenser of every other, little either of useful or ornamental knowledge is to be expected.

"We mean not, however, to examine the general merit of the *Typographical Antiquities*, any farther than may be necessary in comparing their original form with that which they have assumed under the hands of Mr. Herbert. When we are in possession of the whole, we shall institute such a comparison, with the minuteness which the unremitted assiduity of the Author seems to demand. At present, we think it our duty, not only to announce the publication of the first volume, but also to give some general account of Mr. Herbert's plan.

"In the title page, Mr. H. professes to 'have augmented Mr. Ames's work considerably, both in memoirs and in number of books.' With respect to the former, something more, we think, might have been collected; something perhaps of the little that is now related might have been suppressed; and much might have been added to the general effect of the work, had a style of writing been adopted more worthy of biographical composition. The greater part of that ridicule, which is too often aimed at the lucubrations of the antiquary, might be obviated, were such writers as industrious in distinguishing what is trifling from what is important, and in superadding elegance of language to profundity of information, as they frequently are in relating that badly which ought not to be related at all.

"Without determining how far Mr. H. is concerned in the application of this remark,

most all similar publications] Herbert had to regret the errors and omissions, however few, with which it was charged. In his ‘Addi-

we will present our Readers with the following specimen of his talents as a biographer; which we have selected, because it appears to be entirely an addition, by Mr. Herbert.’ [A specimen is then given from p. 352, of Herbert: concerning the life of W. Copland.]

“The additions made by Mr. Herbert to Mr. Ames’s catalogue of books, ascribed to the several printers, are numerous and important. The mode of arrangement which he has adopted has this advantage over that of Mr. A—that those books which are of uncertain date, are uniformly placed at the end of each list: where more ample materials have enabled him to confirm the opinion of his predecessor, Mr. H. produces them with candour; where he differs either from Mr. A—or from other writers, he supports his opinion by substantial reasons; and in almost every instance, he introduces additional extracts, some of which form the most curious part of the volume. To the critic, who would trace the rise of English literature, and the gradual improvement of the English language, they afford ample scope for this study; to others, whose researches are directed to ancient manners and customs, they exhibit an equal share of information; and to both they will prove useful substitutes for such books, as from their antiquity must be necessarily difficult of access.

“The first volume closes with an account of Timothy Rider, who flourished about the year 1580. The advertisement informs us, that the second volume is in the press, and is to be followed by a third, the matter having grown so much on Mr. H.’s hands as to preclude the possibility of comprising it in two. Surely no lover of antiquity will lament this transgression of the original proposals; at least, if the subsequent part of the work be executed with the same accuracy and diligence as the present. Something more, perhaps, as we have before hinted, might have been done to enliven the style of the narrative; something, we repeat, might have been spared, without any real injury to the reader. On the whole, however, we sincerely congratulate Mr. H. on his success. The progress he has already made, in so laborious an undertaking, deserves the highest commendation, and entitles him to our best wishes in the prosecution of them.”

Monthly Review, vol. lxxiii. p. 326, &c.

I have not been able to discover, in this critical Journal, any review of the subsequent volumes.

On the publication of the SECOND VOLUME:

“It is with pleasure we announce the appearance of the second volume of this useful and well executed work.—Nothing can be added to the encomiums we passed on the first, in our vol. LV. p. 117. The present volume, which is paged in continuation, brings down the history of our London printers to the end of the sixteenth century: the indefatigable Editor reserving those who exercised this noble and useful art in other parts of Great Bri-

tions and Corrections,' at page 1801, an account is given of a very curious volume of Devotions and Prayers, afterwards called by him a GOLDEN MANUAL OF PRAYERS, collected by Queen Catharine, and which was in the possession of the late Rev. George Ashby, of Bury, in Suffolk. The account, however interesting, happened to be erroneous; and Herbert, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the ensuing year [A. D. 1791: vol. LXI. p. 27-8-9] hastened to make the '*amende honorable*' by transmitting to Mr. Urban an accurate and more detailed account; which, for the benefit of those readers who may not be in possession of the particular volume, is inserted in the note below, with some introductory matter: it being considered sufficiently curious to justify the filling up of the space which it occupies.*

tain to a third volume, which is to complete his design, and which we most heartily wish him health to finish, with all the leisure and exactness necessary to such an undertaking, and that he may meet with the reward of his labours from a discerning public.

Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lvi. p. 421, &c.

On the publication of the THIRD VOLUME:

"We congratulate the publick on the appearance of the third and last volume of this valuable work; and the worthy editor on his release from his labours, and heartily wish him to enjoy the fruits of his unwearied application. The numerous corrections and additions in near 80 pages, subjoined to this volume, shew how much still remains unnoticed in this department of our history; at the same time that we learn, from these volumes, how much our country distinguished itself in the early periods of the art, beyond what other nations of Europe have shewn on the subject. Maittaire's *Annals* comprehend the whole of Europe in less compass than Mr. Herbert has included Great Britain.

"With this volume is given, besides Mr. A.'s preface and the plates of the first edition, a preface by the Editor, a dedication to the President, Council, and Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, memoirs of Mr. Ames by Mr. Gough, with a mezzotinto portrait, from an original picture, and a head engraved from a drawing in red chalk, by Richardson, in the possession of Sir James Winter Lake, Bart.; and a list of subscribers." [*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lx. p. 437.] An anecdote is then extracted which will be found at p. cxxxvii, post.

This portrait is now in the collection of Charles Kemmis Tynte, Esq. A copy of it is subjoined at the end of the *Memoirs of Ames*, p. 51, ante.

* I was led to this corrected account in the *Gentleman's Magazine* from a letter of the

Of the occurrences in Herbert's Life, from the publication of his great work to his decease, I have not been able to collect any which

late Mr. Ashby, dated Oct. 1807, wherein he thus referred me to it. 'In Vol. 3. p. 1801-2, Mr. Herbert has made a strange mistake in thinking that a P. S. of W. de Worde; and I pointed out that the very signature, from his list of them, could not have any possible reference to Lady Tyrwhitt, &c. whose book is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ in the whole breadth of its page. I therefore desire that all about the P. S. may be entirely struck out, as no signature of W. de Worde could stand in a page of that size. I afterwards sent to Mr. Herbert a most exact copy, paginatim, verbatim, punctuatim, &c. from which he published what stands in the *Gent. Mag.* 1791, p. 27-8-9.'

Herbert's Letter is as follows:

" Mr. URBAN,

Cheshunt, Jan. 15.

" Having been favoured with a fac-simile copy of the curious little miscellany of devotions, very superbly bound in solid gold, which Queen Elizabeth, it is said, usually wore, hanging by a gold chain, at her side; of which, according to promise indicated in p. 988, you herewith receive a more particular and correct account than I was enabled to give when 'The Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland' were published; and intreat your indulgence to give it a place in your valuable Repository.

" This rare collection of devotional pieces begins with 'Morning and Evening Prayer, with diuers Psalmes, Himmes, and Meditations. ¶ Made by the Lady Elizabeth Tirwit. Scene and allowed. Printed by H. Middleton, for Christopher Barker.' This title is printed within a border of metal flowers. On the back page is an escutcheon bearing these arms, A lion rampant double queued, in a bordure charged with eight escallops. These prayers, &c. occupy signatures M, in eights; the size of the leaf is two inches and a half high, and one inch and three-eighths broad, margin included in both dimensions. Prefixed thereto is 'A briefe Exhortation vnto Prayer,' in six leaves; the form of Morning Prayer, on seventeen leaves; Evening Prayer, on eight leaves. On the last of them is C. Barker's device, as represented on the frontispiece to 'The Typographical Antiquities,' with this couplet over it:

A Barker if you will:

In name, but not in skill.

" Then follow 'Certaine godly Sentences,' on four leaves, with the same device on the back of the last.—'Certaine other godly Prayers,' on twenty-three leaves; the back of the last blank.—'Hymnes,' on seventeen leaves, with the same device on the back of the last, and a blank leaf after it.—'The Lettanie,' on seventeen leaves, concluding with the 'Prayer of Chrisostome;' before which are inserted, 'A Prayer for the Queene's Maiestie,' and 'A Prayer for Pastors and Ministers of the Church.' On the back of the last of these leaves is this colophon, '¶ Imprinted at London by Henrie Middleton, for Christopher Barker. 1574.' On the other leaf is C. Barker's device again; and, lastly, a blank leaf.

are deserving of recital. He always, however, expressed his satisfaction at the public reception of his labours; and like Cax-

These Prayers, &c. by Lady Tirwit, were re-printed, with considerable variation, and without the Letany, in Tho. Bentley's 2d Lamp of Virginitie, vol. I. p. 103—138.

"The next article in this curious miscellany has the following title in a border of metal flowers: 'The Queene's Prayers, or Meditations: wherein the Mynde is stirred to suffer all Afflictions here.' On the back is the text, Col. iii. 1, 2. It is needless to describe these prayers particularly, as they differ only in orthography from those you have given from Mr. Levett's curious MS. bound in silver, in your Magazine for last September, and the residue thereof from Berthelet's edition, printed 1545, in that of the November following. I shall only mention that the running title throughout is 'The Queene's Praiers;' even over that part of 'The Letanye,' which remains in this splendid binding. A probable reason for leaving out the residue of the Litany, might be to render the volume more portable; the whole Litany having been inserted at the end of Lady Tirwit's prayers, It would doubtless have been taken entirely away, but that 'The Letanye' begins on the same page (F iiiii) on which the Queen's prayers end. These are complete according to the printed editions, but at the end of the meditations has only 'A devoute Prayer * to be sayde dailey.' See Gent. Mag. for Nov. last, p. 988. The four first leaves are without a signature, B—E, in eights; F has only four leaves remaining. Had this piece been left entire, we might very likely have found a colophon at the end. I have an edition not much larger than the forementioned Queen's prayers, printed by William How, 1571, which has its title, *verbatim*, the same, and environed with a border of the same metal flowers, and has the same running title, even to the end of the 'Letany.'† From so great similarity may it not reasonably be conjectured, that both editions were printed by him? I cannot suppose that Q. Catherine Parr published these meditations and prayers out of any ostentation of authorship. In this particular especially she does not in the least pretend to it, as was observed, in the note, p. 987, they were only 'collected out of holy works by her,' neither does she profess herself, though possibly she might be, the translator. The times then and now are indeed very different. Ladies of quality, and even crowned heads, thought it then no disgrace to write and publish what they hoped would promote piety and virtue. True! no one now would let such a performance appear in

* "Which is a short comment upon the Lord's Prayer.

† "About this time the Litany appears to have been much in vogue, and frequently annexed to manuals of private devotions. I have a collection of Christian prayers and meditations, several of them signed John Bradford, with a calendar and almanack prefixed, from 1572 to 1588, and a Litany at the end, with Lidley's prayers annexed, printed by H. Middelton, 1574, in 24°, K k, in eights. If this account, the best account I can give, affords any satisfaction to your worthy correspondent G. A. I shall be very glad."

ton,* 'kept preparing copy to the last' for a future reimpression of them. He left behind an interleaved copy of his own work, with a number of common place books, containing references to the corrections and additions introduced in the former, which all my enquiries and researches have never enabled me to discover, or even to trace to its present probable possessor.†

At length, exhausted by a life of constant mental as well as bodily activity, Herbert gradually sunk under the accumulated affliction of disease and debility attendant on age, and died in his 77th year,

their name, any more perhaps than any other of those times. Elegance of style, no doubt, has been greatly improved in near two centuries and a half.

"To the forementioned devotional treatises in this august collection is annexed the latter part of an almanack 'for xx yeare' (this is the running title for this page; as it may be presumed, An, or The Almanack, was for the preceding one), exhibiting the Easter days, Golden numbers, Dominical letters, and leap years, from 1583 to 1591, inclusive. The former part of the almanack, doubtless, was printed on the back of the first leaf (which is wanting), and commenced with the year 1572. On the back of this remaining part of the almanack begins 'The Kalender,' each month occupying two pages. On the back of the last leaf of the 'Kalender,' and the two following ones, are these articles, viz. 'In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.—The Lorde's Prayer.—The Beliefe, or Creede.—The Ten Commaundements of Almighty God.' Which ends on the back page of signature B, 8; and as the six latter lines of the tenth commandment diminish gradually to a single syllable, here seems to be the conclusion of this little piece; but then, what shall we say to so small a building having so large a door? I am inclined therefore to suppose, it might contain also some graces, short prayers, &c. as frequently set before Primers; perhaps similar to, if not, 'The Christian A, B, C,' as in the list of James Robert's copies, in Brit. Typogr. Antiq. p. 1032.

"Thus have I fulfilled my promise, to give a faithful and particular detail of the contents of the famous golden miscellany, and I hope to the satisfaction of its proprietor.

"W. H."

* See *Some account of the Life of Caxton*, p. cix, post.

† 'The Letters, &c. connected with his work [says his nephew, Mr. Isaac Herbert, in one of his epistles to me] were, when I left England, in a drawer by themselves; and a collection of small paper books, in which he took his extracts from such books as were discovered since his publication, when in London, or elsewhere, and marked on the outside with the Hebrew Alphabet, were likewise together, reference having been made to them in his interleaved copy, 6 vols. Russia, uncut.' Qu. if in Mr. Gough's library?

on the 18th day of March, A. D. 1795.* His body was interred in Cheshunt churchyard, and the following epitaph, ‘ the composition of a young female friend, since married’—[as Mr. Isaac Herbert informs me] was inscribed upon his tomb :

IN MEMORY OF

WILLIAM HERBERT

Late of this Parish, Gent.
who died March 18th, 1795,
Aged 77 Years.

With the calmness of a Sincere Christian
Looking forward with bright assurance
After a well spent Life
To the glorious Reward of Immortality.
His Death is greatly lamented
By those who knew his Worth.
Go, READER, and obtain an end like his.

WILLIAM HERBERT was, in person, rather below the middle stature; stout, and inclined to corpulency. His complexion was fair ;

* A short sketch of his life, and summary of his character, was written by Mr. Gough, and inserted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of this month and year. “ If (concludes this eminent antiquary) there were not a limit assigned by a wise and kind Providence to human life and human proficiency, we should say that Mr. Herbert wore himself out by too close an application to his favourite pursuit. But who can say this of a man who had attained almost to the verge of his 77th year? Who can say this, who knows how little his faculties were impaired by this long life? Who, that knew his integrity, simplicity, and modesty, and how punctually he fulfilled the relative, social, and public duties required at his hands, can presume to imagine he will lose the reward of a long and happy life.”
Vol. lxxv. pt. i. p. 261-2.

and the appearance of a white, and formally curled, wig—to which was frequently superadded a white hat*—gave him a very ‘stiff and ancient aspect,’ as our old biographers sometimes express it. His physiognomy, however, when divested of these stately accompaniments, was remarkable for an expression of sweetness and benevolence—these being the leading characteristics of his temper and disposition. His habits, as may be anticipated, were precise and regular; and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of the table he preserved an almost ascetic rigidity. When occupied in taking extracts from the Caxtonian volumes in his Majesty’s library, his usual custom was to come to town for a week or ten days (during the moon-light nights) to his friends Mr. and Mrs. Dennis,† in Cowp r’s Row, Crutched Friars; and, rising betimes in the morning, and making a hearty breakfast upon *tepid water gruel*, he would sally forth, with the spirit of a Knight of Chivalry, in pursuit of his favourite objects: nor would he, in general, return till the evening; when

. reign’d
Full-orb’d the moon, and with more pleasing light
Shadowy, set off the face of things:

[Par. Lost. book v. l. 42.]

Such was the singularity and the ardour of our typographical antiquary, while engaged in the career of his great work!

* In this dress Herbert used to sit, early in the morning, before breakfast, in the centre of his library under the skylight window; and would also saunter about the garden in it. This renowned hat had been worn by his third wife, in her younger days, when she used to ride on horseback.

His other singularities may be conceived from his inflexible adherence to the small *i* in using the first personal pronoun. It pervades his whole work; in like manner as it has been introduced in his preface at p. 55, ante.

† Mr. Dennis is brother of the late Rev. Dr. Dennis, President of St. John’s College, Oxford; whose interment, in the chapel of his own college, I attended in the year 1795.

In the company of strangers he was shy and reserved ; but in that of his intimate acquaintance he was frank and communicative. At all times Herbert was prone to admire literary eminence ; and had a general respect for antiquaries and scholars. If he be taxed, in consequence, with pushing this deference too far—into pusillanimous obsequiousness—it must be remembered that he had always a strong, and perhaps too unfavourable, a notion of the deficiencies of his own classical education. This made him too easily surrender his judgment to the opinion of another, and frequently to express doubt and diffidence upon the most simple and palpable propositions. If, therefore, he was defective in those points which shew an accomplished mind, and a strong and original manner of thinking and writing, he has avoided the more common and culpable error of rashness, precipitancy, and self-importance. With him, ignorance was tempered by diffidence, and sought to correct itself by a judicious application to the more experienced : it was not, therefore, (as we sometimes observe it) endeavouring to disguise itself by a contemptible vanity, and a callous indifference to what predecessors have written, or to what contemporaries and successors may say !

It remains only to observe, that, in regard to his moral and religious character, Herbert was correct and devout. In principles, he was a strict Presbyterian ; but had the good sense never to exact a conformity of opinion, on religious subjects, from those who were more closely united with him. His last wife usually accompanied him to his own place of worship, but regularly took the Sacrament at the established church. Herbert would express no disapprobation at her conduct ; saying, that ‘ God judged the heart, and not the outward form.’

His library, perhaps seldom equalled in the riches of ~~black-letter~~ literature, was scattered, after his decease, at various times and in different sales ; although a catalogue of many of his books was published by Mr. Isaac Herbert, his nephew, in the year 1796 ; with the subjoined title.* He used always to write—upon the interior of the

* ‘ A Catalogue of Books, Ancient and Modern, in Various Languages, Branches of
VOL. I. m

cover, or upon a blank leaf, or upon the title-page, of his books—either his own name, or that of Ames; and generally both; having two methods of executing his own—thus:

Ames p. 242. WH. p. 659. W^m Herbert. 1771.

He wrote, in general, a remarkably strong, clear, and intelligible hand; as the following fac-simile will testify:

*The Rev. Mr. George Ashby,
Bury,
Suffolk*

Science and Literature; Comprising part of the well-known, curious and valuable library of the late MR. HERBERT, of Cheshunt, Herts, Editor of the improved Edition, in 3 vols. Quarto, of Ames's Typographical Antiquities; Atkyns's Gloucestershire; East India Directory, &c. Which are selling on reasonable terms for Ready Money, at the prices printed in the Catalogue. By ISAAC HERBERT, Bookseller, No. 29, Great Russell-Street, Bloomsbury. Part I. London, M.DCC.XCVI. crown 8vo. Containing about 2700 articles [my copy of it ending at n^o. 2690—Addenda—Quarto].

In this little volume a number of curious books [some printed by Caxton, to which references are made p. 119, and 137, post.] are to be found; with some valuable MSS. and interleaved copies, with MS. notes, of ancient authors. Herbert was a collector of MSS. as well as of books; and Mr. Otridge, the bookseller in the Strand, informs me, that our typographical antiquary once purchased of him a beautiful Manuscript of the Journal of Lord Anson's Voyage, in folio, for £5. 5s. which he carried away in joyous triumph!

Having thus mentioned all the material circumstances, which have been stated to me, of the life and character of William Herbert, I shall close this imperfect Memoir by making a few observations upon the great work on which his reputation is built, and which I have undertaken to bring before the public in a new and improved state.

He who looks into the *TYPGRAPHICAL ANTIQUITIES OF GREAT BRITAIN* (as edited by Herbert), for elegant or interesting digressions relating to the ancient literature of his country, will, unquestionably, be disappointed in his search. The Editor's aim appears to have been purely typographical: to give a faithful list of the productions of the press; without engrafting thereon any account of the various works of authors, or collecting the opinions of the best critics upon their merits and demerits. Now and then, some brilliant passages from Warton, or some curious extracts from Strype and Collier, throw a gleam of amusement over eighteen hundred and thirty-eight closely printed quarto pages of a catalogue of books published in our own country; but, to the generality of readers, Herbert's work will always continue to be 'a sealed book.' The Bibliographer, Book-Collector, and Antiquary, will, however, rarely be disappointed in their expectations; for to this latter class of readers it is replete with useful and curious information. While Herbert has equalled the industry of Bagford,* and eclipsed the reputation of

* As the name and labours of Bagford are so often mentioned in the course of this volume, it may not be unacceptable to the reader to peruse the following account of this typographical antiquary's visit to the 'HAARLEM BOOK' and to *COSTER'S STATUE*; as transmitted by him to the Royal Society, and published among the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xxv. p. 2401.5.

" Since my second voyage to Holland, to satisfy my curiosity and remove some scruples about the book at Harlem, and the *STATUE OF COSTER*, having recollected myself after my first voyage, and discoursing with Mr. Talman, junr. about Holland and the Statue of Coster; he told me he had seen the same in Holland, and that it was in the *Harlemer-street* in Leyden. This very much run in my mind, to be further satisfied that it should be in Leyden and not Harlem, although asserted by several of our modern travellers.

" At my last being in Holland, for my further satisfaction, though I had got Mr. Ball

Ames, he has evinced such diligence, patience, and minute fidelity, as have scarcely been exhibited by the most distinguished *foreign* bi-

to take the inscription for me the year before, in June 1705, having an opportunity in the company of my good friend Walter Clarel, Esq. on Wednesday the 23d of October, 1706, we took boat for Leyden, where we arrived about six the same day; and next day in the morning, in the company of Mr. Bovell, a student there, who was our guide into the *Harlemer Street*, so called because it leadeth to the Harlem parts, over the door of a Glazier's house was the figure of Coster cut in wood, and painted with the inscription. This Statue was not set up by any Publick Authority of the magistrates of that city, but by a private man; and, if I mistake not, by the owner of the house, perhaps for the name and sake of the street; and, as I suppose, not older than 1630. This statue is done after the Graved Print that is in the book at Harlem, or the painting over the door of *Laurence Johnson Coster*, where they say he first practised the art of printing: but I rather take it that he lived in this house in his old age, and was Church Keeper, or, as we call it, Sexton; for so the word signifies both in the German and Dutch language.

"Some days after leaving Leyden, in company of my friends Mr. John Bullord, and Mr. John Murray, we set forth from Amsterdam, in a waggon, for Harlem; to compare and collate the book, which Mr. Bullord had procured for me, with that at Harlem, it being another impression in quarto. The name of the book, at the letter end, runs thus:

"*'This Book was finished in the good City of Culenburgh, by me John Veldener, in the year of our Lord 1483, on the Saturday after St. Matthew's day.'* With the device of the printer hanging on the bough or snag of a tree, a custom they much used in those days; as may be seen by the monuments of the ancients cut on grave stones, not only in the Great Church at Harlem, but several other cities in Holland: which device I will insert. The Title of the Book in Low Dutch, the language in which it is printed, is,

De Spiegel onser Behondenise
in english,
The Mirror of Salvation.

"When we arrived at Harlem, much to my surprise, we found the house of *Coster* new faced with plaister, and the picture of his statue (for it is no other than a picture in oyl-colors) painted on a board, let into the wall near the top of the house, although it be a small one. This house was new repaired and to be let; although, when I was there before, it was inhabited by a Cheesemonger. After viewing the house and the great church, we directed our way to the Rector, who is the School Master, put in by the magistrates of the city. He not being in the way, his servant maid took the key, and readily gave us admission into the Prince's garden, in order to shew us the book, which was removed from the Stair head of the Prince's *Houffe*, or house, where we saw it last, to the further end of the garden, in a little house fitted up for that purpose, facing the garden. On the

bliographers ; and if he does not display the liveliness of Chevillier, and the taste of Renouard, he unites in himself all the accuracy of Audiffredi, and the perseverance of Panzer. No single country can boast of such an acquisition to its history of ancient literature as OUR OWN, in the typographical labours of Herbert !

The present, however, is an age, in which, notwithstanding the fortunate and widely-spreading influence of a taste for ANCESTRAL LORE, a strong and frequent disposition is displayed to ridicule all attachment to pursuits which border upon ~~Black-letter~~ literature ; and to promoters and encouragers of such ridicule, it is probable that the ‘ rectos, reverses, numerals, signatures, catchwords, &c.’ which obtrude themselves in almost every page of Herbert, will be considered only as unintelligible jargon, and fair objects of sarcasm : but those who can delight themselves in the fancied triumph of ex-

chest that it was kept in, there was the date of 1618 inlaid in the wood. Opening it the maid shewed us the book, where Mr. Bullord collated it with the other we brought with us from Amsterdam, and found it to agree both in the words of the text, and also the pictures ; they only differed in this, that being in folio, with two pictures in a page, and the words column-wise, and 25 lines in a column, containing 60 pages, and printed but on one side, and not pasted together as those at Oxford and Cambridge.

“ After I had gratified the maid for her trouble, we addressed ourselves to an old Gardener that was at work in the garden, for Mr. Bullord had enquired of him when we came first into the garden, whether he knew any thing of the Statue of Coster, and he readily told him he could shew him it. At the entrance into the garden, at the upper end of the summer house, on the right hand, he pointed to it ; where we saw it leaning with its left hand on the inscription, which bore date 1440 ; and in its right hand, the letter A in a square, with other figures—as little boys naked, and in their hand A B C, with the picture of Fame holding the letters C D and E. This was taken from the story of Junius in his History of the Low Countries, and others from him. There are other stories painted on the walls of the Summer House ; as one of the Lords of the Harlem in his armour ; but they not being to my purpose I shall pass them by. All these pictures, with the Statue of Coster, are painted in Distemper, and are no older (as appears by the date of the cieling) than 1655.” *Philos. Trans.* vol. xxv. 2401-5.

An analysis of Bagford’s papers [in the British Museum] relating to printing, with some other curious particulars concerning their former owner, will, as has been elsewhere remarked, be published by me in another bibliographical work. I shall only here add, that there are some good impressions of Coster’s supposed portrait, as well as of his statue, in the *Annus Tertius Secularis inventæ Artis Typographicæ*, Harlem, 8vo. 1742.

posing such phrases, should consider how absurd, and even reprehensible it is, to bring to the common standard by which Belles-Lettres books in general are judged, a work of a similar nature to Herbert's!—in which technical phrases are as necessary to be introduced, as in publications that relate to physic or botany. Taking therefore the ‘Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain,’ as we find them, the question is not—whether Herbert might have injured or improved his work by the introduction of bibliographical anecdotes and literary records—but whether, as far as it goes, and upon the plan on which it is executed, the History of Printing be faithfully and satisfactorily accomplished? Upon this point, from the testimonies before adduced,* there hardly seems to be a dissentient opinion.

It was fortunate for both the original and succeeding author of this valuable work, that they supplied, in a great degree, the deficiencies of intellectual accomplishments by the ready and active services of friends, oftentimes more able than themselves to appreciate the rarity and worth of the several articles described. Ames, in particular, was singularly favoured;† and Herbert, if he had more zeal, activity, and a greater quantity of materials within his own reach, than his predecessor, had also access to a variety of private collections till then unexamined; and, in the sales of West's and Ratcliffe's books, enjoyed such GOLDEN OPPORTUNITIES, as his editor despairs of ever falling to his own lot! In consequence, he has left behind him a rich harvest, collected chiefly by his own diligence, and gratifying to every genuine lover of literature and typography. He has made no boast of his own labours, nor elaborately detailed all the cares, anxieties, and difficulties, which, in the prosecution of so arduous a work, he must of necessity have encountered: although he might have exclaimed with Fabricius‡ that

* Vide p. 80, &c. ante.

† Vide p. 15, &c. ante.

‡ Consult the preface to his *Bibliotheca Græca*, §. 2. His language is sufficiently strong:

‘in searching after the several editions, the utmost care had been taken to describe them from a careful and minute survey of the books themselves, and not from the superficial, and oftentimes erroneous, accounts of Catalogues.’—Herbert was, undoubtedly, [to use the language of Denis, in commendation of Maittaire*] “a man to be praised, as well deserving of the republic of Letters on many accounts ; and especially for his SINGULAR MODESTY, which may be considered the crown of literary attainments.”

‘non è Catalogis, &c. sed, quantum fieri potuit, inspectis et evolutis libris ipsis et haud negligenter consideratis.’

* Præf. p. vi. *Annal. Typog. Supplementum*, Viennæ, 1789, 4to.

Vide Page 75 ante



Preliminary Disquisition

ON THE EARLY STATE OF

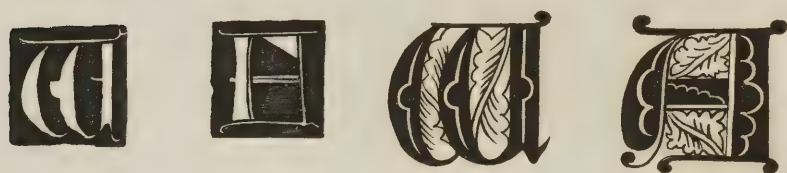
ENGRAVING AND ORNAMENTAL PRINTING

IN GREAT BRITAIN.

VOL. I.

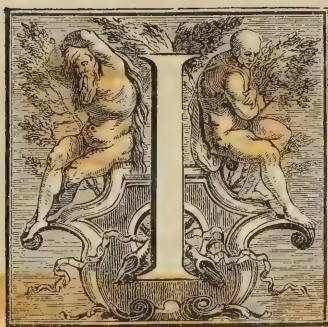
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A B C D E F G



Fac-similes of Initial Capital Letters, used by our early Printers from 1471 to 1550.

Preliminary Disquisition.



It is very far from my intention to enter into an elaborate disquisition concerning the early state of the Arts of Engraving and Printing in this country. So little is known with certainty, and so frequent have been the contradictions of able writers, upon these subjects, that, in the present instance, I shall only give a brief but tolerably faithful outline of their early progress, by way of introduction to a professed HISTORY OF PRINTING IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The Art of Engraving preceded the Art of Printing but a short time. Whatever were the absurdities propagated concerning the origin of both, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these have been materially rectified by the amusing and intelligent treatises of Marchand, Schoepflin, Meerman, Papillon, Fournier, Heinecken, Huber, Lambinet, Breilkopf, and Bartsch, published within the last century.

The little that is here necessary to say about the origin of the Art of Engraving *abroad*, is inserted in the note below.* Of its intro-

* In describing the origin of this beautiful and useful art, it will be necessary, in the first place, to notice the first efforts of engraving UPON WOOD. Playing cards, which

duction into this country a more detailed account may be expected.

The late ingenious, persevering, and ever to be respected Mr. Joseph Strutt, in tracing the earliest period of this art in Great

were perhaps the first legitimate effects of cutting upon wood, were known in Germany before the year 1376. See Heineken's *Idée Générale d'une Collection D'Estampes*, p. 241. Buller, in his *Recherches historiques sur les cartes à jouer*, 1759. 8vo. had erroneously imagined that they were first introduced into France under the reign of Charles V. The earliest impression of a wood cut, with a date, not confined to the subject of card playing, is the famous print of St. Christopher and the Infant Jesus, which Heineken discovered in the library of a convent at Buxheim near Memmingen, in Suabia, and which has the date of 1423. This great curiosity was found pasted within the binding of an old book printed in the 15th century—"carefully placed there, most probably, [says Heineken] by one of the monks in former times from a wish to preserve it." It is now in the magnificent collection of Earl Spencer. See Huber's *Notices des Graveurs*, p. 47: Idem. *Manuel des Amateurs de l'Art*, vol. i. 86. Notwithstanding the express evidence of the antiquity of this cut, it may be questioned whether some early printed books, from wooden blocks, such as the 'Biblia Pauperum,' or 'Speculum Humanæ Salvationis,' do not exhibit specimens of engravings upon wood of nearly an equally ancient date. The date of these latter is certainly conjectural; but if, as Fournier supposes, the cuts were struck off sometime before the letter press was subjoined, their antiquity would not fall far short of that of the Buxheim print.

Of engraving UPON COPPER the earliest known impression is that executed by one Thomaso Finiguerra, a goldsmith of Florence, with the date of 1460 upon it. One of the following circumstances is supposed to have given rise to the discovery. Finiguerra chanced to cast or let fall a piece of copper, engraved and filled with ink, into melted sulphur; and observing that the exact impression of his work was left on the sulphur, he repeated the experiment on moistened paper, rolling it gently with a roller. This origin has been admitted by Lord Walpole and Mr. Landseer; but another has been also mentioned by Huber:—"It is reported," says he, "that a washer-woman left some linen upon a plate or dish on which Finiguerra had just been engraving; and that an impression of the subject engraved, however imperfect, came off upon the linen; occasioned by its weight and moistness. We learn also from Vasari (continues Huber) that as early as the year 1450 the same artist had engraved very ingeniously, upon a chalice, [or sacramental cup] some small figures of 'The Passion of our Saviour,' for the service of the church of St. John of Florence, &c. But [observes Huber] it is material to remark that we have no direct evidence whatever of the workmanship of Finiguerra; for his name is not subscribed to any of his productions. The efforts of Boticello and Baldini, his contemporaries and acquaintance, seem to be strengthened by somewhat less excep-

Britain,* seems to have rested satisfied with the meagre statement of Evelyn; who has drawn no distinction between engraving on wood and on copper. Of the latter he says that "working from plates of copper, which we call prints, was not yet appearing or born with us till about the year 1490." Chambers, in his *Encyclopædia*, had absurdly supposed that "engraving was first introduced here by John Speed, being brought by him from Antwerp, in the reign of James the First." The learned Dr. Henry, in his *History of the Fine Arts, &c. in Britain from A.D. 1485 to 1547*, contented himself with referring to the superficial account of the late Lord Orford;† and rather confusedly describes "a rude engraving, employed as a substitute for illuminating to decorate the titles and initials of books. Some copper plates (he continues) were produced at the end of this period."‡ These accounts, it must be confessed, fall very short of being satisfactory.

Strutt seems to have congratulated himself that he had obtained an original plate of the first engraving upon copper ever executed in this country; and, as such, he published it as plate iv. in the first volume of his *Dictionary of Engravers*: "but this claim, as Mr. Land-

tionable evidence." *Notices des Graveurs*. 1787, 8vo. p. 2. 3. 4. Thus much for the origin of copper-plate engraving in Italy.

In the subsequent year the art was exercised in Germany; and a copper-plate impression of the Virgin and Child, of the date of 1461, has been copied by Strutt, as the first plate in the preliminary Essay to his *Dictionary of Engravers*. Consult also Mr. Landseer's *Lectures on Engraving*, p. 189, &c. The reader will do well to peruse the first 19 pages of Fournier's elegant '*Dissertation sur l'Origine, &c. de Graver en Bois*'. 1758. 8vo. Fournier's hints have been expanded by Papillon in the 6th chapter of his '*Traité Historique, &c. de la Gravure en Bois*', 1766. 8vo.

* See Strutt's Essay '*On the Origin and Progress of Engraving*' prefixed to the first volume of his '*Dictionary of Engravers*.'

† *Walpole's Catalogue of Engravers*, p. 5.

‡ *History of Great Britain*, vol. xii. p. 291. edit. 1799, 8vo. Some information upon this subject may be gleaned from the late Mr. Gough's *Topographical Antiquities*, where there is a long and curious account of the engraving of the letters in the Salisbury Missals printed abroad: see in particular p. 325, of the second volume.

seer justly observes,* he rather withdraws than enforces; and, in conclusion, has shewn his regard for veracity, by quitting the subject without venturing a step further than his data would safely carry him." From a minute examination of this plate I think it evidently appears, first, that it was not executed in this country; and, secondly, that wherever it was executed, it was most probably done towards the close of the 15th, or beginning of the 16th, century. The figures are too well drawn and engraved, and the folding of the drapery is too angular and, at the same time, graceful, for the first effort of the art in a strange country. The second ground from which I would infer that the plate was not executed towards the close of the 15th, or beginning of the 16th, century, is this: Although Marchand† says Ratdolt was the first printer or artist who introduced ornamental capital initials, flowers, and vignettes, yet there are few, if any, books published before the year 1482 with such decorated initials as are delineated in Strutt's plate. It is true that the 'Calendarium Joannis Regiomontani', in which Ratdolt seems to have had a considerable share, was printed in the year 1476 [although no date is affixed]; but the 'initiales literæ florentes,' which Maittaire‡ describes as being in this volume, are probably nothing more than the *seventh* form, or character, of capital initials in the plate prefixed to this Disquisition.

In pursuing the subjects of early ENGRAVING and ORNAMENTAL PRINTING in this country, I purpose to consider the first under the two following heads or divisions: I. *Impressions from Wooden Blocks*: II. *Impressions from Copper Plates*: the second subject, or

* *Lectures on Engraving*, p. 193.

† See Marchand's *Dictionnaire Historique*, &c. vol. ii. 156.

‡ *Annales Typographici*, vol. i. 352-3: consult the note 2—where there is a pleasing account of the talents of Ratdolt from Bunneman, which seems to accord with the encomiums of Marchand. In my '*Bibliographical and Typographical Dictionary*,' (to be published at some future period) I hope to do justice to this ingenious printer. Meanwhile, it may be worth remarking that his books are rare; and that the '*Calendarium*' will be found in very few libraries, or even mentioned in bibliographical works.

Ornamental Printing, [which is, in fact, a branch of the former] I shall consider under the following: I. *Capital Initials*, or the first letter to the first page of a work: II. *Title Pages*, or the designation of the subject of the work on a separate, preceding, page.

Vertue, in his Catalogue of Engravers in England, without drawing the distinction between Copper Plate and Wooden Block engraving, seems to have had a shrewd suspicion that the second edition of Caxton's Game of Chess [vide p. 38, post] contained some of the earliest engravings executed in this country. Heinecken was aware of this when he stated that the Golden Legend of 1483 exhibited the first efforts of the art here: but the most correct conclusion seems to be, that the earliest known specimens of engraving upon wood, in this country, *with a date affixed*, are the figures in Caxton's edition of the 'Mirror of the World,' printed in 1481. [see p. 108. post.] Notwithstanding, it is very probable that the second edition of the 'Game of Chess,' printed without date, but most likely about the year * 147 $\frac{5}{8}$] affords specimens of wood engraving at least four years earlier.

But these, and similar figures, are, in all probability, not the genuine productions of this country; and may be traced to books of an earlier date printed abroad,† from which they were often borrowed without acknowledgment or the least regard to the nature of the work in which they again appeared. Caxton, however, has judiciously taken one of the prints from the 'Biblia Pauperum'‡ to introduce in his 'Life of Christ:' [a fac-simile of which is given at page 322 post.] The cuts for his second edition of 'Chaucer's Canterbury Tales,' [vide p. 300 post.] may perhaps safely be considered as the genuine

* See my account of the 'The Life of Caxton,' post: sub anno 147 $\frac{5}{8}$.

† The cuts in Caxton's edition of Æsop [vide p. 208, &c. post] are decidedly copied from those in foreign editions.

‡ Bibliographers are not agreed about the date of this book; and as Heinecken has left it unsettled, the point is not likely to be now agitated with success. Daunou seems to think it was after the Horarium of Coster, and before the Psalter of 1457. Probably the year 1445 may be reasonably stated as the period of its publication.

invention and execution of a British artist; and considering the rude state of the elegant and useful arts in this country, at the period of their publication, some of them are certainly not divested of spirit and the merit of characteristic propriety. Like the text which accompanied them, they were borrowed or imitated only for the worse by subsequent publishers.

The 'Crucifixion' at the end of the 'Golden Legend' of 1493 [vide p. 193, post.] which Wynkyn de Worde has so frequently subjoined to his religious pieces, is, unquestionably, the effort of some ingenious foreign artist. It is not very improbable that Rubens had a recollection of one of the thieves, twisted, from convulsive agony, round the top of the cross, when he executed his celebrated picture of the same subject.*

To Caxton succeeded WYNKYN DE WORDE; a printer of very considerable taste, and of infinitely more skill than his predecessor. The present is not the place to describe the peculiarities and the beauties of his press-work; but, as connected with the subject of Engraving, we may remark that he seems to have been rather partial to the mode of embellishing his books with cuts; and that one of the earliest and most magnificent of his productions, his edition of '*Bartholomæus, De Proprietatibus Rerum*,' exhibits a combination of printing and engraving, of which, in this country, we have nothing before that deserves to be put in comparison. His edition of the '*Polychronicon* (1495) which is hardly less splendid for its typographical execution, and which, according to Herbert, was printed with a newly-cast type, is also curious on the score of engraving; and particularly for giving us the following very early specimen of a *Landscape*:

* "To give animation to this subject, Rubens has chosen the point of time when an executioner is piercing the side of Christ, while another with a bar of iron is breaking the limbs of one of the malefactors, who, in his convulsive agony, which his body admirably expresses, has torn one of his feet from the tree to which it was nailed. The expression in the action of this figure is wonderful." This is the appropriate language of *Sir Joshua Reynolds*. Vide his Works, vol. ii. 317, edit. 1798. 8vo. A peculiarity in both the ancient and Rubens's figure, is, that the head is *thrown back* on the top of the cross.

which I take to be a bird's eye view of some fortified town-abroad, intended for our 'sea-girt' isle; it being prefixed to a 'DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.'



The contemporary and rival of Wynkyn De Worde was RICHARD PYNSON; a typographical artist who, in the choice of his devices, manifested a much purer taste. There is nothing however in his very early printed books, of which I am aware, that presents us with any favourable specimens of the art of Engraving. The cuts in his '*Dives et Pauper*' of 1493 are, with the exception of the miserable figures of the Rich Man and Lazarus at the beginning and end of the volume, of foreign manufactory. In his edition of Fabian's *Chronicles* of 1516, there are some neat whole length portraits of the Kings of England, in the outline, and a small cut of a battle; which latter will be engraved for my description of the edition in the second volume of this work.

Pynson was probably the first printer in England who introduced VIGNETTES and BORDERS to his books. The following is a fac-simile of the kind of vignette and border which he adopted in one of his early works,* certainly published before the expiration of the reign of Henry VII:



* '*PETRI CARMELIANI CARMEN*, 4to. no date.' See Herbert's interesting account of this very rare book, p. 289.

The next specimen shews how carelessly artists contrived to execute the *Portraits* of authors ; and how those *Historical Subjects* were treated, on which some of the ablest engravers had before exercised their ingenuity with success :



The preceding cut is taken from Pynson's edition of Lydgate's *Bochas*, or the *Fall of Princes*, of 1527; and the gentleman at the desk, who may be found in a hundred works by a hundred different authors, is gravely intended for a portrait of Lydgate: it is accompanied by a subject of which perhaps ten hundred prints, all greatly superior, had been previously published. In fact, it would appear, from such a specimen, that printers adopted indifferently the first cut that came into their possession.

Two editions of a very popular work, abounding with wood cuts of every description, and of various merit, were published by Wynkyn De Worde and Pynson before, and about, this period; entitled "*THE SHEPHERDES KALENDER*"—of which I shall speak much at large when they are treated of in their proper order: at present they are only mentioned as exhibiting very curious and grotesque specimens of the art of engraving on wood in its earliest and rudest state. Herbert [p. 285] appears to have never inspected Pynson's edition, which is the more rare and curious of the two.

While the leading printers of the metropolis were exhibiting so depraved a taste in the engraved ornaments of their books, a foreigner of the name of TREVERIS, who worked in the Borough for John Reynes and Lawrence Andrewe, put forth, in the year 1527, a magnificent reprint of Wynkyn De Worde's edition of the *Polychronicon*; which he ornamented with a splendid title-page of St. George killing the Dragon, with the name of the work printed above, in red ink, in large Gothic letters of an inch in length. The same champion occurs on the reverse of the last leaf, with slightly-altered ornaments, and the name of the work omitted. On the recto of the last leaf, which with the title are usually wanting, there is another elegant specimen of wooden-block engraving. Indeed the volume is in every respect a curiosity; and enables us, perhaps with some degree of certainty, to date the origin of Vignettes

in this country in which the *Human Figure* is introduced. The following are some of the head and tail pieces to the different chapters:



On the reverse of fol. clxxxii is the following representation of a battle: the first which I have met with, in this country, executed on an enlarged scale; having the armies designated by the respective standards and pennons which they bore. The skill and fidelity of Mr. John Nesbit, the artist who traced and engraved it, will be acknowledged by the most fastidious critic:



Two classes of books in particular seem to have been properly selected by our printers for the display of the united arts of engraving and printing; and these were BIBLES and CHRONICLES. Of the latter class, some of the cuts in the last edition of Grafton's, and in the first edition of Holinshed's, Chronicles, as well as the large wood cut on the reverse of the concluding leaf of Hall's Chronicles of 1548, are eminent proofs that there were, in this country, artists [whether foreigners or englishmen I will not pretend to determine] who understood and practised their profession with skill and success.

But the most splendid attempts at engraving seem to have been reserved for the most precious of all books; The BIBLE: of which a sumptuous edition appeared during the reign of Henry VIII. Many other editions were destined, under the sovereignty of Elizabeth, (when arts, arms, and learning, made us known, felt, and admired throughout Europe) to receive some of the costliest decorations from the presses of Grafton, Jugge, Bill and Barker. The specimens on the two ensuing pages are taken from the fragments of a beautiful quarto edition of the Testament, printed in the black letter, which belonged to the late Reverend Mr. George Ashby of Bury, in Suffolk; who supposed that the edition came from the press of either Grafton or Whitchurch, or of both. They are unquestionably very skilful productions;* although it is probable that the curious collector may be able to adduce others of still greater beauty and force.

* Some of the prints in this Testament are probably copied from the beautiful wood cuts in the Lyons Bibles of 1550-1555—executed by PETIT BERNARD, or Bernard Solomon; concerning whom Papillon has a long and interesting account [vol. i. 206]. So scarce is this Bible, that Papillon could hardly find two complete copies of it in the course of twelve years. It has been called “a most beautiful work, and though it does not come up to the masterly Venetian manner, yet it is a fine performance.” See a rare treatise entitled ‘*An Enquiry into the Origin of Printing in Europe.* By a Lover of the Art. Lond. 1752. 8vo. p. 23.’ Bernard’s most precious performance seems to have been a small quarto volume, called “*Hymnes du temps et de ses parties*,” consisting of 88 pages only. See Papillon, *Traité Hist. de la Gravure en Bois*, vol. i. 208. Strutt has disgraced his Dictionary by his superficial notice of this incomparable artist.

My object in laying these fac-similes before the reader is, to impress him with an idea of that peculiar species or character of wooden-block engraving, which may be traced in a variety of productions that signalised the typographical annals of Elizabeth's reign; and even those who are accustomed to the productions of ancient artists, may probably receive some gratification in observing the spirit and truth with which they are executed. How far some of them may be copies of foreign productions, has been slightly questioned in the preceding note: that their intrinsic merit, both in design and engraving, is sufficient to put a number of modern performances to the blush, must be admitted by the most careless observer. At the same time it must be allowed that the talents of many eminent living artists, in this department of engraving, have not yet been fairly put to the test; otherwise we might have seen a portable edition of the Bible, which would have equalled, in graphic illustrations, the beauty of the cuts executed by BERNARD.



St. Mark.



St. Luke.



Marriage in Cana.



Christ and Nicodemus.

With these fac-similes I close the investigation into the early state of WOODEN-BLOCK engravings ; having brought the subject down to the commencement of Elizabeth's reign : when it was practised with increased success,* and when the evidence of what is called her Majesty's ' *Prayer Book*' alone, with wood-cut borders, is sufficient to convince us that the lapse of two centuries and a half has not witnessed a proportionable improvement in the art.†

* "The reason why the art of cutting on wood was at the highest perfection at these times, and esteemed every where, was, that the performers of the art had the greatest care to every thing which was to terminate the performance. Faust [qu?] Alberto Durer, the scholars of Titian, Hugo di Carpi, &c. were not only cutters on wood, but likewise masters in drawing, *accurate observers of every thing relating to printing*, which required a great deal of speculation to examine all the accessories requisite to accomplish their works, before they went into the hands of the public."

"One of the greatest princes and connoisseurs of our age, the late Regent of France, Duke of Orleans, used to say, he saw nothing in prints that could give him the pleasure he received from looking at the WOOD PRINTS, done in Chiaro Oscuro by Hugo di Carpi." *Enquiry into the Origin of Printing in Europe*, p. 22.

† "The reasons of the decay of the art in CUTTING ON WOOD, were the great improvements produced by engraving on copper, and the clean, neat impression produced from the rolling press. Authors chuse this method of Printing [tho' more expensive] to ornament and adorn their works with these sculptures, and engraving on wood was obliged to stoop to the mode of the times, and has scarcely been admitted to take place unless it is for initial letters. In fine, engraving on copper has envied the little remains of any thing done on wood ; so as to oblige those, whose talents might be disposed to perform works in the ancient manner, to lay entirely aside all thoughts of it. Notwithstanding the contempt thrown on the art of cutting on wood, occasioned by the avarice of some, and ignorance of others, who attempted to perform an art that required a knowledge in drawing, and other talents to perform it properly—there has always been some few artists in most countries in Europe, that have had a great regard for what was performed by wood-cutting in the first century of printing, so as to take care to transmit some works down to this day of its not being entirely lost."—"It will be necessary to inform the curious, that what has been said already of cutting on wood and its excellency, does only relate to that branch of printing which accompanies *Typography* as displayed in books and prints," &c. *Idem*. p. 24.

The author of this interesting [but somewhat inaccurately written] treatise, thus accounts for the neglect of the art of cutting on wood in the seventeenth century, up to the year 1752, when his pamphlet was published : "In the beginning of this century a remarkable

I might have noticed the curious engravings upon wood in RASTELL's '*Pastime of the People*,' or '*Chronicle*;' but a fac-simile of some of these will accompany my account of the book itself in a future volume.

As the second part of the first division of this Preliminary Disquisition, I shall submit a few observations upon the introduction of the art of engraving on COPPER PLATE* into this country.

blow was given to all cutters upon wood, by an invention of engraving on the same sort of metal which types are cast with. The celebrated Mr. Kirkhal, an able engraver on copper, is said to be the first who performed a relieve work to answer the use of cutting on wood. This could be dispatched much sooner, and consequently answered the purpose of booksellers and printers, who purchased those sort of works at a much cheaper rate than could be expected from an engraver on wood: it requiring much more time to execute with accuracy any piece of work of the same measure with those carved on metal. This performance was very much in vogue, and continued down to this day [1752] to serve for Initials, *Fregü*, and *Finales*: it is called a clear impression, but is often gray and hazy, far from coming up to that clear black impression produced with cutting on the side of a piece of box-wood or pear-tree. Much about the same time, there started another method of engraving on the end ways of wood itself, which was cut to the height of the letters to accompany them in the press, and engraved in the same manner as the metal performance. This method was also encouraged, and is the only way of engraving on wood at present used in English Printing Houses. These performances are to be seen in Magazines, News Papers, &c. and are the remains of the ancient manner of cutting on wood, and is the reason why the curious concluded it was entirely lost." "From this account it is evident there was little encouragement to be hoped for in England to a person whose genius led him to prosecute his studies in the ancient manner." p. 26-7.

The conclusion of the last, and the commencement of the present century, have, however, seen the art of cutting on wood revive with fresh splendour in the productions of the BEWICKS, NESBITS, BRANSTON, AUSTIN, CLENNEL, BERRYMAN and others.

* I am aware that it has long been a curious and keenly agitated question among connoisseurs, whether many engravings of the 15th, and early part of the 16th, century, professed to be cut in wood, are not, in fact, cut upon 'some other material'—such as brass, or steel, or silver—or 'from the substance (whatever it may have been) that was originally used for letter types.' Mr. Landseer, from whom the passages within inverted commas are taken, thinks that 'from the freedom and frequency of the dark crossings which distinguish these works from modern wood engravings, and from this mode of working being obviously the *easiest* mode of producing the effects which their authors had in view, they are either etchings—the lights being corroded away; or, which is yet more likely,

In the year 1483, being the first of the reign of Richard the Third, a statute was enacted by which ‘any artificer, or merchant stranger, of what nation or country he be of, was not to be hindred from

that a prototype or matrix was cut in intaglio, probably with the graver, in which the tablets, from whence the prints were taken, are cast in the manner of letter-types.’ What has led him to this conclusion, is, that no one has found ‘the tablets from whence these ornaments [or cuts] are printed—and that, being of type-metal, ‘they were melted down when worn, or useless from the change of fashion, in order to cast letters with their substance.’ ‘To believe them to have been of wood,’ concludes Mr. Landseer, ‘we are therefore compelled to add the improbability of their entire disappearance, to the great labour and difficulty of cutting away the minute interstices between the crossed lines, so as to deliver dark crossings from their surfaces.’ *Lectures on Engraving*, p. 202-3.

As the graphic productions of this eminent artist, and his observations upon the subject of engraving, are at all times deserving of attention, any dissent from his remarks should be supported by at least rational data. In regard to the first ground of Mr. Landseer’s objection, a glance at the [admitted] portrait of Caxton, executed by Mr. Clennel in wood, and prefixed to my account of the printer, will convince the reader that ‘the freedom and frequency of the dark crossings’ is no objection to the original being a wooden block. I have a wood-cut portrait of Day the printer, by the same ingenious artist, intended for a future volume of the present work, which is another specimen of ‘dark crossings;’ and the magnificent print of the Diploma of the Highland Society, lately executed by him in wood from a drawing by Mr. West, P. R. A. and Mr. Thurston, for which he received the gold medal from the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, is a splendid and complete proof that the hatchings, or ‘dark crossing’ form no reasonable ground of disbelief against the original being ‘of wood.’

I may here also notice the print of the *Pope giving his Blessing*, in the third volume of Hawkins’s Hist. of Music, which is executed with cross-hatchings; and was done by Hodgson the master of the celebrated Bewick. Mr. Douce informs me that Sir John Hawkins told him of the artist’s obtaining the prize for it from the Society for the Encouragement of Arts. An artist of the name of JACKSON successfully practised cross-hatching in the last century; see the ‘*Enquiry*’ before quoted from so largely. The author of it says ‘the art has never once been lost.’

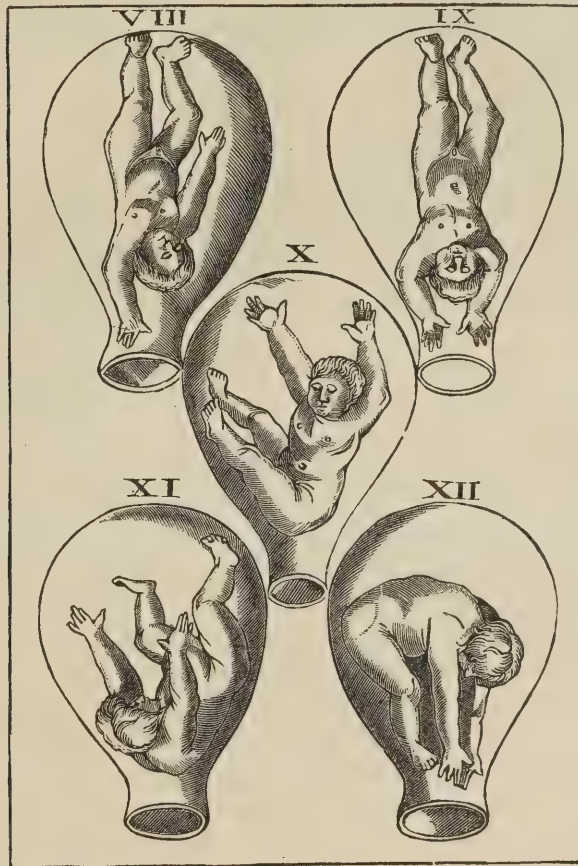
The second ground of objection, the disappearance of the originals, rather militates, in my humble apprehension, against Mr. Landseer’s conclusion: for, the more perishable the materials, the less likely are they to be preserved. These wooden blocks have, in all probability, been either broken, burnt, or destroyed. It is true, as Mr. Landseer observes, that a search was made for these blocks in the Low Countries and in Germany, but without success: yet the Abbé Strattman discovered, in the Imperial Library, and in some of the ancient palaces belonging to the Emperor of Germany, the original wooden blocks for

bringing into this realm, or selling by retail or otherwise, any books written or printed—or from inhabiting within the said realm for the same intent—or any scrivener, alluminor, reader, or printer of such books, which he hath, or shall have, to sell by way of merchandise—or from their dwelling within this said realm, for the exercise of the said occupations.’ This act sufficiently describes the deplorable state of the arts of painting, printing, and engraving in this country towards the end of the fifteenth century; and sufficiently accounts for all the rude and grotesque figures, which, originally cut in wood, defaced the productions of our printers for the first half century from its enactment. While the foreign presses were putting forth the most beautiful books, and the gravers of Albert Durer and Aldegrever were exhibiting equally beautiful specimens in the sister art, we were, I fear, generally obliged to content ourselves with the importation of worn and battered blocks, or with foreign artists discarded from want of capacity. This may account for the tardy appearance of the first *Copper-Plate* impressions in this country, executed by means of a roller—which are supposed to be the frontispiece to ‘*Galenus De Temperamentis*’ printed at Cambridge in 1521, [of which the reader will see a fac simile opposite p.1411. in the third volume of

the magnificent work of the *Triumphs of the Emperor Maximilian I.* executed in the beginning of the sixteenth century, with the several names of the artists indorsed on them; [the latest of the date of 1521]—from which a few copies were printed at Vienna, in imperial folio—and three only UPON VELLUM. In like manner the cuts executed by Schaeufelin for the celebrated work called *Tewrdanckh*, [being the triumphs of the same emperor, and about which such an abundance of bibliographical anecdote is extant] are unquestionably wooden cuts; although two centuries and a half have elapsed without the original blocks being discovered.

How far *some* of the cuts of this period, professed to be wooden, are not cast from metal of some kind, may be questioned; and even, indeed, those which are admitted to be cut in copper, may, in many instances, have been cut in silver, steel, or brass. We know that Grebelin did not confine himself to copper: see Walpole’s *Catalogue of Engravers*, p. 206. The ‘*Genealogy of the High and Mighty Monarch James*,’ 1604. 4to. exhibits impressions from silver plates.

Herbert,] and the cuts in '*Raynalde's Birth of Mankind*,' 1540. Of one of these latter the following is a fac-simile—which, although printed from a wooden block, [for the convenience of press-work] will be found to exhibit a very faithful character of the original.



Although Strutt says "it is by no means certain that these [latter] plates were engraved in England, or the work of English artists," yet, when the rudeness of the figures, and the absence of any similar style of engraving preceding the date of the publication of both works, are considered, we may be disposed to conclude that they are the earliest known specimens of impressions from Copper Plates in this country. Broughton's '*Consent of Scripture*' and Gemini's '*Anatomical Plate*', are, I believe, some of the earliest subsequent specimens of the same art. Thus briefly has it been deemed necessary to touch upon the first appearance of Copper Plate Engraving in England.

II. We are, in the next place, and as the second principal division of this Preliminary Disquisition, to describe the origin and progress of ORNAMENTAL PRINTING in our own country; which may be considered as an inferior department of the art of engraving.

Those who are conversant in the productions of the old printers, must often express their admiration of the beautiful specimens of such decorative parts of their volumes as relate to the *first capital letter*; or, as they are generally called, *Capital Initials*. That the artists who made the designs for these, were frequently men of talent, cannot be denied: unluckily most of their names have perished, although it is no very chimerical conclusion to suppose that some of the first Italian masters occasionally executed these ornaments. So much taste, gracefulness, and brilliancy, as well as spirit and truth of outline, are sometimes evinced in them, that I have been almost led to believe that few pencils except those of Parmegiano and the Correggios could have executed them. They are however of various merit; sometimes grotesque, sometimes preposterous, and sometimes indelicate; and may be illustrated according to the following arrangement: commencing with an account of the most ancient specimen.

The Mentz Psalter, of 1457, presents us with the oldest printed

capital initial upon record; a fac-simile of which will be found in Heinecken's well-known and incomparable work.* But the richness and grace of this letter do not seem to have been much relished by subsequent printers; for they had recourse to the insertion of a small one in the midst of a white square,† which was to be enlarged and beautified according to the fancy of the illuminator. It is probable that the Roman and Venetian printers were not in the secret of managing such a letter in different colours, and that the Mentz printers, especially Schoeffer, [who seems to have been the inventor] were not disposed to part with it, and thereby to diminish their own fame. Be this as it may; the succeeding artists, whether engravers or printers, pleased themselves with whimsical and monstrous designs ‡ [which seem to have been invented by some CALLOT of the day,] from ancient MSS. of the 9th, to the 13th, century; or borrowed them from architectural ornaments, such as the water spouts and entablatures

* *Idée Générale d'une Collection complète D'Estampes*, p. 265. A dissertation upon these Mentz Psalters will be found in the *Athenæum*, vol. ii. p. 376-490, by the editor of the present work.

† It has been supposed that the first edition of *Tacitus*, printed in 1468, exhibits the earliest known specimen of this kind of small initial letter. The '*Manipulus Curatorum*' of 1473, is the first Parisian book—and the '*Manilius*' of 1472, the first Nuremberg one—in which it is introduced. Fischer had supposed that this method of printing was confined to the *Italian* presses only; whereas it was frequently adopted by Caxton. Consult Daunou's excellent *Analyse des Opinions, &c. sur l'Origine de L'Imprimerie*, p. 133.

‡ The grotesque specimens on the two following pages, are taken from some curious old black-letter French ballads, or poetical tracts, thus entitled:

" Le cōnge prins du Siecle seculier"	} 4to. No date.
" La belle Dame qui eut mercy"	
" Les contenance de la table"	
" Le testament de taste vin roy des pions"	
" Les ventes damours."	

In the possession of Mr. Douce: and described in Mr. Edwards's Catalogue of 1794, n°. 2471. Mr. Edwards, with some justice, supposes them to be printed by Antony Verard, about the year 1500.

attached to convents and public buildings. Caxton was very sparing of these Capital Initials: the only varieties that I have discovered of him are introduced in the account of his life: but Wynkyn De Worde, in the third line, or 5th form, of Capital Initials in the plate prefixed to this Disquisition, seems to have freely borrowed from the foreign artists in this grotesque species of typographical ornament—as the following fac-similes, from the scarce publications mentioned in the last note, may serve to shew: although these, or similar, letters may be seen in a variety of French works published about three centuries ago. They represent the letter L.





The typographical antiquary may probably wish for an enlarged account, as well as numerous specimens, of this curious department of the art of printing; but the subject, to be executed in detail, and with all the amusing variety of which it is capable, belongs rather to a professed GENERAL HISTORY OF PRINTING* than to the

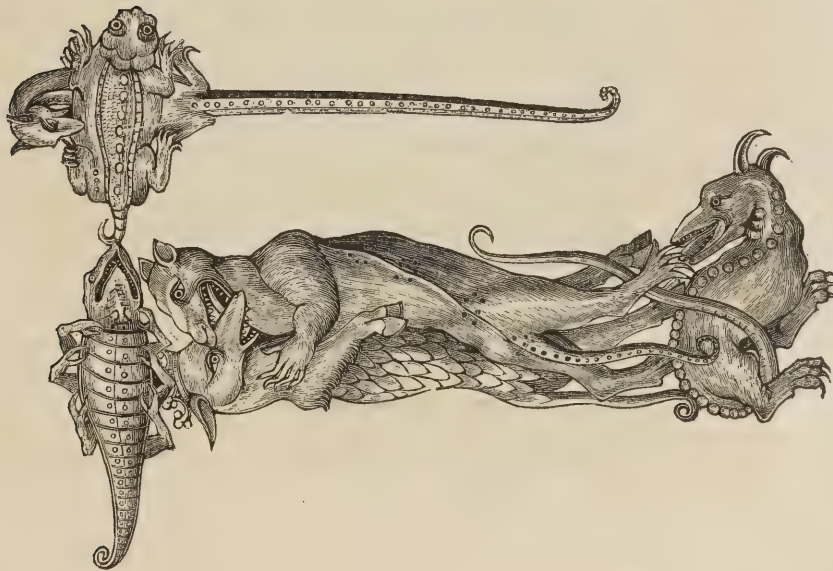
* A complete *General History of Printing* is a great desideratum. In this country we have nothing that deserves the name of it. He who shall undertake this arduous and instructive task, will do well to read the treatises of his predecessors; to compare their accounts of books with the books themselves; to lop away their tedious digressions, and to substitute, in many instances, something like reason and fact for chimera and fiction. A free admission into the cabinets of the curious, and an honest use of the privilege granted—an inspection, probably, of the chief libraries upon the Continent, and especially of those in the Low Countries—would also be requisite to the success of such an undertaking. The great error, as I humbly submit, in almost all preceding treatises upon the Origin and Progress of Printing, has been the determination of each writer to support, through the most formidable objections, the claims of that country and of that typographical artist in whose cause he sat out as the avowed champion. The strong attachment of Junius to *Holland* and *Coster*, in aid of which he exercised a poetical fancy, has been even exceeded by the enthusiasm [or, some might call it, obstinacy] of Meerman towards the same objects. When the latter commenced his enquiries, it is certain that he had no very extensive information upon the subject. Dr. Ducarel threw out some hints relating to the claims of *Holland*, which, as Meerman was a native of that country, he seized with avidity, and resolved to expand and consolidate them into a systematic history. Accordingly, after publishing a small octavo volume as a specimen of his large work, he appeared before the public, with his portrait, in his *Origines Typographicæ*, in two quarto volumes, along with a fictitious head of his beloved *Coster*, beautifully engraved by Houbraken. Meerman's is a learned and valuable work, and is in the hands of every bibliographer. The author had himself a fine library, and was exceedingly kind and liberal in giving the curious permission to see it. But though it be absolutely necessary to possess his performance, yet it is not free from gross errors; which have been attacked perhaps with too much severity by the acute and experienced Heineken. This latter was a *German*, and a like patriotic ardour induced him to give the palm of having discovered the art of printing to the cities of Mentz and Strasburg. Heineken, as now seems to be allowed, has paid too little attention to the antiquity of the claims of *Haarlem*, and Meerman infinitely too much: thus, although both sat out with professing to adhere to truth, both have described her not as *she really was*, but as they had *conceived* or *wished her to be*. The Parisian bibliographers, as their own metropolis had never been considered the cradle of the typographic art; and as they had, in consequence, no national prejudices on this score

present attempt. Nevertheless, a glance upon the succeeding pages will convince him that this department of the typographic art has not been wholly neglected; and that many curious and uncommon specimens* have been, for the first time, taken from their original and obscure stations and introduced to a more general acquaintance.

Very different from the preceding, and probably equally ancient with it, was a species of capital-letter-initial engraving adopted by some whimsical artist who lived between the time of Martin Schoen and Albert Durer. This consisted in grouping together a number of figures, whether human or animal, in the shape of a particular letter: and the following specimens, on the opposite page, from the collection of Mr. Douce [of which similar ones may be seen among the Bagford papers in the British Museum] may amuse the lover of typographical curiosities; as well from the beauty of their execution as from the grotesqueness of their design. They represent an R and S.

to espouse, have been more just and satisfactory. The recent treatises of Lambinet, Oberlin, Fischer, Daunou, and Santander, are highly creditable to their respective authors. The dissertations of Camus upon the *Classification of a Library*, upon a *Book printed at Bamberg in 1461*, and upon the celebrated *Tewrdanckh*, [vide p. xxiv. note, ante] in the first, second, and third volumes of the '*Mémoires de L'Institut*,' are well deserving the attention of the bibliographer. His illustrations of the latter work, to be complete, should have had a fac-simile of one of the beautiful *cuts*, as well as of the letter-press.

* The lover of rare old books, who has particularly turned his attention to the ancient specimens of the French presses, will probably call to mind the very singular and gigantic capital initial prefixed to the work, without date, entitled '*La Mer des Histoires*;' printed in the black letter. It represents a man in armour, full six inches high; who seems to be fixed as a formidable centinel to guard the book from being opened by unhallowed hands. Another equally strange, but materially different, capital initial may be seen in the title of a folio edition of '*Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*,' printed by Eustace in 1505. Although it has been my object to revive the use of these *picturesque* typographical ornaments, yet I should be unwilling to have it supposed that I encouraged the introduction only of such *bizarre* capital initials as are in these books, or in the above specimens, submitted to the reader's notice. They are here referred to, and adopted, as material objects in a disquisition relating to ORNAMENTAL PRINTING, and TYPOGRAPHICAL ANTIQUITIES.



But this whimsical style, which was better calculated for detached specimens than for being introduced into printed books, was of very limited adoption ; however it may yet be familiar to us, in the former character, in the sheets which are sold for alluring children to become acquainted with their alphabet.

Another form of Capital Initials may be noticed in the introduction of *Portraits*, whole and half length, to which Jugge and Day in particular seem to have been occasionally attached. Whoever has had the good fortune to examine the first edition of Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, 1563, or Day's edition of John Dee's *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the perfect Arte of Navigation*, Fol. 1577, will find the following Capital Initial C, in which Queen Elizabeth is represented sitting in regal state, attended by her ministers. It is an incomparably beautiful specimen of decorative printing.



A fourth mode of ornamenting Capital Initials was by introducing *Heraldic* embellishments. The prefaces and dedications to our old Chronicles frequently afford ingenious specimens of these beautiful ornaments; but no books present us with more elegant and successful efforts, in this way, than those which issued from the Parisian presses in the beginning of the 16th century. The following fac-simile is taken from the first edition of Saxo Grammaticus' '*Danorum Regum Heroumque Historia*,' printed in 1514, in folio, at Paris, in the office of Jodocus Badius Ascensius: a book, executed in all the luxury of black-letter printing.



The next attempt at decorating Capital Initials seems to have been the introduction of some tale, or subject, however rude, in the shape of an *Historical Composition*. At first the attempt seems to have been the giving effect only to a few simple figures on a black back ground; as the following specimens may serve to shew:



Afterwards the subject was more minutely designed, and executed with a considerably better effect ; as these fac-similes prove :

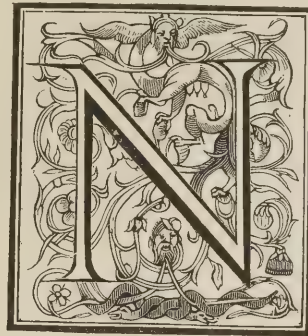


The reader's recollection will probably supply him with still more minute and finished productions than the two preceding, executed on a smaller scale ; but sufficient has been brought forward to shew how progressively the art, in this department, rose from rudeness to elegance ; and, frequently, with what a beautiful and appropriate effect the pages of the historian were enriched in consequence. The *subjects*, however, of these historical designs were not always calculated to illustrate or beautify the compositions into which they were introduced ; and tales of the most exceptionable nature were oftentimes found to precede a disquisition, the most serious and devout. So little was the decency, or, perhaps, so unaccountable the want of attention, of authors, as well as of printers and correctors of the press ! Even the sacred leaves of the BIBLE did not escape this impurity : an eminent ancient printer made no scruple of introducing an historical capital letter of this kind, exemplifying one of the grossest tales of Pagan Antiquity !

Two other different kinds of *Ornamental Capital Initials* remain to be noticed. Of the following five examples, illustrative of the first kind, [being the open letter on a dotted ground, executed both in red and black ink] I am not prepared to say whether RATDOLT was the first printer who introduced so beautiful a department of the art ; but the ASCENSII and COLINEUS, among the Parisian printers, were eminently successful in their use of them. Our own printers seem to have evinced little taste or judgment in their general rejection of them, and in executing them so clumsily when introduced.



The second remaining species, and the last which I shall notice, is the following : introduced principally among our Bibles and Chronicles, and illustrative of some of the most delicate and beautiful ornaments of which this department of the art is capable :



Some one or other of these, or nearly similar, forms of Capital Initials, supplied the place of the illuminator's introductory letters ; and it was, no doubt, a great improvement in the typographical art, as well as a saving of expense to the bookseller, when a work could thus come before the public under an aspect at once uniform and inviting. It is true, the splendour of colouring was gone ; but in lieu of it, there was greater regularity and a more consistent appearance ; for where the eye of the connoisseur, in ancient illuminations, is once delighted with propriety, skill, and expression, it is ten times offended with ludicrousness of design, and gaudiness of colouring. The passion, however, for illuminations [by which so many ingenious artists, shut up in the *Scriptoria* of monasteries, gained an hard-earned subsistence] did not cease with the introduction of these printed Capital Initials : the pencil continued for a long time afterwards to destroy or

improve the outline of the engraver, or letter cutter; and a deep coat of vermillion, or of ultramarine blue, would sometimes lead a superficial observer to conclude that the printer had not preceded the colourist.

Towards the conclusion of the seventeenth century the passion for Ornamental Capital Initials seems rather to have abated; but it was revived, in the eighteenth century, on a new and equally beautiful plan; as the initial letter I, prefixed to this Disquisition, may afford satisfactory proof. However, it again declined towards the conclusion of the last century; and the present work is, I believe, the first in the nineteenth century which will enable the reader to renew his acquaintance with this tasteful branch of Typography.

In the next place, and as the second department into which ORNAMENTAL PRINTING has been divided, I shall make a few observations upon that important, and very alluring, part of a book which is called *The Title Page*.

It is not perhaps exactly known how soon these *Title Pages*, professedly as such, were introduced; although I have a strong recollection of having seen some as early as the year 1480. In our own country, they do not appear to have been adopted by Caxton; and yet Herbert was always fond of the supposition that, whenever a work began on the recto of sign. a ij, a title page, or a cut in the character of one, preceded it. That he has been uniformly wrong in this supposition, with regard to Caxton, will be seen from a perusal of the ensuing pages.

The earliest instance of a Title Page executed in this country, that I am enabled to bring to the reader's recollection, is that of the one prefixed to the edition of '*Bartholomæus, De Proprietatibus Rerum*'—printed by Wynkyn De Worde probably about the year 1495. The letters are deeply cut into a large wooden block, leaving the surface, with very slight incisions, as a dark back ground, to give them greater effect. The "*Vitas Patrum*" by the same printer, and a few others, are similar instances. Of the *first* a fac-simile

will be given in my second volume, under the article to which it belongs.

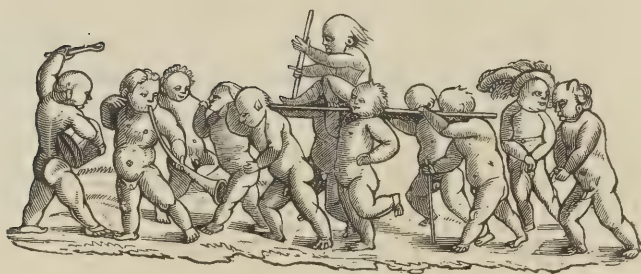
In the sixteenth century the introduction of figures, placed beneath the title of the book, [which was printed in large black letters,] was attempted by Wynkyn De Worde : and of this kind ‘ *The Crafte to lyve well and to dye well,*’ of the date of 1505, is the earliest specimen that I have met with : a fac-simile of it will appear in my second volume, among the books printed by Wynkyn De Worde. Somewhat analogous to this species of ornamental printing, or title page, were the figures which were introduced in the manner of Historical Portraits at full length ; or of a Knight completely armed, on horseback ; some of them sufficiently spirited and appropriate.

But apparently the most favoured fashion of title pages, was that of *Engraved Borders*—or of fanciful and capricious designs—whether of birds, fruits, flowers, or vases, or of historical compositions—in the centre of which the name of the work and of the author was inscribed. Of these we shall speak more particularly.

The celebrated press at Basil, under the joint superintendence, it would seem, of Froben, Erasmus, and Holbein, was probably the fountain head of this species of Ornamental Printing. These borders were at first executed with a dark back ground to relieve the figures upon it which were slightly shadowed ; as the fifth specimen of Capital Initials [vide p. xxxvii, ante] may serve to shew. It must be confessed, however, that they were sometimes clumsily executed, grotesque, and even indelicate ; and introduced, like the more objectionable sort of Capital Initials, without the least regard to the nature of the work to which they were attached. I could mention several instances of this *bizarre* and ungraceful taste, but those who recollect the title page to Erasmus’s second edition of the Greek Testament (1519) do not require to be reminded of a more forcible illustration. To the credit of our own printers these frightful embellishments did not often disgrace their title pages.

But such fanciful and capricious borders, where they were filled

with unexceptionable subjects, had occasionally great force and beauty, and seem to have been highly relished by the printers of this country. The following groups* of children, from the graceful pencil of Holbein, are frequently seen in the title pages of our early books :



Sometimes these infantine groups were composed in a more spirited manner, and were made to be occupied in more active exercises ; as

* A consideration of the difficulty of doing justice to the ancient engravings from Holbein's designs, will, perhaps, soften the severity of criticism, if not extort praise, in passing judgment upon the above specimens.

the two following fac-similes, from one of the most splendid books* in the fifteenth century, may shew :



At the bottom of the same page [the first of the preface] is the counterpart of this amusing composition. The artist, whoever he be, need not fear a comparison between these and the works of the first masters of the day. The sides of this splendid page are composed of twisted columns, decorated with groups of naked boys, in a manner truly beautiful and classical :



It must be confessed that we have no specimens, in the early annals of British Ornamental Printing, which exhibit the force and beauty of these two latter.

* The *Polydore Virgil* of 1534, folio : printed at Basil in the office of Bebelius. These figures were also introduced in the '*Plutarchi Opuscula*, Basil, apud Cratandrum, 1530, fol.: and in a treatise *De Re Medica*, Basil, 1528, folio, by the same Printer. A very pretty group of dancing peasants appears in the *Nugæ* of *Nicolaus Borbonius*. Basil, 1540, 12mo. at the head of one of the first pages.

Of borders with *Historical* designs, the subjects of Tarquin and Lucretia, and Mutius and Porsenna, as composed by Holbein, and first printed in the title pages of the Basil books, are well known illustrations ; and frequently occur in the early books of our own printers. The following is a fac-simile of the latter subject :



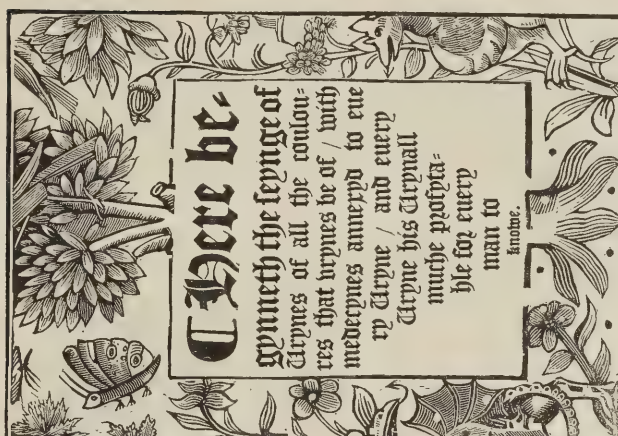
To these illustrations of the Title Pages of early printers, I am aware it may be objected, that they are all foreign productions, and not the legitimate works of British art. But my intention has been to shew how ornamental printing was exercised here, on the establishment of the London presses ; and to give specimens of its *style* and *character*, rather than to ascertain the *origin*, and particular *author*, of such style. That the reader, however, may form some accurate notions of the degree of merit attached to those title pages which, from their rudeness, are most probably the productions of British artists, I subjoin, for his consideration, several fac-similes of the most common ones of the sixteenth century, published in our country.*

*The Title Page to one of the books printed at Cambridge, see Herbert, p. 1411, may also be considered, from the rudeness of its execution, as the genuine production of our own artists.

The first two of the ensuing specimens belong to volumes of a duodecimo size ; the second to a quarto publication of Wynkyn De Worde, unknown to Herbert, but representing the usual frontispiece of grammatical works published in the early part of the sixteenth century. The two following, at p. li. liii., belong to publications* of a folio size ; the latter of which has already been before the public in the frontispiece to the large paper copies of my edition of Sir Thomas More's Utopia.

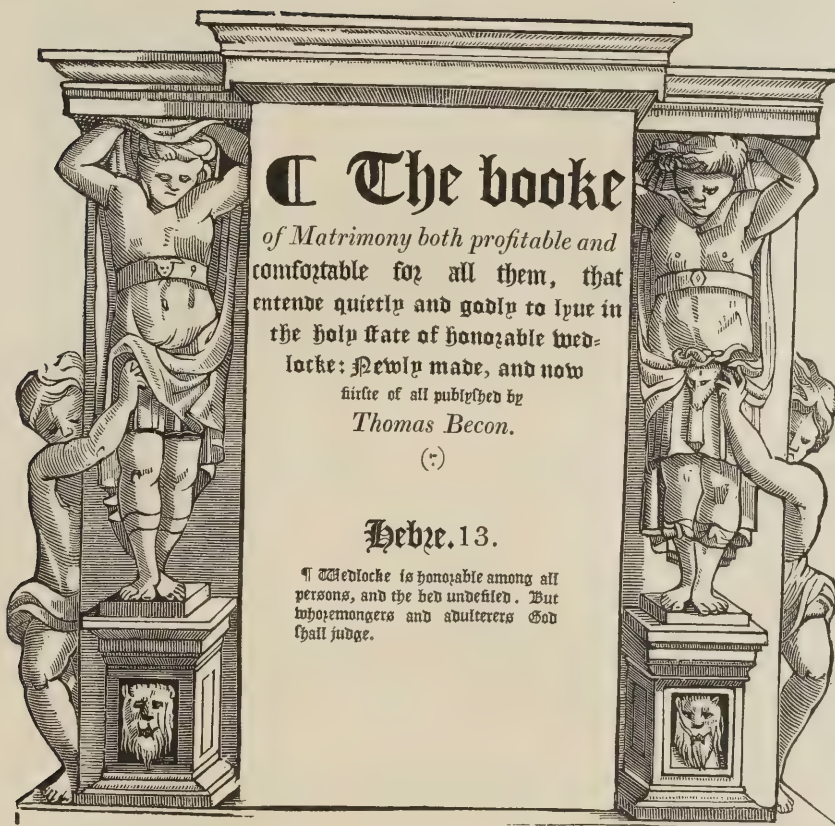
Borders to pages of the body of a work, or different manners of setting up a page, is also another department of ORNAMENTAL PRINTING ; and of this, the Prayer Book before mentioned, [p. xxi.] published in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, is probably the most splendid example which this country ever produced. This mode of setting up a page was, however, practised in a different and equally beautiful manner ; of which the specimen, at p. lv, the last that I shall give, is one of the most appropriate examples that could be brought forward : being equally illustrative of vignette and capital-initial ornament. It is taken from the fragments of a quarto edition of the Testament in black letter, which has been noticed at page xvii, ante.

* The title page of the second part of '*Bulleyn's Defence against Sickness and Sores*,' 1572, folio, is a beautiful specimen of a border on a large scale ; and '*A Sermon preached before the Queenes Majesty at Richmond the 6 of March 1575. By the reuerend father in God the Bishop of Chicester, Printed by H. Binneman for H. Toy in 12mo.*' is an equally beautiful specimen of the art of engraving. The figures of Christ rising from the tomb, at top, and of St. Peter and St. Paul, on the sides, have a spirit and richness hardly excelled by those in the Dance of Death, called Holbein's ; but of which, in fact, HANS LUTZBURGER was the inimitable author. See an elegant little book published in 1804, [p. 22.] on this latter subject.



*Bucolica virgili cum
cômento familiari.*





The booke
of Matrimony both profitable and
comfortable for all them, that
entende quietly and godly to lyue in
the holy state of honorable wed-
locke: Newly made, and now
firste of all published by
Thomas Becon.

(2)

Hebze. 13.

*If Wedlocke is honorable among all
persons, and the bed undefiled. But
whoremongers and adulterers God
shall iudge.*



THE
vvorkes of Sir
*Thomas More Knyght, sometyme
Lorde Chauncellour of England,
wrytten by him in the En-
glysh tonge.*

Printed at
*London at the costes and charges
of Iohn Cawod, Iohn VValy,
and Richarde Tottell.*

Anno. 1557.



The Actes of the Apo- stels, wrytten by Saynt Luke the Euangelyst, whiche was present at the doynges of them.



The fyrst Chapter.

The Ascension of Christ, Mathias is chosen jn the steade of Iudas.



In the former trea-
tyse (deare frend The-
ophilus) I haue wrytten
of al that Iesus began
to do & teach, vntyl the
day in which he was ta-
ken vp, after ^h he tho-
row the holy gost, had
geuen commaundemen-
tes vnto the Apostles,
whiche he had chosen :
to whom also he shewed
himself alpye after his
passion by many tokens,

A
+ The write
on Attention
day.

Luke.xxiiij

appearyng vnto them fourty dayes, and speaking of the ^a*
kyngedome of God, and gathered them together, and com-
maunded them, that they shuld not depart from Ierusalem :
but

The last method of Ornamental Printing, which I shall notice, is the introduction of the *Mark* or *Device of the Printer*: a method which greatly contributed to the beauty of the book, whether in the front, or at the termination, of it. The French printers have recently revived it; and the insertion of it would not disgrace the publications of our own, when it is considered that such able typographers and scholars as ALDUS, FROBEN, PLANTIN, OPORINUS, and the STEPHENSES have adopted it.

I here take leave of this *Preliminary Disquisition*, intreating the reader, as at its commencement, not to consider and criticise it as a finished performance; but as an attempt to present him with an outline of the origin and early progress of those beautiful arts, which now receive such general patronage, and which have so largely contributed to the delight and instruction of mankind.



WILLIAM CARTER.*

* An account of Caxton's Life and typographical labours was first published by Mr. Lewis under the following title: "THE LIFE of MAYSTER WYLLYAM CAXTON of the Weald of Kent; The First Printer in England. In which is given an Account of the Rise and Progress of the Art of Pryntyng in England, during his Time, till 1493. Collected by JOHN LEWIS, Minister of Mergate in Kent. London: Printed in the Year M.DCC.XXXVII." royal 8vo.*

To the Title Page succeed these homely verses—

TO THE REVEREND MR. LEWIS,

UPON HIS WRITING

THE LIFE OF MR. CAXTON.

Industrious CAXTON's name in time to come
Had buried been in dark oblivion's tomb,
Had you withheld your generous aid to save
That name which now will never find a grave.
Sacred the labour, righteous is your pains,
Thus to collect the artist's true remains.
KENT owes to you her thanks upon this score:
And not on this alone, but many more.
More watchful you than EGYPT's boasting seers;
For there a pyramid now huge appears;
Yet lost for ever is its builder's name,
To *our* surprize, and *their* eternal shame.

W. H.

* Of this rare volume I believe only 150 copies were [very indifferently] printed: all UPON ROYAL PAPER. *The Life of Caxton* does not comprehend thirty pages of it.

While I heartily accede to the utility of the work, and acknowledge my obligations to its author, I cannot but regret the want of a lucid order and of an agreeable style which it manifestly betrays. Lewis's biography of Caxton is among the duldest of all biographical memoirs. Here and there some gleanings of useful antiquarian research may be discovered, but even these are too often tediously digressive, and make us forget the main object of the performance. If the catalogue of our first English Printer's books, of which Lewis's work is almost entirely composed, had been more perfect—if the author had *inspected all* the books which he describes—if he had dwelt at greater length upon the more important, and had been less prolix on the subordinate, works published by our first Typographer, there would have been no necessity for the present attempt to do justice to the memory of CAXTON. A list of Lewis's publications will be found in a note at the commencement of Ames's *Life*, by the late Mr. Gough: vide ante.

which are followed by Mr. Lewis's

“ PREFACE.

“THE collector of these papers has had it for some time in his thoughts and wishes, to attempt to do justice to the memory of a man, who, he thinks, deserved so well of his country, in so early introducing into it an art of such public use and benefit as is that of PRINTING. This he was the more forward to do, on account of Mr. Caxton's being a native of KENT, to which the collector is glad of all opportunities of expressing his gratitude; having lived in that county almost forty years, and been treated there with great kindness and humanity. But his situation in a remote corner of this shire, divided from the Continent, and distant from libraries and the conversation of learned men, and particularly such as were skilled in this subject, quite discouraged him. In this state of despondency the learned and ingenious Dr. Conyers Middleton, principal librarian of the famous University of Cambridge, was so kind and generous as to make the collector a present of his curious ‘Dissertation concerning the Origin of PRINTING in England. Cambridge: printed for W. Thurlbourn, over against the Senate-House. MDCCXXXV.’ The perusal of this served to revive the thoughts of his former design, and gave him hopes, that he should be able, in some tolerable measure, to complete and execute it, with the assistance of the Dissertation of Mr. Maittaire's *Annales Typographici*, reprinted at Amsterdam, 1733, and of some friends and acquaintance he had in London, and the two famous Universities, who favoured researches of this kind: and it is with these helps that the collector has been able to finish these papers in the manner he has done.

“Mr. Caxton's memory has not been treated with the greatest candour and benevolence, however, considering the public usefulness of the man, and the little provocation he has given in his writings of such usage. Bishop Bale represented him as a ‘man not quite stupid, nor benumbed with sloth;’ which intimates as if he thought him almost so: and this unfair character has been implicitly transcribed by following writers. One of them asks, with an air of scorn and contempt, if it will be any kind of inducement to peruse an author so recommended. But if Mr. Caxton was no more *stupid* than he was *lazy*, he may surely pass for one of the brighter sort: since the books he translated and printed, at a time of life which naturally disposes men to be indolent and unactive, are a proof that he was not of an idle temper. What seems to have inclined this last writer to use Mr. Caxton with so much contempt is his printing books of so little value, as the History of King Arthur, &c. But he should have considered Mr. Caxton's time and circumstances, and, that the books he printed, as well as translated, were not always of his own choice, but at the request of others. However, they who have made so free with *his* character should, one would think, have taken some care of their own, and not in their accounts of him written things that confute themselves, and shew the inventors to be surrounded with a darkness that may even be felt.

“In how much uncertainty the History of the first Use of PRINTING in England is, may

be seen by the following short and imperfect detail. Some of our Almanac makers * tell us, that printing was first used in England, A.D. 1443, about twelve years before it was invented; or however, but three years after: others say, not till after 1459. The workmen of the printing press, at the Theatre in Oxford, in a paper printed by them August 23, A. D. 1729, affirm, that 'The noble art and mystery of PRINTING was first invented in the year 1430, and brought into England in the year 1447;' a mistake, perhaps, for 1474. The learned Mr. Collier † assures us, that 'the mystery of Printing appeared ten years sooner at the University of Oxford, than at any other place in Europe, Harlem and Mentz excepted:' which fixes the introduction of it so early as 1457; since it's certain, that it appeared at Rome, and elsewhere in Europe, in 1467: though by the date, put in the margin, he seems willing to have had it thought, that it did not appear at Oxford before 1464. The diligent collector of 'The Annals of Printing,' supposes this art first brought into England in 1460; and N. Bailey ‡ implicitly follows Atkin's § Romance of the introduction of it in King Henry VIth's reign, or before 1460. But the generality of our English chroniclers who mention it, tell us, That printing was first practised by Mr. Caxton, in 1471, at Westminster, under the patronage of Abbot Islip."

"It seems a very just observation that has been made by a late sensible and ingenious writer, That it is not to be thought, that the readers of such accounts as they thought tended much to the honour of their country, have not been over scrupulous in examining nicely into the truth or probability of them: though it is very commendable to enquire honestly into them, and renounce all such as appear fabulous and inconsistent with the truth of history. This, it's hoped, will excuse the attempt of the collector, in the following papers, honestly and faithfully to shew the true character of our first printer, and the particular instances of his probity and diligence. In doing this, the collector has had opportunities enough to expose the negligences, ignorances, and prejudices of some of the most learned writers of the last age; and could he have allowed himself, with the late Monsieur Bayle, and others, to divert and make himself and his readers merry with the lapses and mistakes § of men much better, and more knowing, in other respects, than

* *Rider's British Merlin*. 1706. *Parker's Ephemeris*.

† *Eccl. Hist.* Vol. I.

‡ *Eng. Dict.*

§ In 1664 was printed a small pamphlet in Quarto, of four sheets, entitled, '*The Original and Growth of Printing in England*, &c. by Robert Atkins, Esq.' in which is told a most groundless and improbable story of Mr. Caxton and one Turnour, being sent to Harlem by King Henry VI. and Archbishop Bourchier, and furnished by them with money to get a printer from thence, to teach the English the art of printing.

LEWIS, *ibid.*

§ One of the writers that bears hardest on Mr. Caxton's memory, and treats it with the most contempt, thus writes of him: 'To William Caxton, I suppose, good Mr. Fox was obliged for the account he gives us of King Alfred's compiling a story in the Saxon speech, &c.' Now good Mr. Fox's words are as follows: 'Besides the historie of Beda, translated into the Saxon tongue, he also himself compiled a storie in the same speech called the Storie of Alfred, &c. which both bookes in the Saxon tongue I have seen, though the language I do not understand.' Can any thing be plainer than that Mr. Fox was obliged for this account to

himself, he would not have wanted sufficient matter and occasion. But he remembered the good observation of the Roman poet :

———*Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes*
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse ferus."

[What here follows in Lewis—from p. xi to xv—will be inserted, more appropriately, in my second volume, under the head of JULIAN NOTARY.]

"The collector presumes to add, That he is not so vain and conceited as to imagine he has made no blunders or mistakes, or, that his guesses are always right : but he hopes he shall be treated with candour. It's a fine, as well as necessary observation, made by a learned and excellent writer, that we should even scruple to expose some kind of faults. 'A man,' says he, 'has spent his life in study : he has ploughed up fallow grounds, or unfilled lands. The narrow bounds of human minds sometimes, even in an inadvertency, occasioned by a strict application to what was most essential to his subject, make him fall into a mistake of small moment. It may be he has fifty volumes lying open around him : this multitude of objects happens to dazzle and confound him. He fancies he sees and reads in one author what is really in another, and so quotes the wrong writer. Ought any one to exclaim against such a writer as a liar, or expose him as ignorant ? Should we not rather pity such a distraction, than be pleased with the discovery of a mistake which we ourselves might have made, had our minds been but as much bent and upon the stretch ? This seems offending against the laws of justice and christian charity, and even those of worldly decency and common civility.'

"He further begs leave to transcribe the words of the learned editor of the Register of the most noble Order of the GARTER, and very skilful antiquary, as serving to apologize for himself in his conduct in the following work as well as for *him* ; That 'tis hoped, that those extracts, which the reader will find here made from the writings of Caxton and others, will not be disrelished because they are inserted in their primitive spellings and obsolete terms, which he dares own are, in his private opinion, like the precious rust of medals, being the marks both of their antiquity and genuineness."

his own eyes, not to *William Caxton* ? In Caxton's Chronicles it's only said, that 'This king Alvred—was a good clerke and a boke he made in Englysshe of adventures of kynges, and of batayles that had ben done in the londe,'

LEWIS, *ibid.*

Lewis's Preface is succeeded by

Testimonies

CONCERNING WILLIAM CAXTON.

JOANNES BALE Sudovolgus Anglus, Ossoriensis apud Hybernos Episcopus, Anno 1559, apud Germanos pro Christi professione Peregrinus, & postea Canonicus Cantuariensis apud Anglos.

GUILHELMUS CAXTON Anglus, vir non omnino stupidus, aut ignavia torpens, se propagandæ suæ gentis memoriæ studiosus admodum, multa aliarum gentum monumenta ad id peragendum non parvo quæsitiv labore. Habitavit interim in Flandria 30 annis cum domina Margareta Burgundiæ Ducissa Regis Edwardi sorore. Cujusdam didascali ad Albani fanum conatibus postea obortis quidem, sed nondum finitis, se ad hæc instimulatum esse primo fatetur: qui, morte præventus, in schedis ac pagellis aliquot imperfectum reliquerat opus. Hoc non solum Caxtonus collectis foliis coacervavit, sed etiam ex Tito Livio, D. Augustino, Gilda, Beda, Isidoro,* Cassiodoro, Galfrido Monemutensi, Guilhelmo Malmesburiensi, Martino Carsulano, Theobaldo Carthusiano, et aliis authoribus bonis addidit multa, temporum supputationibus eidem operi junctis. Incipit a Gigantibus, primis, ut ille putat, hujus terræ inhabitatoribus (†quamvis cum suo autore anilibus decipiatur fabulis) ac desinit in 23 anno Edwardi quarti qui est annus a Christi nativitate 1483, vocavitque suum opus, *Fructus temporum*.

Transtulit a Gallica et Latina linguis in Anglicum sermonem.

1. Vegetium de re militari. *Lib.* 4.
2. Joannitam de ludo scaccorum. *Lib.* 4.
3. Historiam excidii Trojani. *Lib.* 3.
4. Bonaventurum de vita Christi. *Lib.* 1.
5. Historiam Lumbardicam. *Lib.* 1.
6. Capgravi Catalogum. *Lib.* 1.
7. Illustrationes amorum Christini. *Lib.*
8. Obsidionem et expugnationem. Jerusalem per Godefridum de Bullion ad Angliæ Regem Edvardum quartum. *Lib.* 1.

* There are several writers of this name; but it does not appear at all in the Prologue to the '*Fructus temporum*.' Isidorus Hispalensis wrote a Chronicle from the Beginning of the World to A. C. 626, as Cassiodorus did to A. C. 519.

† *Edit.* 1548. 4to.

JOANNES LELAND. 1550.

"GULIELMUS CAXODUNUS, Angliæ prototypographus, hæc, aut similia his, Anglicè refert in calce libelli continentis Pub. Cornelii et Caii Flaminii Orationes de vera Nobilitate de Tiptoto"—
De Scriptoribus Britannicis, p. 480.

JOANNES JOSCELINUS. 1562.

"WILLIEMUS CAXTON scripsit Appendices ad Trevisam qui incipiunt; Prosequens demum præscripti operis—et continuantur ab anno domini 1397, in quo Joannis Trevisæ additiones in Polychronicon excipit, usque ad annum ejus 1460. Habentur ferè semper in fine Anglici Polychronici. Claruit Autor sub Edwardo Rege quarto. Anno Domini 1463."

JOHN STOWE. 1601.

—"WILLIAM CAXTON of London, a Mercer, brought the noble science of Printing into England about the year 1471; and first practised the same in the Abby of saynt Peter's at Westminster."
Chronicle.

JOANNES PITS. 1600.

"GULIELMUS CAXTONUS, natione Anglus, Vir pius, doctus, et multùm industrius, propriæ quidem laudis nonnihil appetens, multo magis patriæ gloriæ cupidus. In Flandria quidem triginta annis vixit cum Margareta Burgundiæ Duce, Regis Edwardi quarti sorore. Quo toto tempore nunquam fuit otiosus, sed aut Patrias aut exterarum regionum historias in manibus semper ferè habebat. In Angliam demum reversus, ut ipse fatetur, historiæ ejusdam principia inchoata a quodam Prælectore Monasterii S. Albani qui, morte præventus, opus intentum absolvere non potuit, chartas illas imperfectas accepit Caxtonus, suas illis adjecit ex optimis quibusque auctoribus collectas. Ex omnibus egregiam Historiam composuit, incipiens, ut ipse asserit, ab eo tempore quo primum insula nostra cæpit inhabitari, et usque ad vicesimum tertium, hoc est ultimum Regis Edwardi quarti annum, qui erat Christi 1483, perveniens, seriem rerum perduxit, titulum operi dedit 'Fructus temporum.' Scripsit etiam Appendices ad Johannem Trevisam ab anno Domini 1397, ad annum 1460. Collegit omnia Galfredi Chauceri opera, quæ prius non nisi sparsim hinc inde reperiebantur, eaque ad justa redegit volumina, et in publicum prodire fecit, ne dispersa perirent quæ in unum compacta facilius reservarentur posteritati. Johannes Major libro quarto de gestis Scotorum fatetur se quasdam hujus auctoris historias ex Anglico in Latinum vertisse sermonem, et majorem Historiæ suæ partem ex illo sumpsisse. Scripsit potissimum sermone patrio,

1. Chronicon Mundi vel Fructus temporum libros vii.
2. Historiam Regis Arthuri libros xxi.

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3. Appendices ad polychronicon redditum Anglicè per Joh. Trevisam.
 4. Vitam S. Edwardi Regis et Confessoris. *Lib.* 1.
 5. Ex variis compilavit Angliæ, Scotiæ, Walliæ, Hiberniæ Descriptionem.
 6. Imaginem Mundi. *Lib.* 1.
- Claruit anno 1483, regnante in Anglia Edwardo IV.

GERARD JOHN VOSSIUS. 1627.

“GUILHELMUS CAXTONUS Anglus, præterquam quod varia historicorum opera ex Gallica vel Lingua Latina Anglicè transtulerit, etiam ipse Anglicè composuit plurima, quorum nonnulla a Latinis scriptoribus sunt translata. Edit Chronicon libris vii: quod Fructus temporum inscripsit. In eo a gigantibus auspicatur, quos primos Angliam incoluisse autumat. Progreditur autem ad annum 23 Edwardi quarti, hoc est annum Christi 1483. Etiam historiam contexuit Arturi regis, item vitam Edwardi Confessoris, ad hæc Britanniae totius descriptionem. Idem continuavit appendicem quam Joannes Trevisa Polychronico addiderat. Hujus Caxtoni Chronicon in opere suo Latinè transtulit Joannes Scotus, sed resectis quæ improbaret. Nec enim pauca sunt quæ judicium requirat. Unde Historiæ suæ Scoticæ, *lib.* iv. *cap.* iii. cum narrasset, ut Joannes rex a monacho quodam Cœnobii Swinesheid, hoc est capitis porcini, veneno esset sublatus, subjungit hæc verba: Caxtonum Anglum Historicum in hac parte ad literam imitor, solum linguam nostram Britannicam in Latinam interpretor. Idem, *cap.* xiii. Circa hanc materiam Caxtonus, Historicus Anglus, sic recitat. Ac postquam majorem capitis ejus partem ex Caxtono exscripsisset, addit: Ecce Caxtoni Angli Historiam quam de lingua Anglicanâ in Latinam convertimus. Non solum improbabilia, sed sibi haud cohærentia vir iste cudit. Omni enim probabilitate vacat, ut duos reges peterent, superiorem et inferiorem ei subjectum, Scoti eligerent aut caperent. Item, *cap.* xxi. Ecce quonam pacto res gestas illius temporis Anglus historicus, quem sequimur, recitat, paucis verbis improbabilibus a me rejectis et reprobatis. Item, *lib.* v. *cap.* xvii. Postea invectivam in Robertum et Davidem Bruseos Caxtonus fecit, quot verba tot mendacia assumens. Caxtonum hunc Simlerus, uti et, qui eum sequi solet, Possevinus vixisse arbitratur anno 1538, sed falli eos satis arguunt quæ diximus. Quanquam vero Anglus foret, tamen magnam ætatis partem, puta annis xxx, in Flandria egit apud Margaritam Burgundiæ Ducem regis sui Edwardi sororem.

IDEM.

———Hic Joannes Major Haddingtonensis Scotus, Caxtoni Chronographi Angli Historiam ex Lingua Anglicanâ convertit Latinè, ut ipse refert, *lib.* iv. Historiæ Scotiæ, *cap.* xiii. Quod quo pacto præstiterit cognoscere est ex iis quæ de Caxtono superius diximus. [*For Major's criticism upon Caxton vide p. 89-90, post.*]

THOMAS FULLER, 1662.

"Bale beginneth very coldly in his commendation, by whom he is charactered '*Vir non omnino stupidus, aut ignavia torpens*;' but we understand the language of his *Liptote*, the rather because he praiseth his diligence and learning. He had most of his education beyond the seas, living 30 years in the court of *Margaret Duchesse of Burgundy*, sister to King Edward the Fourth, whence I conclude him an *Anti-Lancastrian* in his affection. He continued *Polychronicon* (beginning where *Trevisa* ended) unto the end of King Edward the Fourth, with good judgment and fidelity. And yet when he writeth [lib. ult. cap. 10] that King Richard the Second left in his treasury *money* and *jewels* to the value of seven hundred thousand pounds, I cannot credit him, it is so contrary to the received character of that king's riotous prodigality. Caxton carefully collected and printed all Chaucer's works, and on many accounts deserved well of posterity, when he died in the year 1486.' p. 157. *Worthies*. Art. Cambridgeshire. [Omitted by Lewis.]

HENRY WHARTON. 1689.

——— Versionem [Polychronici] ad finem perduxit Joannes de Trevisa, uti ex nota calci adnexâ patet, anno 1387, die 8^o Aprilis: adeo ut palam lapsus sit, seu incuria seu errato typographico, Caxtonus, qui in fine versionis a se typis impressæ adnotavit eam finitam esse anno 1357. Illam enim, immutato paululum Anglicæ linguæ archaismo, et a seipso ad annum usque 1460. Edwardi IV. Regis primum concinnatum, typis impressam evulgavit * Londini 1482. fol. Gulielmus Caxtonus qui sub Edwardo Rege dicto claruit primusque omnium Artem typographicam Angliæ intulit.

ARCHD. WILLIAM NICOLSON. 1714.

WILLIAM CAXTON—— was a menial servant, for thirty years together, to Margaret Dutchess of Burgundy (sister to our King Edward IV.) in Flanders. He afterwards returned into England; where finding, as he says, an imperfect history (begun by one of the monks of St. Albans, says John Pits, very unadvisedly) he continued it in English, giving it only the Latin title of *Fructus temporum*. How small a portion of this work is owing to this author, has been observed before; but he now usually bears the name of the whole, which begins with the first inhabiting of this island, and ends (the last year of Edward IV.) A. D. 1483. The opportunities he had of being acquainted with the court transactions of his own time, would encourage his readers to hope for great matters from him; but his fancy seems to have led him into an undertaking above his strength.

English Historical Library, p. 69. edit. 1736.

* Westmonastrie.

To the preceding Testimonies adduced by Mr. Lewis, may be joined the following :

JOHN BAGFORD. [Circ. 1714.]

"WILLIAM CAXTON took to the art and crafte of printing right well, altho' to his great expense of time and charges of money. Our Caxton was of ripe wit, and quick of apprehension in all he undertook ; I mean in all the books he then translated into English—as may be seen by the prefaces he then put forth in print. He was so industrious a man, that the like hath not been seen in this our kingdom to be the translator and printer of so many books with his own hands."

DR. CONYERS MIDDLETON. 1735.

"Whoever turns over CAXTON's printed works must contract a respect for him, and be convinced that he preserved the same character through life of an honest, modest man; greatly industrious to do good to his country, to the best of his abilities, by spreading among the people such books as he thought useful to religion and good manners, which were chiefly translated from the French." *Dissertation on Printing*, p. 20.

JOHN LEWIS. 1737.

"MR. CAXTON appears to have been a very humble, modest, and vertuous man. He often stiles himself a rude and simple person, confesses his ignorance, and humbly beseeches the pardon of his readers, and their patience to correct his works; and expresses himself in other terms so submissive and self-abasing as are very uncommon, and more easily admired than imitated, &c. He was a man of no more learning than, as he ingenuously confessed, he had by his knowledge of the English and French languages, in which, he modestly acknowledged, he remembered himself of his rudeness and unperfitness. By the account which he has given of his printed books, it sufficiently appears in how great favour and request he was with the princes and great men of his own time." *Life of Caxton*, p. 120-1.

S. PALMER [or G. PSALMANAZAR]. 1733.

"I can't but observe, that the faults of his English are owing more to his long continuance abroad, than to the place of his birth ; which will easily appear from an accurate observation of his language and manner of spelling, which discover a foreigner more than a broad-spoken Kentishman, &c. Besides his accomplishments as a merchant, Mr. Caxton acquired a great deal of politeness, partly by his travels for 30 years, and partly by his frequent residence at the court of the dutchess of Burgundy, sister to King Edward IV, who caressed and patronized him very much, &c. As he was a person indefatigable

and ambitious of applause, as well as earnest in promoting the glory of his own country, he read incessantly the histories of his own and other nations; which at proper times he digested into order.”

History of Printing, 138, &c.

WILLIAM OLDYS. 1747.

“And indeed, that a man should, for twenty years together, after age had crept over, and begun to make impressions upon him, when others naturally covet a cessation from labor, especially of the brain; that he [William Caxton] should still, after he had given between fifty and threescore testimonies of his indefatigable diligence, in the publications he had made, which are computed to have amounted to that number; and now, as he could be little less than fourscore years of age, that he should be desirous of giving still fresh and farther instances of his zeal to promote or disperse the most virtuous examples and pious instructions among his countrymen; these, as they are no ordinary proofs of the painful services he bestowed upon them, so they have deserved no common acknowledgements.”

Biographia Britannica, vol. iii. p. 377.

JOSEPH AMES. 1747.

“MR. CAXTON was a citizen and mercer of London: at the death of his master he travelled abroad in the Low Countries, as an agent or merchant, for the space of thirty years: his good accomplishments, and great knowledge in foreign traffic, procured him so much esteem at home, that he was joined in a commission with Richard Whetehill, esq. to conclude a treaty of trade and commerce between King Edward IV and the duke of Burgundy, whose son afterwards married the Lady Margaret, king Edward’s sister, in 1468: this lady was our first printer’s great friend and patroness.”

Typographical Antiquities, p. 1.

ANONYMOUS. 1766.

“WILLIAM CAXTON, who first introduced printing into England, has, no doubt, been instrumental in preserving many things which otherwise would have been lost. But the misfortune was, that he was but an illiterate man, and of small judgement, by which means he printed nothing but mean and frivolous things, as appears from the catalogues of his impressions, given us by Mr. Lewis and Mr. Ames. Whereas, had he been a scholar, and had made a better choice of the works that were to pass his press, it is probable many excellent performances, now lost, would have been secured to us, especially if he had recourse to some of the more antient pieces; but, as it is, Caxton’s works are valuable for little else than as being early performances in the Art of Printing, and as wrought off by him.”

Anonymiana, p. 136. 1809, 8vo.

BOWYER AND NICHOLS. 1776.

"Caxton and Rood were indifferently good printers." *Origin of Printing*, p. 24, note p. from the '*Weekly Miscellany*.'

THOMAS WARTON. 1778.

"French versions enabled CAXTON, our first printer, to enrich the state of letters in this country with many valuable publications. He found it no difficult task, either by himself or the help of his friends, to turn a considerable number of these pieces into English, which he printed. Ancient learning had as yet made too little progress among us, to encourage this enterprising and industrious artist to publish the Roman authors in their original language: and had not the French furnished him with these materials, it is not likely that Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, and many other good writers, would, by the means of his press, have been circulated in the English tongue, so early as the close of the fifteenth century." *History of English Poetry*, vol. ii. 123.

DR. KIPPIS. 1784.

"CAXTON, by translating, or procuring to be translated, such a number of the books from the French, greatly contributed to promote the state of literature in England. It was only in this way that he could introduce his countrymen to the knowledge of many valuable publications, at a time when an acquaintance with the learned languages was confined to a few ecclesiastics. Ancient learning had as yet made too little progress among us, to encourage him, to publish the Roman authors in their original tongue."

Biographia Britannica, vol. iii. 378. note.

DR. HENRY. 1785.

"All our historians and other writers, who flourished in or near those times, and mention the introduction of printing into England, unanimously, and without hesitation, ascribe that honor to Mr. WILLIAM CAXTON, mercer and citizen of London. This modest, worthy, and industrious man hath been already noticed as an historian: he was also the translator of many books out of French into English; but he merited most of his country by introducing the art of printing."

History of Great Britain, vol. x. 201. 8vo. edit.

EDWARD GIBBON. 1796.

"It was in the year 1474 that our first press was established in Westminster Abbey, by WILLIAM CAXTON: but in the choice of his authors, that liberal and industrious artist was reduced to comply with the vicious taste of his readers; to gratify the nobles with treatises on heraldry, hawking,* and the Game of Chess, and to amuse the popular credulity with romances of fabulous knights, and legends of more fabulous saints. The father of printing expresses a laudable desire to elucidate the history of his country," &c.

Posthumous Works, vol. ii. 709.

THOMAS ASTLE. 1803.

"WILLIAM CAXTON hath been generally allowed to have first introduced and practised the art of printing in England in the reign of King Edward IV. He became a reputable merchant, and, in 1464, he was one of the persons employed by King Edward IV in negotiating a treaty of commerce with the Duke of Burgundy, and was afterwards patronized by Margaret duchess of Burgundy, sister to that king. Caxton having received a good education in his youth, had a taste for learning, and made himself master of the art of printing." *Origin and Progress of Writing and Printing*, p. 222.

JOHN M'CREERY. 1803.

O Albion! still thy gratitude confess
To CAXTON, founder of the BRITISH PRESS;
Since first thy mountains rose—or rivers flow'd,
Who on thine isles so rich a boon bestow'd?

The Press, a Poem: by Mr. M'Creery, Printer, p. 17.

* Gibbon is here mistaken. He was probably thinking of the St. Alban's Book on these subjects, of the date of 1486; or of Wynkyn De Worde's reprint of the latter in 1496. Caxton never printed a work upon 'heraldry or hawking.'



W. X. C.

SUPPOSED PORTRAITS OF CAXTON. Vide p. cxxviii.

SOME ACCOUNT
OF THE
Life of William Caxton.



HOSE who have been in the habit of observing how carelessly events of importance are frequently recorded by some of our old Chroniclers, will not be surprised at the paucity of materials which their histories furnish for an account of the origin of the art of printing amongst us, and of the life of our first English Printer. The imperfect narratives of bibliographers—of Bagford, Palmer, and Dr. Middleton—have afforded but slender assistance to Lewis and Oldys in their respective Lives of Caxton: these latter happened to inspect many curious and rare books which had escaped the researches of their predecessors,*

* BAGFORD's account of Caxton's Life is said by Oldys to have been annexed to some 'Proposals for publishing the Art of Printing' in one folio sheet. Of this printed account I never saw a copy; although I am in possession of the folio sheet of 'Proposals.' His manuscript account, among the Harleian MSS, 5910, occupies about half a dozen folio pages, but it is written in a very loose and unsatisfactory manner. His Essay in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xxv. p. 2397, has nothing in it relating to Caxton. According to the *Bibl. West.* n°. 1909, Lord Oxford's Librarian, MINSHULL, issued 'Proposals for printing an ample account of Caxton's Books,' &c.—which, I believe, did not meet with public encouragement.

and, in consequence, have rendered their performances more complete and satisfactory. But, after all, the biography of our venerable typographer may be called rather a digested catalogue of the books printed by him, than a regular series of the events of his life. In the present instance, I shall adopt the plan of the skilful editor of

It is much to be regretted that a Mr. RICHARD SMITH—of whom mention is made in my *Bibliomania* [p. 32, 1809, 8vo.]—did not favour us with some account of our first printer; as this would probably have been more complete and satisfactory than the short notice of him by PALMER or PSALMANAZER—whose *General History of Printing*, published in 1733, 4to. first called the attention of the public to Caxton's performances. Palmer's account of Caxton extends to about a dozen pages; and although there are some pertinent observations in it, yet, upon the whole, it is exceedingly superficial.

Dr. MIDDLETON's '*Dissertation concerning the Origin of Printing in England*,' which was first separately published in a quarto pamphlet, A.D. 1735, was afterwards incorporated into his *Works* published both in quarto and octavo. It is a spirited performance; but is filled chiefly with a refutation of Atkyns's ridiculous pamphlet on '*The Original and Growth of Printing*,' 1664, 4to.; wherein the laurel was intended to have been snatched from Caxton's brow and given to an ideal printer of the name of Cor-sellis. Middleton's pamphlet was rather popular at the time of its publication, and his attack upon Atkyns was ably seconded by a writer of the fictitious name of Oxonides; whose remarks, originally published in the *Weekly Miscellany* (April 26, 1735), were judiciously inserted, along with the substance of Dr. Middleton's Dissertation, by Messrs. Bowyer and Nichols in their '*Origin of Printing*,' p. 24, &c. 1776, 8vo. In regard to that part of Dr. Middleton's '*Dissertation*' which gives a catalogue of some of Caxton's books, candour obliges me to confess, from having inspected the same volumes in the public library of the University of Cambridge, that the description is both inaccurate and incomplete.

For an account of LEWIS's *Life of Caxton*, vide p. lx. ante. OLDYS's performance is in every respect superior to that of Lewis. It was first published in the old edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, 1747; and was afterwards inserted, with some few additional remarks, by Dr. Kippis, in the third volume of the last edition of the same work—to which I have always referred. Although Dr. Kippis observes that Oldys's style is antique, and that he was obliged to 'correct it in various particulars,' yet the account the latter gives of Caxton's books was so 'long and elaborate,' that there was nothing in the subsequent publication of Ames which had not been mentioned by his 'learned predecessor.' Oldys has well described the books which he inspected; but many have been too confusedly blended with collateral historical matter; and many, among the rarest of Caxton's pieces, were never seen by him. He has also too implicitly followed the authority of Lewis; and, still more

Wyntown's Chronicles; and 'do little more than draw' into one point of view what may be gathered from our printer's own 'works.'*

WILLIAM CAXTON, according to his own confession, 'was born and learnt his english in Kent in the weald.'† Of the date of his birth nothing is known with certainty, although Oldys ‡ places it about the year 1412. 'His father, (continues Oldys) Mr. William Caxton, who resided with him at Westminster when he was in the height of his business there, must have lived to a good old age, according to the memorial we have of his death.§ By his parents he

than his predecessor, indulged himself in conjectures and deductions which are too often wide of the truth, and even of probability.

I will close this note by remarking, that, although Caxton is called by me the *first English Printer*, yet I fully believe in the authenticity of the Oxford edition of the '*Expositio sancti Jeronimi in simbolo apostolorum*,' &c. of the date of 1468—which was printed by a *foreigner* at Oxford, who was afterwards interrupted in the prosecution of his typographical labours. I have seen two copies of this work; one in the Bodleian Library; another in the public library at Cambridge. His Majesty has the only remaining copy known to be in existence. In my account of 'PRINTING AT OXFORD,' (in a subsequent volume) a particular analysis of the book, and of the controversy relating to it, will be given: meanwhile the reader may see how the arguments of 'Oxonides' have been strengthened by the luminous observations of Mr. Willet in his 'Memoir on Printing' in the *Archæologia*, vol. xi. p. 267.

* Mr. David Macpherson's edition of *Wyntown's Chronicles*, Pref. p. ix: edit. 1795, 2 vols. royal 8vo. A work equally distinguished for its accuracy and importance, as well as for its extreme beauty of typographical execution.

† 'A part of that large and fine country, so called from the Anglo-Saxonic word *peald*, which signifies a *wood* or *chace*; this tract of land being most wood.' LEWIS's *Life of Caxton*, p. 1. In Cæsar's time the inhabitants of Kent were called '*longè humanissimi*:' lib. v. § x. In Caxton's age they seem; at least with reference to their *speech*, to have lost this distinction of civilization.

‡ 'He was born about the latter end of King Henry IV's reign, who died in the year 1412.' OLDYS's *Biograph. Britan.* vol. iii. 351. This, however, is mere conjecture.

§ 'Thacompt of John Wycam and of Nicholas Wollescroft Wardens of the parisshē Churche of seynt Margarete of Westmr. in the Shire of Midd^x. and Kepers of the godes jēwells and ornaments of the same Churche that is to witt from the vijth. day of the monyth of May in the yere of our lord god m'ccccclxxviii and the Reigne of King Edward the iiijth. the xviiith. yere vnto the xviiith. day of May in the yere of our lord god m'ccccclxxx And of the Reigne of King Edward the iiijth the xxth yere that is to say by ij hole yeres.

was 'sent to school,' at a period when general ignorance prevailed among the lower orders of the people, and when seminaries of education were conducted upon the most absurd plans. On both these subjects Caxton touches with some sensibility; and expresses, with becoming gratitude, his obligations to his 'father and mother' for having caused him to be instructed in his youth, and thereby 'to get his living truly.*' Although he learnt the rudiments of his own language in the more uncultivated parts of Kent, where, as he himself informs us, 'it was spoken as broad and rude † as in any place of England,' yet it is most probable that he received the greater, or

"Item the day of bureying of William Caxton for ij torches and iiij tapirs
at a lowe masse xx^d.

'Whether MATILDA CAXTON, who founded a chantry in Walbrook Ward, in the city of London, and had a monument in St. Swithin's church there, after the repair of it in 1420, was any relation of his, Stow does not intimate.' *Survey of London*. edit. 1633, p. 241. OLDYS *ibid.* Bagford tells us that 'Caxton's family was of great répute of old, and that it was gentle-like.' In Somner's *Hist. of Canterbury* one 'JOHN CAXTON and his two wives Joan and Isabel,' are stated to lie buried in the parish church of St. Alphege, dying in 1484. Vide pt. 1. p. 163: edit. 1703. BAGFORD's account in the *Harleian MSS.* 5910. Fuller supposed, erroneously, that Caxton the Printer was born in the town of Caxton, in Cambridgeshire. Vide his *Worthies*, ut ante, p. lxxvii.

* The barbarity of the English systems of education, about fifty years before the birth of Caxton, has been sufficiently noticed by historians and antiquaries. Oldys and Dr. Henry have both extracted, from Warton, the curious passage in the *Polychronicon* which may be seen in a note at p. 145, post. In Caxton's own time the police of the city of London does not seem to have been improved, whether relating to the education of youth or to other objects. 'I have known it (says our printer) in my young age much more wealthy, prosperous, and richer than it is at this day; and the cause is, that there is almost none that intendeth to the common weal, but only every man for his singular profit.' *Cato Magnus*, A. M. 1483: vide p. 197, post. In 1485 he observes that 'the most quantity of the people understood not Latin nor French here in this royaume of England.' p. 259, post. At the same time he thus confesses his obligations to his parents for his early instructions: 'and also I am bounden to pray for my father's and mother's souls, that in my youth set me to school; by which, by the suffrance of God, I get my living I hope truly.' *Charles the Great*, A. D. 1485. vide p. 260, post.

† The Kentish dialect, Caxton informs us, was 'as broad and rude as in any place of England.' *Prologue to the Historyes of Troy*, or the '*English Receuil*,' (as it is frequently

more finished, part of his education in London; for he acknowledges this city to be 'his mother; of whom he had received his nurture and living.' [Vide p. 197, post.]

Lewis and Oldys suppose that, between his fifteenth and eighteenth year, he was put apprentice to one ROBERT LARGE, a mercer, or merchant of considerable eminence, who was afterwards successively elected High Sheriff and Lord Mayor of London. It is very probable, according to Bagford's surmise, that 'mercers in those days were general merchants, trading in all sorts of rich goods. Kings, Queens, and Noblemen,' continues he, 'had their particular merchants; who when they were ready for their voyage into foreign parts, sent their servants to their several chapmen to know what they wanted; and among the rest, of their choice, many times books were demanded, and there to buy them in those parts where they were going; or, copied in MS, to be there printed for them who were at the charge of the impression—as our William Caxton had several times and seasons, both at Cologne, Antwerp, and other great cities.* Our printer's residence with Large may therefore be considered as the particular and fortunate cause of his future passion for books and learning; a passion which never seems to have deserted him in his latest moments.

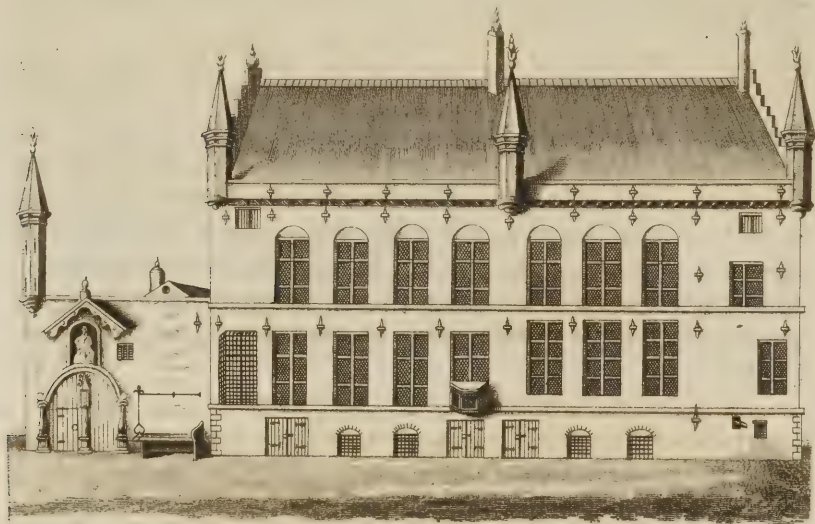
called :) vide p. 17, post. Lewis says, incorrectly, that this dialect was 'broader and ruder.'—See too the note at page 18, post.

* *Harl. MSS.* vol. iii. n°. 5910. 'Cologne was at this time of the day,' says Bagford, 'flourishing in trade, and afforded rare commodities; and these merchants, that usually traded to that city, set up their signs over the doors of their houses, the *Three Kings* of Cologne, with the arms of the city, which was the *Three Crowns* of the former kings, in memory of them; and by these signs the people knew in what wares they dealt. So likewise they had the sign of the *Three Nuns* when they sold fine thread and Mecklin lace.' *Ibid.*

Sanderus tells us that 'The English, as well as the Scotch and other foreigners, had at Bruges (where Caxton once resided) an ample *Prætorium*; which,' says he, 'yet exists, and is an evidence of the ancient splendor and magnificence of the place;' and that it was 'the resort of all mercantile people—being filled with abundance of merchandise.' He

But whatever were the leading traits of Caxton's juvenile character, or the particular objects of his pursuit, it may be taken for granted that he conducted himself entirely to his master's satisfaction ; for, on the decease of the latter, in 1441, our printer was remembered in his

illustrates his account with the following plate of this Prætorium, or Exchange, called ' *The House of the English at Bruges.*' From its antique aspect, I am inclined to think that it was once inhabited by our venerable Typographer. See SANDER *Flandria Illustrata*, vol. ii. p. 39. edit. 1641. Folio.



Domus Anglorum Brugis.

It seems pretty certain that *Mercers*, in the time of Caxton, were the leading mercantile people of our metropolis ; and that they united a love of literature and of books with their other multifarious concerns : in this particular imitating their great contemporaries and fellow-traders the *MEDICI*—with whom it was probably no uncommon circumstance for ' a cargo of Indian spices and Greek MSS.' to come over in the same vessel. See Gibbon and Roscoe. We find that the original French composition of ' *The Book of Good Manners*' was delivered to Caxton ' by a special friend of his, a *Mercer* of London, named William Praat ; [vide p. 265, post] and that Wynkyn De Worde was induced to print

will by a legacy of 'twenty marks;* 'a considerable sum in those times,' says Lewis, 'and a creditable as well as early testimony of his good behaviour and great integrity.' The death of Large freed Caxton from all obligation to continue in the same situation and line of business, although he might have commanded attention and credit, and had already become a sworn freeman † of the Company of Mercers. Either prompted by curiosity, or by speculative projects, he left England for the Low Countries a short time after the death of his master; and 'it has been guessed, (says Lewis) that he was abroad as a travelling agent or factor for the Company of Mercers, and employed by them in the business of merchandise.' Oldys has enlarged upon this surmise; attributing to Caxton both talents

the '*Polychronicon*' at the instigation and under the patronage of Roger Thorne, *Mercer*—whose liberality is thus commended in the poetical strains of the printer:

Whiche Roger Thorne *Mercer* hath exhorted
 Wynken de Worde, of vertuous entent,
 Well to correcte, and greatly hym confortd
 This specyall boke to make and sette in prente.

Polychronicon, 1495. rev. of title.

* Large's will is in the Prerogative Office; wherein he styles himself '*Cives et Mercerus Londinensis*'—It is in the Latin tongue, with the usual contractions of the times; and may be found at n°. 16. in the first and oldest book in the office, entitled '*Rouse*.' Caxton's former biographers have made the bequest, or legacy, *thirty-four* marks; but it is correctly as above stated. On the supposition of its being the latter amount, Lewis calls it 'a considerable sum in those days.'

† 'Unto the noble, ancient, and renowned city, the city of London in England, I, William Caxton, citizen and *coniuerye* of the same, and of the fraternity and fellowship of the Mercery, owe of right my service and good will.' Preface to *Cato Magnus*, p. 196-7, post.

Palmer, or rather Psalmanazer, says that he searched the book of Freeman, at Mercers' Hall, but could not find our printer's name there. 'There was one RICHARD CAXTON (continues he) made free about that time; whether it was a relation of his, or a mistake in transcribing his christian name, I cannot be sure of; but, however, as he calls himself a *Mercer of London*, we have no reason to doubt it.' *History of Printing*, p. 139, note.

and occupations for which there seems to be little or no authority.* Palmer [p.139] had also before taken care to inform us that ‘ he was an accomplished merchant, and had acquired a great deal of politeness;’ but all that we know with certainty is, that he was joined in a commission with one Richard Whetehill, in the year 1464, ‘ to continue and confirm a Treaty of Trade and Commerce between Edward the Fourth and Philip Duke of Burgundy ;’† or if they

* ‘ He was deputed and entrusted by the Mercers’ Company to be their agent or factor in Holland, Zealand, Flanders, &c. to establish and enlarge their correspondence, negociate the consumption of our own, and importation of foreign manufactures, and otherwise promote the advantage of the said corporation in their respective merchandise.’ OLDYS. *Biogr. Britan.* vol. iii. p. 352. All this is advanced upon the credit of a ‘ guess’ by Lewis, *Life of Caxton*, p. 2. That Caxton remained 30 years in the Low Countries, is certain from his own declaration—for in 1471 he declares that he had tarried abroad for this space of time. A question however may arise: whether Caxton made this declaration at the commencement or termination of his translation of the *Receuil*, &c. ? if he wrote the prologue, in which it occurs, on the conclusion of his task, it will follow that he quitted England in 1441: if at the commencement of his translation, which was in 1469, then he must have gone abroad in 1439. See the note at p. 17, post.

† The commission was granted in the following form :

Super Treugis Burgundie.

A. D. 1464 } Rex omnibus ad quos &c Salutem. Sciatis quod cum certa Appunctu-
An. 4 E. 4. } amenta, Intercursum Mercandisarum inter Subditos nostros ac Subditos
carissimi consanguinei nostri *Ducis Burgundie* concernentia, sub certis modo et formâ
ante hæc tempora concordata fuerant et conclusa, sæpiusque interim propagata; Nos,
Appunctuamenta illa pro patre nostrâ teneri et observari volentes, ac de fideletatibus et
providis circumspectionibus dilectorum et fidelium nostrorum Richardi Whetehill ar-
migeri et WILLHELMI CAXTON, plenius confidentes, ipsos Richardum et WILLIELMUM
nostros veros et indubitatos Ambassiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios, et Deputatos speciales
facimus, ordinamus, et constituimus per præsentés: dantes et concedentes eisdem Ambas-
siatoribus, Procuratoribus, Nunciis et Deputatis nostris, et eorum utrique, plenam po-
testatem et auctoritatem ac mandatum generale et speciale ad conveniendum, tractandum,
et communicandum cum præfato Consanguineo Nostro, seu ejus Ambassiatoribus, Procu-
ratoribus, Nunciis et Deputatis, sufficientem potestatem ab eodem Consanguineo Nostro
ad hoc habentibus, de et super continuatione Intercursus prædicti, et prorogatione ejus-
dem, et, si necesse fuerit, de novo capiendâ, appunctuandâ, et concludendâ, cæteraque

found it necessary, to make a new one; and the commission gives both, or either of them, full power to transact and conclude the same. They are stiled therein ‘Ambassadors and Special Deputies.’ Seven years afterwards, Caxton describes himself as leading rather an idle life; ‘for having no great charge or occupation, and wishing to eschew sloth and idleness, which is mother and nourisher of vices’—moreover ‘having good leisure, being in Cologne—’ he sat about finishing the translation of Raoul Le Fevre’s *Receuil des Histories de Troye*; which he had commenced two years before,* in 1469.

Of his pursuits and travels abroad, nothing further is known with certainty; except that, in his peregrinations, he declares that he confined himself ‘for the most part to the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zealand—and in France was never.’ It is, however, reasonable to suppose that he preserved the same respectable character in foreign countries which he had acquired in his own; and that, whilst he was indulging his favourite literary passion in the perusal of histories and romances, to which he seems to have been excited by his ‘venerable’ friend Bolomyer,† he was placed by his sovereign, or his

omnia et singula quæ in præmissis, necessaria fuerint et opportuna, faciendum et exercendum: promittentes, bona fide et in verbo Regio, Nos ratum, gratum, et firmum pro perpetuo habituros totum et quicquid per dictos Ambassiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios et Deputatos Nostros, seu eorum alterum, in forma prædicta, actum, gestum, seu procuratum fuerit in præmissis seu aliquo præmissorum. In cujus testimonium, &c.

Teste Rege apud Wycomb vicessimo die Octobris. Per ipsum Regem, et de datâ prædictâ.

This extract, from *Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 536, edit. 1710: vol. v. pt. ii. p. 127, edit. 1741—is printed in Lewis’s *Life of Caxton*, p. 130; and by Oldys in the *Biog. Britan.* vol. iii. 352, note B.

* See the prologues to the first, second, and third books of the English *Receuil*, or *Historyes of Troye*, p. 16. 19. 20. post.

† ‘Oft-times,’ says Caxton, ‘I have been excited of the venerable man *Messire HENRY BOLOMYER*, Canon of Lausanne, for to reduce for his pleasure some histories, as well in Latin and in romance, as in other fashion, written; that is to say, of the right puissant,

sister, ['the Lady Margaret,'] on the household establishment of the latter; when she came with a splendid retinue to Bruges to offer her hand to Charles, Duke of Burgundy. Caxton was, without doubt, privy to all the splendid spectacles and festivities which signalled this far-famed marriage; and with a few particulars of which the reader may amuse himself by perusing the note below.*

virtuous, and noble Charles the Great, &c.—and of his princes and barons, as Rowland, Oliver and other, &c.—And by cause the said HENRY BOLOMYER hath seen of this matter, and the histories divisioned without order, therefore at his request,' &c. vide p. 258, post.

* I expected to have found some interesting particulars in *Philip de Comines*, [Paris edit. 1747, 4 vols. 4to.] relating to this marriage, which appears to have been attended with unusual pomp and splendor; but this loquacious historian, who has devoted several chapters to the capricious measures and sanguinary conflicts of Charles, commonly called 'The Bold,' with his merciless rival Lewis XI, has only told us [in regard to the above match] that 'Charles had just married Edward's sister; that they were brothers of the Order of the Garter; and that he saw them both together at St. Pol en Artois,' vol. i. p. 107. Lewis has extracted a short Latin notice, from '*William of Worcester's Annals*,' of Margaret's being conducted to the sea side by her royal brother, at the isle of Thanet, and setting sail for Flanders to be married to Charles, Duke of Burgundy, by the Bishop of Salisbury.' *Life of Caxton*, p. 3. See also Hearne's *W. of Wyrcestre*, p. 516, edit. 1774. It would appear, from the *Acta Regia* of Rapin, that this marriage 'had been in treaty before the death of Philip, Charles's father.' Vol. i. p. 365. edit. 1726, 8vo.

Our chroniclers Hall and Holinshed have, however, furnished us with a few interesting details. The former narrates that Lord Anthony, called 'The Bastard of Bourgoyne,' with a company 'of four hundred horse and gentlemen,' was sent chief ambassador on the occasion; who was 'lovingly welcomed and familiarly embraced.' On a certain court-day the king sent for the ambassadorial suite, on purpose to present to them the object of Charles's choice; when the Lady Margaret was ushered in 'richly apparelled, accompanied with a great multitude of ladies and gentlewomen, with so sober a demeanour, so fair a visage, so loving a countenance, and so princely a port, that she was esteemed, for her personage and qualities, both of the Bourgoynians and other, not to be unworthy to match in matrimony with the greatest prince of the world.' *Chronicles*, p. 267, edit. 1809. 4to.

Holinshed informs us that she was accompanied by the Dukes of Exeter and Suffolk, 'with a great sort of lords and ladies, and others, to the number of 500 horse'—that, on the 18th of June she left London for Dover—and that the king saw her take shipping on the first of July, in the '*New Ellen of London*.' On the third day of the same

‘In what rank or quality,’ says Lewis, ‘he served the Duchess, we do not know; but the freedom with which she used Mr. Caxton, in finding fault with his English, and ordering him to correct it, &c. seems to shew that the place he had in her Grace’s family was no

month she reached Sluys, where she was ‘openly affianced’ to Charles. On the 8th she removed by water to *the Dame*. On the Sunday, between 5 and 6 o’cl. in the morning, the marriage was publickly solemnized at Bruges by the bishops of Salisbury and Tournay. The pomp of the marriage was ‘such as he [Holinshed] had not read the like.’ *Chronicles*, vol. iii. 286-7. edit. 1808. 4to. ‘What abundant fare and delicate viand,’ says Hall, ‘was served at the feast; with how rich hangings the house was garnished and trimmed; with how many cupboards of gold and silver the palace was adorned; with how many garnish of silver vessels the companies were served; what justs, what tourneys, what bankettes and what disports were at this nuptial-feast—I neither dare nor will write—lest peradventure some men might think that I flattered a little!—*Hall’s Chronicles*, p. 269, edit. 1809. 4to. ‘The vii Yere’ of Edward iv.

This latter description, from Hall, seems to be borrowed from the more minute and animated one of ADRIAN BARLANDUS; a writer who died in the middle of the 16th century, and whose curious account of this marriage was published in a rare tract entitled ‘*De rebus gestis Ducum Brabantie*.’ 1665. 12mo. A part of this publication, relating to the Lady Margaret’s marriage, has been extracted by Sanderus in his *Flandria Illustrata* [Vide p. lxxviii. ante.] from which the reader is presented with the following description of an entertainment, that seems to have eclipsed the celebrated one given to Queen Elizabeth, at Killingworth Castle, in 1575—and which may even dispute the palm with some of the fêtes recorded in the Arabian Nights Entertainments. “The sun,” says Barlandus, “never shone upon a more splendid ceremony since the creation of the world. In the first place, a magnificent house, with every thing the most convenient and costly, was newly built for the reception of the bride. The dining room, [*Triclinium*—which also means a couch; or sofa] where a number of noble guests were invited to a gorgeous feast, was so sumptuously fitted up, that it eclipsed every thing else, however beautiful it might have been! Upon the dining table stood a magnificent vase, displaying all the delicacies of the season: while candelabras, lamps, vases, cups, dishes, salt cellars, plates, winegoblets, and utensils of a like nature, ‘ex auro purissimo emunctiora,’ added to the splendor and luxuriousness of the scene. In truth,’ says our narrator, ‘I want words to express correctly the number of curious and costly articles which were prepared for the occasion.’

‘Meanwhile,’ continues he, ‘the festivity was not confined to the interior of the Duke’s mansion. Through every village, and by every house, where the Bride was to pass, nothing was to be seen but rich hangings streaming from the balconies, and flowers of all kinds scattered in the streets. The most expert artificers were collected from all parts to

mean or ordinary one.' Oldys thinks that 'it is highly probable that he was employed by the Duchess in some literary way.' That Caxton received from her Grace 'an yearly fee,' and 'other many good and great benefits,' is acknowledged by himself [vide p. 18, post]: but I should suppose him to have had no regular employment;

devise every thing which could attract the attention, and win the admiration, of the multitude without, and of the guests within. Thus all things were prepared, at an immense expense, for the celebration of the bridal day; which had no sooner arrived, than the Prince left Bruges betimes in the morning, with about 300 knights, and reached Dam; where the Lady Margaret had recently arrived from England. The marriage ceremony was performed in this small town, [about 14 miles from Groningen] and the Bride and Bridegroom returned immediately to Bruges; where the former, who had been long and ardently expected, was received with the joyful acclamations of the populace. Shows of all kinds were then exhibited, and plays were performed by the best actors; while the happy pair, on entering the dining room, witnessed a banquet served up in fourteen large dishes, part gold and part silver, in the form of ships; each vessel being flanked by four small boats, filled [I suppose] with sauces and stews.

'What shall I say,' continues Barlandus, [speaking of the *high table*] 'of the number of the courses, and luxuriousness of the dishes—of which there were about forty? How shall I describe the deliciously flavoured wine which was set before the guests? On the *lower tables*, sweetmeats, tartlets, apples, nuts, and dainties of all kinds were displayed; of which, while the guests, struck with wonder and delight, were partaking—little boys, dressed like Cupids, were perfuming the whole room with delicious odours!' After telling us that neither the revelries of Mark Antony and Cleopatra, nor the Epicuræanism of Heliogabalus, exceeded the luxuriousness of this feast, he goes on to say that—'the cloth was no sooner removed, than all manner of diversions took place—of which he is only disposed to mention the golden feathered peacocks [*payones Flavi-comi*], that were brought into the dining room; and which, though artificial, were scarcely to be discerned from real birds. A lion was next introduced, whereon a beautiful virgin sat, carrying in her hand the emblazoned arms of the Prince. Next, thirty castles, in miniature, of solid silver, attracted the wondering eyes of the company: these were ostentatiously meant to shew the equal number of fortified towns or citadels, of which the Bridegroom was lord and master. An animal, something like a dromedary, was afterwards introduced; on whose back were placed small opened baskets, from which a number of little birds of all kinds flew out, and ravished the ears of the guests by their harmonious notes—like as the traveller stops transported at the various and dulcet sounds of some chorister of the grove. These strange sights and gratifications were again succeeded by the feats of tumblers, pantomimical characters, dancers, and mountebanks [*'aretalogi'*—perhaps something like our Mr. Punch], with which were mingled the

or rather, that he was a Gentleman of her Household, in a sinecure situation, receiving an annual salary. Lewis and Oldys are incorrect in saying that he was 'employed by the Duchess' to translate into English Raoul Le Fevre's French History of Troy: the fact was, that Caxton had commenced the translation voluntarily, without her knowledge; and had proceeded as far as 'five or six quires,' when 'he fell in despair of the work, and purposed no more to have continued therein, and the quires laid apart, and in two years after laboured no more in this work, and was fully in will to have left it—till on a time it fortune[d] that the Lady Margaret [here all her numerous titles are set forth at length] sent for him to speak with her good Grace of divers matters—among the which, he let her have knowledge of the foresaid beginning of this work, who anon commanded him to shew the said v or vi quires to her said grace—and when she had seen them, anon she found default in his English, which she commanded him to amend; and moreover commanded him straightly to continue and make an end of the residue then not translated; whose dreadful commandment he durst in no wise disobey.' [vide p. 17, 18. post.] This is Caxton's own account of his first effort of preparing an English work for the press; from which we learn that the interposition or commands of his patroness related only to the execution of the *remaining* part of the work, and that Caxton had made a trial of the former part as one of his usual and regular studies.

voices of singing women. Supper followed: But it is time to draw the curtain upon Barlandus's luxurious scene.

The original description, which is in Latin, I have necessarily translated with some abridgments and alterations of expression—adapted to modern notions and customs. Consult Sanderi *Flundria Illustrata*, vol. ii. p. 39. 40. For a list of Barlandus's works see Foppens's *Bibliotheca Belgica*, vol. i. p. 10; but his 'Narratio historica Papiensis obsidionis an. 1525' does not seem to have been known to Foppens. It is noticed in the valuable work entitled *Specimen Bibliothecæ Germaniæ Austriacæ*, pars ii. p. 502. Vienn. 1779-85. 8vo.

But whatever was the situation, or the annual stipend, of Caxton, the Duchess of Burgundy did not fail 'largely to reward' him on the completion of his laborious task. The prologues and epilogues (if I may so call them) attached to this curious performance, which the reader will find faithfully given in their original dress, from p. 16 to p. 23, post, may be considered as the most authentic piece of biography extant, relating to our printer. From the latter part we learn that, at the time of finishing the performance, Caxton's eyes 'were dimmed with over much looking on the white paper; that his courage was not so prone and ready to labour as it had been; and that age was creeping on him daily, and enfeebling all his body: that he had practised and learnt, at his great charge and expense, to ordain this said book in print, after the manner and form as we there see it; and that it was not written with pen and ink as other books be.' Hence we discover that he was now advanced in years, and that he had learnt to exercise the art of printing. It will be seen, however, from the ensuing pages that, previously, as it is supposed, to the appearance of Caxton's printed translation, the original French work of Raoul had been published; and that, although no mention whatever is made by Caxton himself of his having executed this French work, he has been considered as the printer of it. Another specimen of his press had, in all probability, preceded the publication of the translation of Raoul's book; and that was the '*Oration of John Russel* on Charles Duke of Burgundy being created a Knight of the Garter.' Of the first of these two latter books neither Palmer, Oldys, nor Herbert appear to have seen a copy: a very particular account of it will be found, as the first article, in the ensuing pages; as well as a few arguments advanced upon its authenticity as a production of Caxton's press. Of the '*Oration of Russel*' a complete description is, for the first time, given in this volume. [Vide p. 11, post] It was wholly unknown to the bibliographical world, till the sale of Mr. Brand's books, in 1807, brought it to light.

It is not my intention to follow either Lewis or Oldys, in their accounts of the origin of the Art of Printing;* or to indulge in the conjectures advanced by the latter respecting Caxton's movements

* Lewis, p. 4, has two short superficial notes, the one from Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, the other from Richelet's *Dictionary*, upon the ORIGIN OF PRINTING, which are not worth transcribing. Again, at p. 131, he has extracted the passage from Fox's *Acts and Monuments* at length. Instead of these, the reader will be pleased to accept of the following sketch relating to this important but most intricate and involved subject: so true being the remark of Oxonides that—"the Art of Printing, which has given light to most other things, hides its own head in darkness"—or according to Daunou—"We live too near the epoch of the discovery of printing to judge accurately of its influence, and too far from it to know exactly the circumstances which gave birth to it."

HENNE [John] GÆNSFLEISCH *de Sulgeloeh*, commonly called GUTENBERG, the inventor of the art of printing with metal types, was born at Mentz, of noble and wealthy parents, about the year 1400. In the year 1424, he took up his residence at Strasburgh as a merchant; but from a deed of accommodation between himself and the nobles and burghers of the city of Mentz in 1430, it is evident that he had then returned to his native place. That he was a wealthy man in 1434, is proved by a document adduced by Schoepflin. Between this period and 1439, he had conceived and perhaps made some few trials of, the art of printing with metal types. In the archives of the city of Mentz, Schoepflin discovered a document of a process carried on by Gutenberg against one George Dritzehen—from which we learn that the former had promised to make the latter acquainted with a secret art that he had recently discovered. In the same document mention is made of *four forms* kept together by *two screws*, or *press-spindles*, and of letters and pages being cut up and destroyed to prevent any person from discovering the art.

Oberlin, in his *Exercices de Bibliographie*, p. 44, thus translates the German passages that relate to the fusile types: 'Go, take away the component parts of the press, and pull them to pieces; then, no one will understand what they mean. Gutenberg intreated him to go to the press, and open it by means of two screws; and thus the several parts would separate; that these need only be placed under the press, and no one would understand any thing about them. Gutenberg sent him to bring together all the different forms, which were pulled to pieces before him, because there were some with which he was not satisfied. Dritzehen was particularly careful to secure every bit of lead," &c. Upon this very curious document, Lambinet remarks that the want of correct technical expressions is sufficiently obvious in the early history of the art of printing; hence the obscurity of the original German passages, and the difficulty of translating them. Every one, continues he, will construe these passages according to his particular prejudices or partialities.' It is remarkable that the ablest bibliographers have differed upon the subject

to and from Bruges—when our Typographer ‘paid his obedience to Edward IV. [then driven to the Duke of Burgundy’s court, to seek succour against the Earl of Warwick], and received his Majesty’s approbation for his engagement in this new art;’ or of his ‘dispatching copies [of his newly printed translation] to his other friends and encouragers who had been impatient for the same’—as nothing can be more jejune than the observations of Lewis, or more chimerical than these statements of Oldys. All that we know with any tolerable degree of certainty is, that Caxton finished the translation of Raoul Le Fevre’s book in 1471, and most probably printed it in the same year: being the third effort of his press.

That our Typographer was ‘particularly curious to know, and in-

of the materials with which Gutenberg at first printed. Schoepflin supposed them to have been *metal*; Fournier, Meerman, and Fischer were of opinion that they were composed of *wood*.

In the years 1441-2, Gutenberg lived at Strasburg as a wealthy man: he continued in the same place till 1445-6, when he returned again to Mentz, and seems to have opened his mind fully to Fust, a goldsmith of the same place, and prevailed on him to advance large sums of money in order to make further and more complete trials of the art. Between the years 1450 and 1455, the celebrated Bible of 637 leaves, the first important specimen of printing with metal types, was executed between Gutenberg and Fust. In the royal library at Berlin there is a copy of it UPON VELLUM. The five other known copies are upon paper. It is not necessary, in this place, to give an account of the earliest succeeding efforts of the art; as this will more properly appear in my ‘*Bibliographical and Typographical Dictionary*’ to be published at a future period; although it may be worth while here to notice that there is no book whatever extant with the name of Gutenberg subscribed—a circumstance which has justly excited the surprise of bibliographers. Exclusively of the *Bible*, Gutenberg is supposed to have printed a *Donatus*, *Hermanni de Saldis speculum sacerdotum*, *Tractatus de celebratione missarum*, *Catholicon*, 1460, *Mathæi de Cracovia tractatus rationis et conscientie*, *Thomas de Aquina de articulis fidei*, *Statuta Moguntia*. He died about the latter end of the year 1467.

It may, however, be essential to remark that, previously to the execution of Gutenberg’s and Fust’s Bible, a number of rude specimens of the art of printing, from *wooden blocks*, had appeared in Holland as early as the year 1440; and even at Mentz, from the same materials, before 1450: but this latter is quite a different art, and may be some hundred years yet more ancient—as it was most probably borrowed from the

quisitive after, the invention of printing,' (as Lewis remarks) can scarcely be doubted; and that he had not inspected some of the beautiful productions of the Roman, Venetian, and Parisian presses, before he caused his own fount of letters to be cut, must at least be regretted; as he would probably have chosen the *Roman* letter among the varieties of his type. But his enquiries, as well as his experience, seem to have been confined to such specimens as the presses of the Low Countries produced; and it is not very chimerical to suppose that he was well acquainted with a book printed by Ulric Zel at Cologne, in 1467, called '*De Singularitate Clericorum*;' from the works of St. Austin.* The types used by Caxton in the French and English editions of Raoul Le Fevre's history, as well as those

Chinese. The great trial or point seems to have been, not the cutting or casting of letters, but, 1st. the discovery of some kind of metal of that precise quality on which letters could be quickly and correctly cut; and, 2dly. the making of them fusile or separate; so as, by a rapid multiplication of the same letter, to execute any work of any extent. Cicero, in his second book *De Naturâ Deorum*, seems to give a hint of separately cast letters, when he talks of 'some ingenious man's throwing the twenty-four letters of the alphabet (made either of gold or of other metal) by chance together, and thus producing the annals of Ennius.' This is used by him against the atheistical argument of the creation of the world by chance.

For the foregoing particulars relating to Gutenberg the reader may consult OBERLIN'S *Essai sur les Annales De La Vie de Jean Gutenberg*, 1801, 8vo. FISCHER'S *Essai sur les Monumens typographiques de Gutenberg*, 1802, 4to. DAUNOU'S *Analyse Des Opinions Diverses sur l'Origine de L'Imprimerie*, 1803, 8vo.; and the better known and truly admirable works of SCHOEFFLIN, MEERMAN, FOURNIER, HEINECKEN, and LAMBINET. A translation of BREITKOPF'S German work upon typography, which is highly commended by foreign writers, is a desideratum in English Bibliography.

* Consult MEERMAN; *Origines Typographicæ*, vol. i. p. 58. and plate ix at the end of the second volume—where a specimen of the type is given. Also *Cat. de la Valliere*, n°. 475: Laire, in his *Index Librorum*, vol. i. p. 64, refers to the auction catalogue of the Crevenna library for a copy of this book, but I do not discover it in either of the catalogues of this last collection.

Lambinet, (*Recherches sur l'origine de l'Imprimerie*, p. 164) contradicts the assertion of Meerman and Mercier, that the types used in Zel's book resemble those of Fust and Schoeffer; but whoever examines the plate given by Meerman may discover a strong re-

in the *Game of Chess*, resemble, in character and form, rather than in size, the types of Ulric Zel and other printers in the Low Countries. Nor is it at all improbable that Caxton consulted Zel and Olpe, the earliest typographical artists in the city of Cologne, about the formation of his own letters; as these able men are supposed to have learnt the art of printing in the office of Gutenberg and Fust.* Colard Mansion, a printer at Bruges, might also have assisted him in the necessary materials for his office.

It may be here necessary to notice an edition of '*Bartholomæus De Proprietatibus Rerum*,' supposed to be printed by Caxton, in the Latin language, about the year 1470. The chief evidence of the existence of such a book, is the following rude stanza of Wynkyn De Worde, subjoined to his own magnificent edition of the same work :

And also of your charite bear in remembraunce
The soule of WILLIAM CAXTON *first printer of this boke*
In laten tongue at Coloyne himself to advaunce
That every wel disposyd man may thereon loke.

Oldys, relying upon Lewis's inaccurate account of two ancient Latin editions of this work, printed at Cologne, intimates that the above

semblance in them to those with which Cicero's *Offices* of 1465-6 were printed. They are a little larger and thicker, which may be the fault of the artist who engraved them : but their form and character are very similar; and the size nearly so.

It may be worth adding that the above work is *not* the first production of Ulric Zel's press : it being preceded by a dissertation of 'St. Chrysostom on the 50th Psalm,' executed by Zel, with his name and the date 1406 subjoined; which Panzer concludes to be for 1466; though Santander says it may as well stand for 1476 or 1486. See Panzer's *Annales Typographici*, vol. iv. p. 271. Santander *Dict. Bibl. Choisi*, vol. i. 157. Lord Spencer has, however, a copy of this '*Editio rarissima hactenus incognita*,' as Panzer very properly calls it, with the express date of 1466.

* Lambinet says that PETRUS DE OLPE printed at Cologne in 1470, but Santander fixes the date of 1471 to this printer's first production; and corrects Marchand for assigning the former date to the '*Calderini auctoritates decretorum*'—executed in 1471; *Dict. Bibliogr. Choisi*, vol. i. 160.

[supposed] edition by Caxton was executed in the interval between the commencement and conclusion of his translation of the History of Troy. He adds, very properly, [in his long note Biogr. Britan. vol. iii. 353] that Wynkyn De Worde's authority for Caxton's execution of it deserves to be duly considered; and that, from the foregoing stanza, it is reasonably enough inferred that he [Caxton] 'had a hand in composing, at the press,' one of the ancient editions. [What he remarks concerning Wynkyn De Worde, and the ancient editions of Bartholomæus, will be found in the course of the succeeding volume of the present work, with many additions and corrections.] Mr. Nichols says, that 'it is extremely probable, from the verses of Wynkyn De Worde, that the *first edition* of this book was printed by Caxton at Cologne, without the name of place or printer;' and cites the authority of Meerman. Dr. Middleton had observed, that 'he never saw, nor met with any one who had seen, this Latin edition of Bartholomæus by Caxton.* A loose dictum of Batman led Lewis to suppose that this first impression appeared about the year 1471; but 'it's having a Latin title,' says he, 'might possibly deceive W. de Worde, and make him think it was printed in Latin.' †

Amidst such contradictory remarks it is difficult to draw a correct conclusion. The positive assertion of Wynkyn De Worde, which seems to be fantastically interpreted by Lewis, is a very strong testimony in favour of the former existence of the book; which De Worde had probably seen, or received information concerning it

* *Dissertation on the Origin of Printing*, p. 18. Bowyer's and Nichols's *Essay on the same*, p. 49—note [cc.]

† 'In another English edition of this book, by Dr. Stephen Bateman, it is thus noted: 'That Bartholomew Glanville (descended of the noble familie of the Earls of Suffolk, and a Franciscan frier) wrote this worke in Edward III. time, about the year of our Lord 1360: that in the year 1397 was this work translated into English, and so remained by written copy until A. D. 1471, at which time printing began first in England.' *Life of Caxton*, p. 7. Concerning the English editions of this curious work consult Mr. Douce's *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, &c. vol. ii. p. 278.

from the mouth of his master, Caxton.* That no copy of it is now known to exist, is generally admitted. 'The Latin edition of this book, in large folio, in the library of Bennet College, Cambridge'—which Lewis describes as being 'an exceeding fair book, without signatures, date, or notification of place or printer,' I was not so fortunate as to meet with—when I visited the University of Cambridge for the purpose of discovering books printed by Caxton: although I was assisted in my researches by two very able gentlemen belonging to Bennet College. If Caxton ever printed an edition of Bartholomæus† it was probably between the years 1472 and 1474.

* An ingenious sophist, however, of the school of Duns Scotus, may interpret W. de Worde's second and third verses thus; "William Caxton printed this book at Cologne in order to advance himself in the Latin tongue:" or he "printed this book in order to advance himself in the Latin tongue at Cologne:" from both interpretations it would follow that he printed the book—but, from the former, at Cologne: from both interpretations it would also follow that he might have printed his own *translation* of it, as that would have still more effectually contributed to his improvement in the original. The mere re-impression of a Latin book would not have caused our typographer to 'advance himself' one iota in the 'Latin tongue.'

† Lewis's words are these: 'We have an account of an edition of it in Latin, printed at Cologn the year before, viz. 1470, by Jo. Koelhof; and of another by the same printer, 1481. And as the former of these editions might be whilst Mr. Caxton was at Cologn, learning and practising the art of printing, he might, possibly, be assisting to Koelhof in printing this book, or in the expense of it, and so be remembered by De Worde as the printer.' *Life of Caxton*, p. 17-18.

Maittaire and Dr. Middleton seem to have led Lewis into the mistake about Koelhof's printing the book in 1470. The first Latin edition of Bartholomæus, by Koelhof, is of the date of 1481. The date of 1470, in the Harleian copy referred to by Maittaire, was a fabrication; from the erasure of the last four numerals of a date of mccccclxxxiii into that of mccccclxx—as Meerman discovered on examining the copy in Osborne's shop. Indeed Bagford had previously made the same discovery. Koelhof never printed any work till the year 1472; when he published 'I. Nyder, præceptorium divine legis' in fol.—the first book, according to Santander, in which signatures are to be found. Consult *Cat. de Santander*, vol. v. Supplement, p. 7: Meerman's *Origines Typographicæ*, vol. i. p. 59. note k: Bowyer and Nichols *On the Origin of Printing*, p. 21. 49: *Harleian Catalogue*, vol. iii. n°. 1919. A copy of Koelhof's rare edition, [which, however, is not the first Latin impression of Bartholomæus] was sold at a sale of 'Rare, Old Medical Books' by Messrs. Leigh and Sotheby, in 1808—see n°. 365. In my account of Wynkyn De

There is no account whatever of the typographical labours of Caxton from the year 1471 to the year 1474; although it is extremely probable that a curious and active mind like his, just engaged in the exercise of a newly discovered and important art, would have turned its attention to a variety of objects for publication. Of the exact period of his return to his native country no information has yet been obtained. Oldys imagines that 'in the time required to provide himself with presses, types, and all other printing materials, in order to establish and practise the art in his own country—being now arrived at the evening of life, and naturally inclining homeward—he might pass three years; till he appears, by the edition of the Book of Chess, dated in 1474, to be settled in England; which book is reputed to be the first that was ever printed in this kingdom.*

Worde's edition of this work, I shall subjoin, in a note, a complete list of all the known ancient editions of it printed in the 15th century in various languages.

* Lewis's narrative of the affair is, the greater part, as follows: "At what time Mr. Caxton left Cologn or Bruges, to return to England and set up the trade or craft of printing there, is uncertain. Towards the latter end of the year 1468, the Earl of Warwick, on some disgust taken by him, formed a powerful conspiracy to dethrone King Edward, and restore the late King Henry to the throne; and accordingly he took up arms, in which he was so successful, as to force King Edward to leave the kingdom, and fly for refuge into Flanders, to his brother-in-law the Duke of Burgundy. But the king being supplied by him with forces, and obtaining this year, 1471, a compleat victory over the Earl, who lost his life in the battle; the consequence of this was, the violent death of King Henry, and of the prince his son, by which means King Edward was again settled on the throne, and the kingdom restored to its full peace and tranquility: of this Mr. Caxton took notice in his epilogue to a book which he printed nine years after, called 'thymage or myrror of the world;' in which he besought Almighty God to be the King's protectour and defendour agayn alle his enemyes, and gyve Him grace to subdue them, and in especial them that had late enterprysed, agayn right and reson, to make warre within His royaume.' This was a providence very favourable to Mr. Caxton, who seems to have been desirous of an opportunity of practising in his own country, the art of printing, which he had newly learned at Cologn at so great an expence. He was not unknown to the King, having been employed by him in executing a very honourable commission to the late Duke of Burgundy, and was in great favour with his mistress, the King's sister, who, very probably, recommended him to her brother. Accordingly, in the Epilogue

The first edition of '*The Game of Chess*' does certainly bear the *date* of 1474; but that it was executed in *this country* there is no kind of evidence upon the face of the book itself. The dedication to the Duke of Clarence, Edward's brother, looks as if the work had been

above-mentioned, he very gratefully acknowledged, that 'he acted under the shadowe of the King's noble protection.' *Life of Caxton*, p. 9. 10. "The Duke of Clarence was second brother to King Edward, and had, by him, been promoted to the great and honourable places above mentioned. But this, it seems, did not hinder his joining with the Earl of Warwick in the unnatural design of dethroning the king his brother, and therefore he forfeited them: but repenting of his treason and rebellion, and his repentance and return to his duty proving the king's preservation, he was pardoned, and restored to his places. This was in 1472. However, this behaviour of the duke's very strongly prejudiced the king against him. Of this the duke's enemies, and particularly his younger brother, the Duke of Gloucester, who wanted to get rid of him, that he might come to the crown, as he afterwards did, by the name of Richard III, made their advantage; so that he was impeached in Parliament, and had articles of high treason exhibited against him; of which, being neglected by the king his brother, he was found guilty; and, at his own desire, to avoid appearing publicly on a scaffold, was suffocated within the Tower, in a butt of Malmesey wine, Anno 1478." *Life of Caxton*, p. 15.

"In the middle of September, 1471, Caxton was at Cologne; from whence he went, some time after, to the Duchess of Burgundy's court, to present her with his printed book. If he printed at Cologne '*Bartholomeus de Proprietatibus*,' &c. he must have returned thither again, and continued there a great part of, if not all, the next year, 1472. However this be, it's certain it must require some time for him to come over from Cologne into England, and settle himself here, and provide all the necessary materials for a printing-house. So that, supposing he came from Cologne or Flanders, sometime in the years 1472 or 3, we cannot well imagine him to be at work any where in England much before the latter end of 1473, or beginning of 1474; or however, not to finish any book of consequence till this last mentioned year. It has been observed, indeed, that Mr. Caxton was at work several years without telling us *where* and when he printed the several books he was at work upon; since the first book we have of *his*, which has *any date* to it, is said to be printed at Westminster six years after 1471. But Mr. Caxton himself tells us, that 'the book or game of Chess,' was printed, or finished, the last day of March, 1474; though he does not name the place. But, in the dedication of it to the Duke of Clarence, Mr. Caxton tells him, that he had made this book 'in the name and under the shadow of his noble protection;' which seems very strongly to imply, that he was then in England; since, how could he be under *his* protection out of it? Besides, if it was not printed *here*, it must have been printed at Cologne, or somewhere abroad; and it is not very probable, that Mr. Caxton, who tells us, that in 1471, he had leisure at Cologne, should be there *six* years without doing

executed here, although such a dedication might have been written abroad; but in the introductory address to the second edition of the same work, Caxton informs us, that the original French performance, from which his own was translated, came into his hands ‘at such time as he was resident in Bruges—which seemed to him full necessary to be had in English; and when he had so atchieved the said translation, he did do set in imprint a certain number of them, which anon were *depesshed* and sold.’ [meaning the first edition] Vide p. 36, post. The reader will draw his own conclusion from this statement; for my part, I incline to think that the foregoing language carries with it a strong inference of the first edition, at least, of the *Game of Chess* being printed abroad; and when it is recollected that no publication of Caxton (expressly declared to have been printed in England) has yet been discovered with types similar to those of the present work—while, on the other hand, the French and English editions of the *History of Troy*, admitted to have been printed abroad, exhibit precisely the same types as the work under consideration—when these two circumstances are duly considered, it may be the more reasonable conclusion to suppose that the first edition of the *Game of Chess* was printed and published by Caxton before he had quitted the Low Countries.

But whatever may be the dearth of materials attending the investigation of this part of Caxton’s history, or the doubts relating to the place where the first edition of the *Chess Book* was executed, there have not been wanting writers, who, by the aid of a fertile imagination, have readily supplied the deficiencies of the former; and made our typographer busied in adventures which resemble rather the fictions of a drama than the incidents of real life. The following foolish, and barbarously written story, published by Atkyns, seems

any thing besides translating and printing this book and the ‘*Recuyel*,’ beforementioned: whereas this is easily accounted for, if we suppose him, during this time, to be removing into England, and setting up a printing press there. I am therefore inclinable to be of Mr. Bagford’s opinion, That this was the first book printed by Mr. Caxton after his return to England in 1472 or 3.” *Life of Caxton*, p. 10, 11.

to have obtained almost implicit credit among the greater number of foreign bibliographers,* notwithstanding it has been so frequently and successfully overthrown by our own writers.

“ Thomas Bouchier, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, moved the then King (Hen. the 6th) to use all possible means for procuring a printing mold (for so 'twas there called) to be brought into this kingdom; the King (a good man, and much given to works of this nature) readily hearkened to the motion; and taking private advice, how to effect his design, concluded it could not be brought about without great secrecy, and a considerable sum of money given to such person or persons, as would draw off some of the workmen from Harlein in Holland, where John Cuthenberg had newly invented it, and was himself personally at work: 'Twas resolv'd, that less than one thousand marks would not produce the desir'd effect: Towards which sum, the said Arch-Bishop presented the King with three hundred marks. The money being now prepared, the management of the design was committed to Mr. Robert Turnour, who then was of the roabs to the King, and a person most in favour with him, of any of his condition: Mr. Turnour took to his assistance Mr. Caxton, a citizen of good abilities, who trading much into Holland, might be a creditable pretence, as well for his going, as stay in the Low Countries: Mr. Turnour was in disguise (his beard and hair shaven quite off) but Mr. Caxton appeared known and publique. They having received the said sum of one thousand marks, went first to Amsterdam, then to Leyden, not daring to enter Harlein it self; for the town was very jealous, having imprisoned and apprehended di-

* Almost the whole of Atkyns's ridiculous pamphlet will be found in Maittaire, Marchand, Meerman, and others; and even in *Chaufepied's Supplement to Bayle*; where the author is called, in the sprightly style of a French biographer, ‘un homme qui avoit du génie et de l'esprit.’ The only thing that recommends Atkyns's book to the curious, is, a very beautiful frontispiece of Charles II. between Archbishop Sheldon and General Monk—engraved in Loggan's best style. This has escaped Lewis in his description of the book: vide p. lxii, ante.

vers persons, who came from other parts for the same purpose: They staid till they had spent the whole one thousand marks in gifts and expences: So as the King was fain to send five hundred marks more, Mr. Turnour having written to the King, that he had almost done his work; a bargain (as he said) being struck betwixt him and two Hollanders, for bringing off one of the workmen, who should sufficiently discover and teach this new art: At last, with much ado, they got off one of the under-workmen, whose name was Frederick Corsells (or rather Corsellis), who late one night stole from his fellows in disguise, into a vessel prepared before for that purpose; and so the wind (favouring the design) brought him safe to London."

The whole narrative is an absurd fabrication; and has been treated with proper ridicule and severity by Dr. Middleton, Oxonides, and subsequent bibliographical writers. See Bowyer's and Nichols's Essay, *passim*.

As neither Caxton himself nor our ancient Chroniclers* have

* From the first sentence in this biographical memoir, it might appear that the author of it was hostile to our old Chroniclers. Without advancing any criticism upon their general merits and demerits, I may be permitted to say that, in regard to the subject under discussion—*The Origin of Printing in Great Britain*—they are culpably defective. FABIAN, who is called by T. Warton 'the most facetious, and most learned of all the mercers, sheriffs, and aldermen of his time'—and who was, most probably, acquainted with Caxton in his younger days—has not thought fit to say one word upon the introduction of so novel and wonderful an art, although it was by one who had been formerly of the same trade with himself; and who had better means of giving publicity and applause to his [Fabian's] 'great learning' [as Bishop Tanner is pleased to style his mental qualifications] than all the aldermen and common council men over whom he presided. In the first edition of his *Chronicles* [A. D. 1516, fol. cc.vii. rect.] Fabian gives a very slight notice of the introduction of printing at Mentz—not worth transcription: but of its appearance in his native country he does not deem it necessary to make the least mention—and yet we have, in the course of the same chronicles, a solemn and succinct account of the dinners at Guildhall, and of the pageantries of city companies; nor has the putting up of a new weather cock on the cross of St. Paul's steeple, escaped the marvellous sagacity of the historian. Consult Warton's account of Fabian's historical and poetical talents: *Hist. English Poetry*, vol. ii. 191. 2. 3. His conclusion is a little too severe.

Disappointed in our first and contemporaneous chronicler, let us turn to the pages of

thrown the least satisfactory light upon the exact period when the Art of Printing was introduced into the metropolis, our conclusions upon the subject can be only problematical. Thus much, however, is certain; that, previously to the year 1477 our Printer had quitted the Low Countries, and taken up his residence in the vicinity of Westminster Abbey, when Thomas Milling,* Bishop of Hereford,

HALL; who is perhaps as much under-rated by Nicolson as he is over-praised by Hearne. [See the latter's *Heming. Chartul.* vol. ii. 671.] Not one syllable upon the subject will be found in this Chronicler's copious, and in many instances curious and valuable, volume. The next historian is GRAFTON; who is also pleased to pass the subject over in silence—and yet he could with pleasure dilate upon 'a pretie conceyt that happened' between Edward IV and a widow—wherein we are told to 'note the humilitie of a king, but more the phantasie of a woman.' The reader may consult p. 719 of the edition of 1568 of Grafton's *Chronicles*; in which 'a mery note' and 'a benevolence' are recorded—too gay to be inserted in these pages. After Grafton comes HOLINSHED; and thus concisely and vaguely does he narrate, on the authority of Stow. [*Summary of Chronicles, and Survey of London*] 'William Caxton of London, mercer, brought it [the art of printing] into England about the year 1471, and first practised the same in the abbey of St. Peter at Westminster.' In the same paragraph we have this additional piece of information, that, 'In a little Towne in Bedfordshire there fell a bloudie raine, whereof the red drops appered in sheets the which a woman had hanged out for to drie.' vol. iii. p. 250, edit. 1808. Thus the most important occurrences and the most ridiculous reports were blended together, and appeared of equal consequence in the estimation of the historian! The introduction of that wonderful art, which, more than any other human means, was to give wings to science, philosophy, and literature—which was to effect reformations and revolutions—was looked upon with a cold eye by the greater number of our early historians and writers; while they did not fail to register other matters, sometimes the most trivial and contemptible, with scrupulous fidelity.

*Stow, Newcourt, Bagford, Maittaire, and Palmer have erroneously made ISLIP Abbot of Westminster during the time of Caxton's printing in the abbey; for which they have been properly corrected by Lewis, Ames, and Herbert. Bagford, in his usually decisive manner, observes that 'Islip employed Caxton in translating old deeds and charters;' because he happened to discover in the latter's preface to Virgil that 'the Lord Abbot of Westminster did do shew to him late certain evidences written in old English for to reduce it into our English then used'!! Bagford continues thus: 'there is no book dedicated to Islip; which to me seems strange, for he did not use him as he did several other of his friends. There must have been some hidden cause for this between him and the abbot; for, after some years that Caxton had printed in the abbey church in some of the

held the abbotship of St. Peter's *in commendam*. He had, no doubt, brought over with him all the necessary implements and materials of his trade; and, as we shall presently see, at first, perhaps, put forth a few of those minor productions which are printed in his rudest manner, without date.

The particular spot where Caxton at first exercised his business, or the place where his press was fixed, cannot now be exactly known. Bagford says that 'he erected his office in some of the side chapels of the Abbey, supposed by some of our historians to be the *Ambry, Eleemosynary*.' He quotes Newcourt's *Repertorium*;^{*} which au-

side chapels, we find that he dateth several of his books from Westminster without mentioning *the Abbey*!! Not stopping to combat, or even further notice, this unqualified statement and vague mode of reasoning, [which appear to have been believed as well as adopted by Hearne] it may be sufficient to observe that THOMAS MILLING succeeded Edmond Kirton, in the Abbotship of Westminster, A. D. 1466; and being made Bishop of Hereford in 1474, he held the abbotship *in commendam* till his death in 1492. He was succeeded by JOHN ESTNEY—who dying in 1498, JOHN ISLIP became Abbot of Westminster; and assisted Henry VII. in laying the foundation stone of his magnificent chapel. This latter event happened in January 1502.

During the abbotship of Milling, and while Edward IV. was compelled to leave the country, from the temporary success of his rival the Earl of Warwick, the Queen of England, then far advanced in pregnancy, took shelter in his house, and was there safely delivered of a son—the unfortunate Edward V. The child, says Hall, was christened 'with small pomp like a poor man's child—the godfathers being the abbot and prior of Westminster, and the godmother the Lady Scrope.' *Chronicles*, p. 285, edit. 1809. Dart observes that 'some have taken this for an honour done him; whereas it was rather a case of exigence.' *Antiquities of Westminster Abbey*, vol. ii. 34. [*Lives of the Abbats*, vol. ii. book iii. p. 13. 17.] Instead of Dart's tedious and uninformative disquisition upon the nature of 'Sanctuaries,' it were to be wished that he had given us some account, however conjectural, of the first printing in the Abbey. In addition to the preceding authorities consult Hearne's edition of Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. vi. 126—[from Willis's *Mitred Abbays*] and Lewis's note in his *Life of Caxton*, p. 13.

* The passage is as follows; both in Stow and Newcourt [*Repertorium*, vol. i. 711.]

"*St. Ann's* in the parish of St. Margaret. This was an old chapel, over against which the Lady Margaret, mother to King Henry VII, erected an alms house for poor women, which is now (in Stow's time) turned into lodgings for the singing men of the College.

thority is, in this particular, only a transcript from Stow. 'Whoever authorised Caxton (says Oldys) it is certain that he did there, at the entrance of the Abbey, exercise the art, from whence a printing room is to this day called a *Chapel*.*' In regard to the information to be gleaned from Caxton's own colophons, we find that the edition of '*The Dictes and Sayinges of the Philosophers*' (the first book in which the specification of the place where it was printed occurs) mentions 'Westminster' generally: that the *Chronicles* of 1480 first notice his printing at the 'Abbey;' and that the *Romance of Arthur*, printed in 1485, is the last book which mentions both the one and the other

The place wherein this chapel and alms-house stood, was called *Eleemosinary*, or *Almory*, now corruptly the *Armory*, for that the alms of the abbey were there distributed to the poor; and therein, Islip, [Milling] Abbot of Westminster, erected the first press of book printing that ever was in England, about the year of Christ 1471, where William Caxton, citizen and mercer of London, who first brought it into England, practised it."

* 'Each Printer hence, howe'er unblest his walls,
E'en to this day his house a CHAPEL calls.

'The title of *Chapel* to the internal regulations of a printing office, originated in Caxton's exercising the profession in one of the chapels in Westminster Abbey, and may be considered as an additional proof, from the antiquity of the custom, of his being the first English printer. In extensive houses, where many workmen are employed, the *Calling a Chapel* is a business of great importance, and generally takes place when a member of the office has a complaint to allege against any of his fellow workmen; the first intimation of which he makes to *the Father of the Chapel*, usually the oldest printer in the house: who, should he conceive that the charge can be substantiated, and the injury, supposed to have been received, is of such magnitude as to call for the interference of the law, summons the members of *the Chapel* before him at the *Imposing Stone*, and there receives the allegations and the defence, in solemn assembly, and dispenses justice with typographical rigour and impartiality. These trials, though they are sources of neglect of business, and other irregularities, often afford scenes of genuine humor. The punishment generally consists in the criminal providing a libation, by which the offended workmen may wash away the stain that his misconduct has laid upon the body at large. Should the plaintiff not be able to substantiate his charge, the fine then falls upon himself, for having maliciously arraigned his companion; a mode of practice which is marked with the features of sound policy, as it never loses sight of *The Good of the Chapel*.'

Mr. M'Creery's Poem of *The Press*, p. 18, text: p. 15, notes.

in the same colophon. The greater number of the works, printed by him, specify only the date of their execution. According to Bagford, "Caxton's office was afterwards removed into King Street; but whereabouts, or what sign, is not known. He might have removed his office (continues Bagford) without breach of friendship with the abbot, for that printing being much admired, all people of curiosity would be thronging into the Abbey for to see this new-invented art of printing; so that it became at last very troublesome, not only to Caxton's servants in the hindrance of their work, but a further cause was, the monks were disturbed at their devotion by the people coming in and out in such crouds." This reasoning, it must be confessed, is sufficiently ridiculous: as if the ardor of curiosity would not have equally driven the people 'in crouds' to another spot—not connected with the offices of religion—and where the absence of ecclesiastical respect or discipline would rather have increased their number and encouraged their intrusion!

It is most probable that Caxton, after the manner observed in other monasteries,* erected his press near one of the chapels attach-

* Bibliographers have delighted to expatiate upon the friendly reception afforded to the works of men of genius, as well as to persecuted artists, in the monasteries of religious societies. Almost all the beautiful and splendid decorations which we see, and so enthusiastically admire, in ancient MSS, were executed within these peaceful abodes. The art of printing was also cherished in them; for, on the breaking up of the Mentz printing office, about 1462, Sweynhēym, Pannartz, and Ulrich Han received an earnest invitation from some German Monks to come and establish their presses in the monastery of SUBBIACO, situated in the Campagna di Roma, about two miles from the village of the same name. Here they printed a 'Donatus,' and 'Cicero de Oratore' without date; and a 'Lactantius' of the date of 1465, as well as a work of St. Austin 'De Civitate Dei' in 1467. Consult Lambinet, p. 164; Santander, *Dict. Bibliogr. Choisi*, vol. i. 127, &c. The St. Albans and Benedictine monks are supposed to have been at the expense of the first and second editions of the Psalter printed at Mentz in 1457—1459. In our country, the monasteries of St. Albans and Tavistock emulated the example of St. Peter's in the patronage afforded to printing: but of the former a particular account must be reserved for one of the ensuing volumes of this work. Willis, in his *Mitred Abbeyes*, has said little or nothing about the art of printing carried on in them; and Chauncy, in his *History of Hertfordshire*, has been equally silent respecting the same subject at St. Albans.

ed to the ailes of the abbey ; and his *Printing Office* might have superseded the use of what was called the *Scriptorium** of the same. No remains of this once interesting place can now be ascertained : indeed, there is a strong presumption that it was pulled down in making alterations for the building of Henry VII's chapel ; for if Henry made no scruple to demolish ' The Chapel of the Virgin,'† in order to carry into effect his own plans for erecting the magnificent one which goes by his own name, the Office of Printer stood little chance of escaping a similar fate !

From the following notification, however, it would appear that Caxton printed in this ' Almonestry, at the reed pale,' certain ' commemoraciōs of Salisburi use' [Missæ in usum Sarisburiensis—as I take it—] none of which, probably, survived a century after their publication. While this *Placard* affords a curious anecdote in the history of Caxton's typographical labours, it serves, at the same time, to exhibit a faithful specimen of the largest type which he used. I am indebted to Mr. Douce's curious collection for the use of the original—of which the following is a fac-simile :

**If it plesē any man spirituel or temporel to hve any
pyes of two and thre comemoraciōs of salisburi use
enpreyned after the forme of this preset lettre whiche
ben wel and truly correct, late hym come to westmo-
nester in to the almonestrye at the reed pale and he shal
haue them good chere . . .**

Supplicō stet cedula

* There is a pleasing account of these Scriptoria, or *Writing Rooms*, in the third volume of Mr. James Savage's *Librarian*, p. 33. See also the note with a plate subjoined to it, in Ames's preface : ante.

† See *Pennant's London*, p. 78. Third edition.

We have at length fixed Caxton at Westminster, about to commence his typographical labours; although the precise period of his first essay of the art of printing in England may yet be open to discussion. If the *Game of Chess*, printed in 1474, was not executed here, it is most probable that *The Romance of Jason* was the earliest specimen of his press in the Abbey: for we find, from the prologue prefixed to *The Golden Legend* of 1483, [vide p. 187, post], that our Typographer printed the *Jason* next in succession after the '*Book of Chess*.' From the prologue to this Romance, [or Life, as he has thought proper to call it—vide p. 54-5, post] Caxton informs us that 'under the protection and sufferance of the most high puissant and christian king, his most dread natural liege Lord Edward, by the grace of God, King of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, he translated the said book; following his author as nigh as he could or might, not changing the sentence, nor presuming to add nor minish any thing otherwise than his author had made in French.' As he supposed his Majesty to be in possession of the original French work, 'which he well understood,' he did not wish to incur his displeasure by having it thought that he undertook the translation for *his* instruction or gratification, but, 'by his license and congé, and by the supportation of the most redoubted liege lady, most excellent princess the Queen,' he designed 'to present this said book unto the most fair, and most redoubted young lord, his Lord Prince of Wales, his tocoming sovereign lord.' Our Typographer concludes this 'most' obsequious prologue by putting up a prayer for the young prince's prosperity; which may be seen at page 56, post, as well as a few observations relating to the date of the impression of the work.

'It is very probable, as Oldys conjectures, that a few of Caxton's undated books, especially some written by Chaucer, Lydgate, &c. as they bear the aspect of his earliest performances, were printed in the interval between the *Chess Book* of 1474 and the *Dictes and Sayinges* of 1477.' Among the undated books, executed during this interval, I would place the second edition of the *Game of Chess*, and the first

edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, as well as those mentioned by Oldys. This latter work [as may be seen at page 291, post] is not classed with the foregoing from the rudeness of its execution; but an early period is assigned to it from a consideration of the number of years which elapsed before a second edition of it was published.

In the year 1477 appeared the first book from the press of Caxton with the year and place both subjoined to the colophon: this was called '*The Dictes or Sayinges of the Philosophers*,' being a translation from the French by the gallant and unfortunate EARL RIVERS; under whose patronage it was printed, and in praise of whose virtues our Typographer pours forth some very moving strains.

In the year 1478 our Typographer printed *The Moral Proverbs of Christina of Pisa*; and two years afterwards appeared *The Book named Cordyale* [which latter was probably preceded by some of his minor publications without date]. Both these works owe their existence, in an English dress, to the same noble author who had accomplished the preceding one; and it is probable that they were all three executed at his own expense and under his immediate superintendence. The reader will find a full description of them in the ensuing pages. The year 1480 seems to have been a very active one with Caxton; for, besides the last mentioned work, he executed the *Metamorphoses of Ovid*, the *Chronicles of England*, and the *Description of Britain*. The 'Ovid' may be a disputed point; but on this subject, as well as for an ample account of the two latter works, consult the following pages.

While Caxton was thus regularly putting forth specimens of the Westminster press, the art of printing began to be exercised* in a monastery at St. Albans in Hertfordshire. Sir Henry Chauncy, whimsically enough, calls the printer, who first exercised the art here, by the name of INSOMUCH; from no better authority, it would

* For a brief mention of the Oxford press of 1468, consult the note at p. lxxv, ante.

seem, than because the first three words of the prologue to the *St. Albans Chronicle* of 1483, are as follow—"In so myche"!—That he was a monk, appears very probable in Herbert's judgment; and that he was 'sometime a schoolmaster' is expressly stated by Wynkyn De Worde in the colophon to his edition of the *St. Albans Chronicle* of 1497. Bale and Pits make vague mention of 'a certain schoolmaster, or reader of history in the monastery of St. Albans, who had collected materials for an history of England, but died before he had compiled the same; which papers, says Herbert, 'coming into Mr. Caxton's hands, he is said from them to have printed the English Chronicle which goes under his name.' The whole of this is considered to be erroneous; and we must make up our minds, I fear, to rest satisfied with the uncertain deductions which have hitherto attended the investigation of the history of early printing at St. Albans. Bagford, who was never at a loss for a conjecture, thinks that 'the schoolmaster at St. Albans learnt the art of printing of Caxton.' Oldys has gravely admitted this conjecture; and adds, from Lewis, that 'it is observed of the books printed at this press, and particularly of this last [*The Book of Hunting and Hawking* by Juliana Barnes, or Berners, printed in 1486] that they are printed with a letter much resembling that used by Mr. Caxton in his first works. From whence (continues Lewis) it has been supposed that he and this learned collector of foreign history, &c. were acquainted; and that Mr. Caxton taught him his art of printing, and furnished him with a press and types to print at St. Albans.'

To this remark of Lewis it may be replied that, the earliest books printed by Caxton, from the year 1471 to 1480, do not resemble, in their types, the publications at St. Albans. The type of Caxton's *Chronicle* of 1480 has somewhat of a resemblance to that of the St. Albans' books; and may possibly be considered a different species of the same genus, although the former is much more correct and elegant in its character. A peculiarity in some of the St. Albans' books is the intermixture of *red* with black ink, which is not observable in any of those printed by Caxton; and the St. Albans' Chro-

nicle of 1483 exhibits a rude species of cuts *let into the letter-press* in a manner never practised by our Typographer. In other respects, the early specimens of St. Albans' printing are among the rudest exhibitions of the typographic art in the fifteenth century. As to the loan of types from Caxton's office—how could our printer, as early as the year 1480, when he had but just commenced his career at Westminster, contrive to lend this 'Schoolmaster' a press and fount of letters?

The earliest book printed at St. Albans is the '*Rhetorica nova fratris Laurentii Gulielmi de Saona*,' of the date of 1480, which I have seen at Cambridge; but the barbarous aspect of this volume exhibits no kind of proof of its being printed with Caxtonian types, at a time when these latter were quite fresh and uninjured! If our Typographer wished to accommodate any one with a superabundance of types that he had brought over with him from the Low Countries [for it is not likely that he would have parted with those wanted for his immediate use] is it not more probable that he would have been applied to by LETTOU and MACHLINIA, printers, who had just commenced business in the metropolis? and yet we find that the types used by these two latter bear still less resemblance to those of Caxton! Upon the whole, [reserving further observations upon the *St. Albans' Press* for a future volume of this work, devoted to PROVINCIAL PRINTING,] it seems to be the most rational conclusion that each printing office imported from the Low Countries its own particular fount of letters; all of which differ materially from the elegant specimens exhibited in the black letter volumes of the Italian and French pressés. To return to the order of Caxton's publications.

In the year 1481 our Typographer put forth the following very curious works; namely, '*The Mirror of the World; Reynard the Fox; Tully of Old Age and Friendship*;'* and *Godfrey of Boulogne*.—[Vide

* 'In the *Itinerarium* of W. de Worcestre, p. 368, is the following notice of this book: "1473, die 10 Augusti presentavi W. episcopo Wyntoniensi apud Asher librum Tullii de Senectute per me translatus in Anglicis, sed nullum regardum recepi de Episcopo." Vide

from p. 101 to 138, post.] These sufficiently shew the active state of his mind and of his press, and justify the inference that a passion for reading seems now to have been rather generally excited.

The *Polychronicon*, a closely-printed and ponderous volume, was the only production of Caxton's press, with a date, in the year 1482. It is among the scarcest of his books to be found in a clean and perfect condition. Vide p. 138, &c. post.

The ensuing year, 1483, witnessed the greatest efforts of our Typographer's skill; efforts which, when we consider that Caxton translated, as well as printed, the more bulky volumes, place him on a footing with the most industrious printers of his own, or any other, age. The works which issued from his press this year were, *The Pilgrimage of the Soul*, *Liber Festivalis*, *Quatuor Sermones*, *Gower's Confessio Amantis*, *The Golden Legend*, *Cato Magnus*, and *Cato Parvus*; of each of which a very particular account will be found in the ensuing pages.

The *Golden Legend*, like the *History of Troy*, seems to have made our printer 'half desperate to have left it, and to have laid it apart;' but from a promise of the Earl of Arundel to take a number of copies, and to supply his table with 'a buck in summer and a doe in winter,' Caxton seems to have summoned up courage, and accomplished the mighty undertaking.

In January 1484 appeared *The Knight of the Tower*; and, about three months afterwards, *Esop's Fables*. *The Order of Chivalry* and *The Royal Book* closed his typographical labours this year. These are all works of great rarity, especially the second and the third; of each of which there is only one perfect copy at present known to be in existence. [Vide from p. 202 to p. 241.]

Caxton's 'capital work' [as Oldys justly remarks, though he had

Shakspeare; *Variorum edition* of 1803. vol. ii. p. 115, note 5. The reader will with difficulty believe that the celebrated WILLIAM WAYNFLEET was bishop of the see at this period: a character which, whatever may have been his merits in other respects, does not deserve the eulogy of 'magnus et memorabilis' for the preceding act! Consult Godwin *de Præsulibus Anglia*, p. 232.

never seen it] in the year 1485, was, the *Romance of Arthur* ; or, as our printer himself entitles it, ‘ *A Book of the noble Histories of King Arthur and of certain of his Knights.*’ Caxton seems to have been at first unwilling to execute it ; answering the ‘ many noble and divers gentlemen’ who came to solicit him to undertake the performance, that ‘ divers men held opinion that there was no such Arthur, and that all such books as be made of him be but feigned and fables ;’ but ‘ one gentleman in special’ seems to have overcome our printer’s scruples, by telling him that ‘ great folly and blindness might well be arretted to the disbelievers in the history :’ whereupon the volume was resolutely commenced and concluded, from the MS. translation of Sir Thomas Malory from the French.

Of this exceedingly curious, beautiful, and rare production, a minute, and the only perfect, account will be found in the order of the following pages. The copy of it in the Osterley Library, which was formerly in that of Lord Harley, may be emphatically styled *unique* ! The printing of this magnificent volume would seem to have closely occupied our Typographer the first seven months of the year ; for *The Life of Charles the Great*, and the romance of *The Knight Paris and the fair Vienne*, did not issue from his press ’till December in the same year. These latter works, which are also of very great rarity, will be found fully described in the ensuing pages.

There is no book printed by Caxton which bears the date of 1486 ; although he might have then published some of the minor pieces described hereafter among the undated volumes, and was certainly busied in translating the *Book of Good Manners*, which was published in the month of May 1487. The year 1488 is also without any publication of Caxton which has this date expressly subjoined. But in the following year, 1489, *The Doctrinal of Sapience* and *The Fait of Arms and Chivalry* gave proofs of his unabated ardour, though of his somewhat diminished activity—owing to the infirmities of old age which were now fast advancing upon him. *The Art and Craft well to die* and the *Æneid of Virgil* are the last publications, with dates affixed, which are hitherto known to have been printed in his office. Of all these works

the reader will find an ample, and it is hoped satisfactory, account in the ensuing pages.

In regard to the twenty-four other [undated] productions of Caxton's press, which are described from p. 290 to p. 360 post, if we except the probable period which may be assigned to the second edition of the *Game of Chess*, and to both the editions of the *Canterbury Tales*, there seems to be no very certain or satisfactory evidence from which we can draw our conclusions of the exact year of their publication. The reader will therefore make his own inferences. Meanwhile, it may not be very chimerical to suppose, that, whatever pains may appear, from the foregoing and ensuing pages, to have been taken about the catalogue of books printed by Caxton, we are not yet in possession of a knowledge of all the volumes which have issued from his press. That active and laudable spirit of research into the literary antiquities of our ancestors, which now prevails, may probably bring to light some curious Caxtonian production, which, like the *Oration of Russel*, had before escaped the notice of bibliographers.

Although the hand of death seems now to have been hourly about to be laid upon our Typographer, yet, as Oldys expresses it, 'he kept preparing copy for the press to the very last.*' From the evidence of Wynkyn De Worde, in the colophon of his edition of the *Vitas Patrum*, 1495, it appears that these lives of the Fathers were 'translated out of French into English by William Caxton of Westminster, late dead;' and that 'he finished it at the last day of his life.' He

* Bagford has well said of Caxton that 'his like' had never before appeared 'for industry.' Exclusively of the labours attached to the working of his press, as a new art, our Typographer contrived, though 'well stricken in years' to *translate* not fewer than 5000 closely printed folio pages. As a translator, therefore, he ranks among the most laborious—and, I would hope, not the least successful—of his tribe. The foregoing conclusion is the result of a careful enumeration of all the books *translated* as well as printed by him; which, if published in the modern fashion, would extend to nearly twenty-five octavo volumes!

might have chosen this work, for his final literary effort, from a consideration, according to Oldys, that ‘from the examples of quiet and solemn retirement therein set forth, it might farther serve to wean his mind from all worldly attachments, exalt it above the solitudes of this life, and inure him to that repose and tranquility with which he seems to have designed it.’

For some time previously to his decease, Caxton appears to have attended the making up of the Church Wardens’ accounts, as one of the principal parishioners, and as a regular vestryman; his name being several times subscribed at the passing of them.

He died either in the year 1491 or 1492; quickly following one of his female relatives to the grave: for, in the first year of ‘Thacompte of Rychard Frost and Robard Lowthyan, Wardenys of the parōch chyrch of Seynt Margarete of Westmr. in the shyre of Myddx,’ from the 17 of May 1490 to 3d June 1492, there is the following entry:

ITEM; *atte Bureynge of Mawde Caxton for torches and
tapers* iiij^s. ij^d.

In the second year of the same account:

ITEM; *atte Bureyng of WILLIAM CAXTON for iiij torches* vj^s. viij^d.
ITEM; *for the belle atte same Bureyng* vj^d.

In a memorandum at the end of the account of John Denys and John Fanne, Churchwardens, from the 19th of May 1496 to the last day of May 1498, of ‘what remaineth in store to the said church’—

ITEM; *receyved by the handes of William Roytt for oon of those
printed boks that were bequothen to the Church behove
by William Caxton* vi^s. viij^d.

ITEM ; *in boks called legends of the bequeste of William
Caxton* iiij.

to which Lewis [or rather Ames, who made the extract* for him]
adds the following :

ITEM ; *iiij pryntid bokes, ij of them of the lyfe of Seynt Kateryne,
and other ij of the byrthe of our Ladye, of the gifte of
thexecutors of Caxton.*

Ames adds ; that ‘there is wrote down in a very old hand in a
Fructus Temporum’ of his friend Mr. Ballard, of Cambden, in Glou-
cestershire,’ the following memorandum : ‘Of your charite pray for
the soul of Mayster Wyllyam Caxton, that in hys tyme was a man
of moche ornate and moche renommed wysdome and connyng, and
decesed full crystenly the yere of our Lord MCCCCLXXXxi—

Moder of Merci shyld hym from thorribul fynd.
And bryng hym to lyff eternall that neuyr hath ynd.’

“I have seen this wrote [adds he, in an interleaved copy of his
work in my possession] in a very old hand in another book, in
folio.”

That our Typographer met death with placidity and resignation
there is every reason, from the testimony of his own pious ejacula-

* So it appears, from an original letter of Ames in the possession of Mr. John Nichols. The extracts were all copied incorrectly by Ames ; as indeed, from Herbert’s testimony, were many of the prologues of Caxton—which would make us suppose that the former was not sufficiently attentive. For the above extracts, I am indebted to Mr. Simon Stephenson, Solicitor, and Vestry Clerk of the parish of St. Margaret ; who afterwards compared them, with myself, with the originals. The Rev. Mr. Grove, son of the Rector, was also kind enough to inspect for me the books of entries of funerals ; but the oldest book does not extend beyond the reign of Henry VIII. The Church Wardens’ accounts, are, therefore, the most interesting documents which relate to the latter period of our printer’s life.

tions, but more from the evidence of a usefully spent life,* to believe. If his funeral was not emblazoned by "the pomp of heraldry," and 'the great ones of rank' were not discoverable among his pall bearers, yet Caxton descended into his grave in full assurance of a MONUMENT, which, like the art that he had practised, would bid defiance

* The reader is here presented with Mr. Lewis's summary of the moral and intellectual character of our printer:

'Mr. Caxton, in his printed books, expressed a great sense of religion, and wrote like one who lived in the fear of God, and was very desirous of promoting His honour and glory. Thus in the book of 'chyvalrye or knyghthode;' 'unto the praysinge and dyvyne glory of god,' says he, 'whiche is lorde and souerayne kyng above and over all thynges celestyal and worldly, we begin this booke.' But he was so far carried away by the established errors and superstitions of his time, as to be an advocate for, and encourager of, some of the worst of them; as engaging in what they then called the Holy War, or inarching armed forces into the land of Judea, to recover that and the city of Jerusalem out of the hands of the Turks; and going in pilgrimage, or sainterring, to visit that holy place, &c. And yet, as has been observed, whosoever turns over his printed works, must contract a respect for him. He made choice of such books to print as had a tendency to promote religion and encourage virtue and good manners: to use his own words; 'Books in which he found many good enseignmentis and learnynge, and good ensamples for al maner of peple in generally: special books to know all vyces, and braunchis of them, and also al vertues.' How different is this from the practice and usage of more modern times; when such books are rather chosen to be printed, as serve to please men of corrupt minds, and vicious inclinations, and have a tendency to destroy all sound and vertuous principles, and debauch men's morals. But one cannot well help observing, on considering what those books were which Mr. Caxton printed, at how low an ebb knowledge or learning was here in England in his time, and how poor and insipid the general taste. His performances were, we have seen, very near all in English, and they, for the most part, translations from the French, and not original compositions of any of our own countrymen. Though he practised the art of printing near twenty years, we do not find he printed any one classical writer, or any edition of any of the Greek or Roman poets and historians. No, not even in the famous University of Oxford, where the press was wholly employed in printing Latin books, do we yet find any one of these printed. As for his not printing any of the English translations of the Old and New Testament, Sir Thomas More, [*Dyaloges*, Fol. 49. Col. 1. Ed. 1529.] has accounted for it in the following manner. 'That on account of the penalties ordered by Archbishop Arundel's constitution, though the old translations that were before Wycliff's days remayned lawful and were in some folkys handys had and red, yet he thought no prynter would lyghtly be so hote to put any byble in prent at hys owne charge—and then hange upon a doubtfull tryall whyther

to decay. Accept! O VENERABLE and VIRTUOUS SHADE, this tribute of unfeigned respect to thy memory! Thou shalt be num-

the fyrst copy of his translacyon was made before Wycliff's dayes or synnes. For yff yt were made synnys, yt must be approued byfore the prynting.' But such an approbation, Sir Thomas intimates, was not then to be had.'

"Mr. Caxton appears to have been a very humble, modest and vertuous man. He often styles himself 'a rude and simple person,' confesses his ignorance, and 'humbly beseches the pardon of his readers, and their patience to correct his workes,' and expresses himself in other terms so submissive and self-abasing as are very uncommon, and more easily admired than imitated. A proof of his grateful temper, is his owning the particular encouragement and benefactions he received, and especially his obligations to the cyty of London. [Vide p. lxviii, ante.]

"He was a man of no more learning than, as he ingenuously confessed, he had by his knowledge of the English and French languages, in which, he modestly acknowledged, he remembered himself of his rudeness and unperfitness. He likewise translated Reynard the Fox out of Dutch; which shews he likewise understood that language. It is a mistake to say, that he understood the Latin tongue, and translated books out of *that* into English. By the account which has been given of his printed books, it sufficiently appears in how great favour and request he was with the princes and great men of his own time: though, he owns, that he was unknown to some of them to whom he dedicated his books. In his book called Eneidos, he intimates in what esteem he was had on account of his knowing and understanding the ancient English language, insomuch that he tells us, the Lord Abbat of Westminster, who, I suppose, was then John Estney, [but vide p. xcix, ante; note.] put into his hands some of the ancient deeds or charters belonging to that Abby, written, perhaps, in the Saxon character, for him to explain or copy in modern English, or that which was then in use: but he modestly owned his insufficiency for such a task; and no wonder; since now the English language was so much altered from what it was before the Conquest, as not only to be different in the words and manner of spelling, but even in the very letter or character; so that the writing used here before the coming of the Normans, was become illegible to the common people, and even to most of the learned. This seems to confirm what has been already observed of his being the first printer of England, or the first who introduced that noble art into this kingdom: since, had there been any one before him, however, so long as six years, it's scarce credible that Mr. Caxton should have been so much caressed, and fully employed, and have flourished as he did, in the sunshine of the English court and nobility, and principal gentry. Accordingly our very diligent and learned antiquarian John Leland, who died at London 1552, but threescore years after Mr. Caxton, and who, though he could not know him himself, was, very probably, acquainted with some who did, stiled Mr. Caxton Anglie Prototypographus, the first printer of England. And *he*, one would think,

bered hereafter, not with the witty, the vain, or the profligate—the Nashes, Greens, and Rochesters of the day!—but with the wise, the sober, and the good; with those who have unceasingly strove to meliorate the condition of mankind.

The remainder of this imperfect biographical memoir shall be devoted to an estimate of the merits and demerits of Caxton's character, considered with reference to his *Erudition* and *Typographical Skill*.

The *Erudition* of Caxton appears to me to be deserving of better treatment than Bale and others have bestowed upon it. That he had a far greater claim to intellectual reputation than that of possessing the mere negative excellence of 'not being downright stupid or slothful,' must be allowed by the most fastidious reader of his numerous prologues and translations; and how a late 'very learned' author of an amusing publication called '*Anonymiana*'* could so readily subscribe to the acrimonious censure of Bale, can only be accounted for from the supposition of his not having been conversant in Caxtonian lore. The reader will consult the numerous '*Testimonies*' relating to the character and talents of our Typographer, which are selected in the preceding pages [vide p. lxiv to lxxi] and draw his own conclusion from the preponderating body of au-

should know, who, besides his living so near Mr. Caxton's own time, as to be almost his cotemporary, made it his business, with the utmost industry and application, to search for, and enquire after, our English writers." *Life of Caxton*, p. 118, &c.

* Consult p. lxix among the '*Testimonies concerning Caxton*.' The work above referred to, is among the very best of its kind extant: some remarks are too trivial and trite to be brought forward; but the greater number, [being divided, after the manner of Bale's history, into 'Centuries'] are distinguished for curious and varied reading, and solid and satisfactory information.

thority therein adduced. For my part, I should hope that the suffrages of commendation would be found more numerous than those of disapprobation; and that the opinion of the learned and respectable author of the 'Historical Library' [vide p. lxvii, ante] will not be suffered to have that weight which, at first, there may be a disposition to allow it. When Bishop Nicolson speaks of Caxton's having it in his power to give curious and valuable information of the politics of the times, from his contiguity to, and patronage by, the court—he appears (in my humble judgment) to be, in the first place, begging the question; and, secondly, drawing a false conclusion from it, if granted. There is no evidence whatever to suppose that Caxton was in possession of any secrets, or particular information, respecting court politics, more than any other indifferent person: it is not likely that he should have been: his situation and his avocations were quite incompatible with what we have generally seen to be the requisite qualifications for a political historian. Even from the eminent statesmen in Elizabeth's reign, who were constantly near the person and in the confidence of their sovereign, how great is that portion of history, transmitted from their own papers, which has been contradicted by authority apparently as weighty—and which yet forms subjects of discussion for the ingenuity and research of modern times? But if Caxton *did* know [which is granting the question] any thing of state matters, or court intrigues, did it follow that he should have communicated that knowledge? Unless he had written a treatise or history expressly upon national affairs, how was he to have published what he knew? How could his political information have been interwoven into religious and romantic Legends? It is true, he does occasionally, in his prologues, touch upon political affairs; but he only gives intelligence of the most common events, which were probably familiar to every Englishman in the kingdom. To suppose that, because Caxton practised the art of printing, he was therefore to have composed the history of his own times, is being sufficiently fastidious and severe in our criticisms upon literary excellence. It is, upon the whole, extremely creditable to Caxton's memory

that he *continued* the old Chronicles of his country down to his own times.

But however zealously our Typographer may be here defended on the score of withholding information relating to political matters, I am far from stepping forward to censure those who have questioned his intellectual attainments in other respects. Nor will I offer one word in praise of, or apology for, his *poetical* attempts; [if he be really the author of the verses attributed to him] for nothing can be more barbarous than the couplets for which he has been admitted into the list of English poets.* At the same time, whoever reads his criticism upon Chaucer, must not only allow that he was a better judge, than writer, of poetry, but that it will be difficult to find a criticism upon our venerable and exquisite bard, in the whole compass of our language, which is more sober and just; more clearly and forcibly expressed.† As to Caxton's knowledge of languages, that seems to have been extremely creditable to him; for he was, in all probability, a complete master of the Dutch, German, and French; and, considering his long absence from England, [in the prime of his life,] he wrote his own language with fluency, simplicity, and oc-

* Consult Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 51. Dr. Kippis, in his additions to the notes of Oldys's Life of Caxton [*Biographia Britannica*, vol. iii. p. 378,] has attributed to our printer the authorship of 'The Court of Sapience;' which poem is now decidedly and justly given to Lydgate. The verses at p. 74-5, post, are all that remain of the authenticated poetical fragments of Caxton.

† Caxton's words are in part as follows. "We ought to give a singular laud unto that noble and great philosopher GEEFFERY CHAUCER; the which, for his ornat writing in our tongue, may well have the name of a laureat poet, &c. He comprehended his matters in short, quick, and high sentences, eschewing prolixity; casting away the chaff of superfluity, and shewing the picked grain of sentence, uttered by crafty and sugared eloquence." Vide the entire passage at p. 295, post. Again, speaking of Chaucer's Book of Fame, our Typographer and critic observes that 'it is craftily made, and *digne* to be written and known: for the author toucheth in it right great wisdom and subtle understanding: and so in all his works, he excelleth in mine opinion (continues Caxton) all other writers in our English; for he writeth no void words, but all his matter is full of high and quick sentence, &c. For of him all other have borrowed since and taken in all their well saying and writing." See p. 312, post—the entire passage.

casional melody and force. The subjoined specimens are brought forward with a view to corroborate these remarks.*

It will be difficult, I believe, to give our Typographer praise for the general strength and soundness of his judgment; not so much

* In submitting the ensuing heterogeneous extracts from Caxton's original compositions, I am not without the apprehension of being censured by some for their simplicity and want of interest; while by others I may be commended for having presented them with an amusing 'CAXTONIANA.'

OF THE USE OF KNOWLEDGE.

"Let us pray the Maker and Creator of all creatures, God Almighty, that, at the beginning of this book, it list him, of his most bounteous grace, to depart with us of the same that we may learn; and that learned, to retain; and that retained, to teach; that we may have so perfect science and knowledge of God, that we may get thereby the health of our souls, and to be partners of his glory, permanent, and without end, in heaven. Amen.' *Prologue to the Mirror of the World*, p. 106, post.

OF THE HISTORY OF REYNARD THE FOX.

"There is no good man blamed herein: it is spoken generally: let every man take his own part as it belongeth and behoveth; and he that findeth him guilty in any deal or part thereof, let him better and amend it: and he that is verily good, I pray God keep him therein: and if any thing be said or written herein that may grieve or displease [any] man, blame not me but the Fox; for they be his words and not mine." Vide p. 118, post.

OF TIPTOFT, EARL OF WORCESTER.

"O good blessed Lord God, what great loss was it of that noble, virtuous, and well-disposed Lord! When I remember and advertise his life, his science, and his virtue, me thinketh God not displeased over great loss of such a man, considering his estate and cunning; and also the exercise of the same, with the great labors in going on pilgrimage unto Jerusalem; visiting there the holy places that our blessed Lord Jesu Christ hallowed with his blessed presence, &c.; and what worship he had at Rome in the presence of our holy father the Pope; and so, in all other places, unto his death. At which death every man that was there, might learn to die and take his death patiently; wherein I hope and doubt not but that God received his soul into everlasting bliss; for as I am informed he right advisedly ordained all his things, as well for his last will of worldly goods, as for his soul's health; and patiently, and holily, without grudging, in charity, tofore that he de-

from the selection of such pieces as he has printed, (for these were published in conformity with the prevailing studies of the day,) as from the promptitude and prodigality of his praises towards objects

parted out of this world—which is gladsome and joyous to hear!" Prologue to *Tully of Age and Friendship*, p. 127-8-9, post.

OF BOOKS OF CHIVALRY.

"The high courageous feats and valiant acts of noble, illustrious, and virtuous persons be worthy to be recounted, put in memory, and written; to the end that there may be given to them name immortal by sovereign laud and praising; and also for to move and to enflame the hearts of the readers and hearers, for to eschew and flee works vicious, dishonest, and vituperable; and for to emprise and accomplish enterprises honest, and works of glorious merit, to live in remembrance perpetual. For as it is so that the historiographers have written many a noble history, as well in metre as in prose; by which the acts and noble feats of the ancient conquerors be had in remembrance, and remain in great, large, and adorned volumes; and so shall abide in perpetual memory, to the intent that glorious princes, and high men of noble and virtuous courage, should take ensample to emprise works lawful and honest." Prologue to *Godfrey of Boulogne*, p. 130, post.

"For under correction, in my judgment, histories of noble feats and valiant acts of arms and war, which have been atchieved in old time of many noble princes, lords, and knights, as well for to see and know their valiantness for to stand in the special grace and love of their ladies—and in like wise for gentle young ladies and *damoiselles* for to learn to be stedfast and constant in their part to them, that they once have promised and agreed to such as have put their lives oft in jeopardy for to please them to stand in grace, [is as pleasant and profitable] as it is to occupy the *eyen* and study over much in books of contemplation. Prologue to *Charles the Great*, p. 346, post.

OF KING ARTHUR AND THE KNIGHTS OF THE ROUND TABLE.

"As for the best and worthiest, I find, first, the glorious and most excellent in his time, and first founder of the Round Table, KING ARTHUR, King of the Britons; of whose retinue were many noble kings, princes, lords, and knights; of which the noblest were KNIGHTS OF THE ROUND TABLE, of whose acts and histories there be large volumes and books great plenty and many. O blessed Lord! when I remember the great and many volumes of St. Graal, Ghalehot, and Lancelot du Lac, Gawain, Perceval, Lionel, and Tristram, and many other, of whom [it] were over long to rehearse, and also to

not always deserving of commendation. Nor can we admire him for his unqualified belief of all the marvellous stories recorded in

me unknown—But the history of the said ARTHUR is so glorious and shining that he is stalled in the first place of the most noble, best, and worthiest of the christian men.”

Prologue to Godfrey of Boulogne, p. 132, post.

OF THE HISTORY OF ARTHUR.

“ All noble lords and ladies, with all other estates, of what estate or degree they be of, that shall see and read in this same book and work, &c. shall well find therein many joyous and pleasant histories, and noble and renowned acts of humanity, gentleness, and chivalries: for herein may be seen noble chivalry, curtesy, humanity, friendliness, hardiness, love, friendship, cowardice, murder, hate, virtue and sin. Do after the good, and leave the evil, and it shall bring you to good fame and renown. And for to pass the time, this book shall be pleasant to read in; but for to give faith and belief that all is true that is contained therein, ye be at your liberty.” *Histories of Arthur*, p. 247, post.

OF THE NATURE AND ADVANTAGE OF HISTORY.

“ History may be described thus. History is a perpetual conservatrice of those things that have been before this present time; and also a quotidian witness of benefits, of mal-faits, great acts, and triumphal victories, of all manner of people. And also, if the terrible feigned fables of poets have much stirred and moved men to right and conserving of justice, how much more is it to be supposed that HISTORY, as servatrice of virtue, and a mother of all philosophy, moving our manners to virtue, reformeth and reconcileth near hand all those men, which, through the infirmity of our mortal nature, hath led the most part of their life in idleness; and mispended their time, passed right soon out of remembrance: of which LIFE AND DEATH IS EQUAL OBLIVION!” *Prologue to Polychronicon*, p. 144, post.

CHARACTER OF THE YOUNG MEN OF THE AGE.

“ I see that the children that be born within the said city [of London] increase, and profit not like their fathers and olders; but, for the most part, after that they be comen to their perfect years of discretion, and ripeness of age, how well [notwithstanding] that their fathers have left to them great quantity of goods, yet scarcely among ten, two thrive! I have seen and known in other lands, in divers cities, that [those] of one name and lineage successively have endured prosperously many years; yea, five or six hundred years; and some a thousand—and in this noble city of London it can only continue unto the third heir, or scarcely to the second. O blessed Lord! when I remember this,

Godfrey of Boulogne;* although the admiration with which he speaks of,† and his uniform attachment to, this kind of composition may dispose us to forgive him for the plenitude of his faith. Gibbon has probably spoken too contemptuously of this species of literature;‡ for, if the manners of the age of Chivalry have been enthusiastically admired by one of our greatest political writers and philosophers, it will follow that those Romances, in which the feats of the heroes of chivalry are recorded, are deserving of publication and perusal. How strongly the mind of Milton was imbued with the spirit of these romantic legends, and with what a rich and beautiful tone of colouring his descriptions are sometimes marked in consequence, the pages of his sublime poetry sufficiently evince. We shall not therefore censure our venerable Typographer for exercising his press upon those productions which have delighted, and still continue to delight, some of the greatest geniuses of the age.

If Caxton does not enjoy the intellectual reputation of an ALDUS, a STEPHENS, a TURNEBUS, a PLANTIN, or a BOWYER, it must be remembered with what a slender stock of materials, and in what an uncivilised period, he commenced his career: that our land was then

I am all abashed: I cannot judge the cause, but fairer, nor wiser, nor better bespoken children in their youth be no where than there be in London; but, at their full riping, there is no kernel nor good corn founden, but chaff for the most part." *Prologue to Cato Magnus*, p. 197, post.

To these specimens might have been added a few of Caxton's translations of *Esop's Fables*, which are among the best examples of his quick, sprightly, and colloquial style: but 'more than enough' may have been already extracted. The criticism upon Chaucer, before quoted, is also a forcible proof of the powers of his pen, as well as other specimens given in the course of the ensuing pages. The reader will, therefore, carefully peruse these, and consequently be the better enabled to judge of the propriety of the above eulogium upon our author's English composition.

* 'This noble history, which is no fable nor feigned thing, but all that is therein [is] true.' Vide p. 133, post.

† Vide among the '*Specimens*' of Caxton's talent of English composition; p. cxviii, ante; or p. 346, post.

‡ Vide p. lxxi, ante; or rather among Gibbon's *Posthumous Works*, vol. ii. p. 711.

yet moist with the blood which had flowed in the civil wars of *the Roses*; and that the education of youth,* and the encouragement of what is called the Belles Lettres, were confined within the narrowest boundaries. The most illustrious patrons of which our printer could boast, were the Earl Rivers and the Earl of Worcester; but even the rank and accomplishments of these noblemen [especially of the latter] were insufficient to protect them from insult, persecution, and a premature end.

Having thus attempted to present the reader with an impartial estimate of Caxton's *Erudition*, I shall, in the next place, consider his reputation as a *Printer*.

Bagford says that 'his letters were peculiar to himself, in imitation of his own hand writing, as may be seen by an Ovid's *Metamorphoses* translated with his own hand.'† Rowe Mores observes that 'his letter originally was of the sort called *Secretary*; and of this he had two founts; afterwards he came nearer to the *English face*, and had three founts of *Great Primer*: a rude one which he used anno 1474; another something better; and a third cut about 1482; one of *Double Pica*, good, which first appears 1490, and one of *Long Primer*—at least nearly agreeing with the bodies which have since been called by those names.'‡

* In addition to what has been said of the gross ignorance of the period in which Caxton lived, consult the epilogue to the *Polychronicon*, p. 148, post; from which we learn that, in the time of our printer, 'mens wits were oblivious and lightly forgetting many things worthy to be put in memory; and also that there could not be found *but few that wrote in their registers such things as daily happen and fall*.'! Of Caxton's character of the young men of his age, vide p. cxviii, ante; and p. 197, post.

† A fac-simile of the penmanship of this Ovid, whether by Caxton or by another person, will be found at p. 84, post.

‡ *Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies*, by Edward Rowe Mores, A. M. and A. S. S. p. 4. This is a very scarce and eccentric work. Only 100 copies of the original were printed; and eighty of the supplemental sheet by Mr. John Nichols.

To the above observations of Rowe Mores, respecting the types of Caxton, I subjoin the following from Lewis:

This account being technical, will not be generally understood ; nor do I consider it quite correct. Caxton appears to have made use of five distinct sets of types, or founts of letters ; of which fac-similes will be found in the plates inserted in the subsequent pages ; although the type of the second plate, or n°. 2, may be considered the same as n°. 3 of the third plate—with the exception of the *a*. N°. 4, and n°. 5, are essentially different from either of the preceding. To the description of the titles of the several volumes, hereafter enumerated, I have generally added one of these numbers ; intimating, thereby, that the book is printed with the type to which the same number is prefixed in the plate of the fac-simile. That Caxton used a fresh type in the year 1490, with which

As to Mr. Caxton's printing, it has been observed, that his first performances are very rude and barbarous. He used a letter resembling the handwriting then in use. His *d*, at the end of a word, is very singular, thus ; *ɔl*. He used the characteristics which we find in the English MSS. before the Conquest ; such as *ȝ*, for *gh* ; *ȝe* for *and*. Instead of commas and periods, he used a transverse or oblique stroke, thus, / as the Dutch printers do to this day, in their Gothic impressions. Mr. Palmer observed, that he used a letter peculiar to himself, and which is easily known from any other, being a mixture of Secretary and Gothic as to shape ; and sometimes of Great Primer as to size ; especially in printing proper names. He had a way of joining almost any two characters together ; which, perhaps, might induce Mr. Bagford to suppose, that the types which he used were not distinct, or fusile types, made of metal, and cast in molds, as they are now. In his titles he used the German Text, or what our printers call the Gothic, of the size of Great Primer, and sometimes he mix'd it with his Secretary, or common print, as our printers now do the Italic. Like the other printers of his time, he never used any direction or catchword, but placed the signatures where that now stands ; and rarely numbered his leaves, but never his pages, as has been already intimated. Mr. Palmer has observed, that the *Liber Festialis*, or *Festivalis*, is the only one of his books whose lines are not spaced out to the end, which, he says, is an after improvement and elegance introduced by Mr. Caxton, in imitation of foreign printers. In most of his books which I have seen, he only printed, as the custom then was, a small letter at the beginning of his chapters, to intimate what the initial or capital letter should be, and left that to be made by the illuminator, who wrote it with a pen, with red, blue, or green ink. Thus are the initial letters, in his edition of the *Polychronicon*, made with red ink : but in some of his books he used flourished initials, or what the printers call blooming capitals."

Life of Caxton, p. 124.

he had not worked before, is a mere supposition; as the greater part of his preceding books exhibit precisely the same character. Mores had probably seen a fine impression of the *Virgil* of this year, and some indifferent ones of the *Dictes and Sayings, Mirror of the World*, &c. which led him to consider the types as different. The bulkier works of Caxton seem to have been almost uniformly printed with his smallest type [n°. 4.]; as he had probably a larger fount of this letter.

Bagford supposes that he used ‘fusile types made of metal, or made of wood; or types cut in blocks of wood;’ and then wonders that his successors did not use them—‘an extraordinary circumstance,’ says he, ‘and which deserves consideration.’! There can be little doubt that Caxton used fusile metal types, and not wooden ones, whether separate, or cut in blocks: nor is there the least reason to be surprised at his successors rejecting these types—for they were sufficiently worn and injured, and of course not calculated to please the public on the opening of a new printing office.

Of Capital Initials he appears [as was before mentioned]* to have been very sparing: adopting the custom of the times in inserting a small initial to be enlarged and beautified according to the fancy of the illuminator;† thus, (as Rowe Mores quaintly expresses it) ‘giving the latter his *cue*; because his knowledge consisted chiefly in the formation of a great one.’† The following are

* ‘*Preliminary Disquisition*,’ vide p. xxviii, ante.

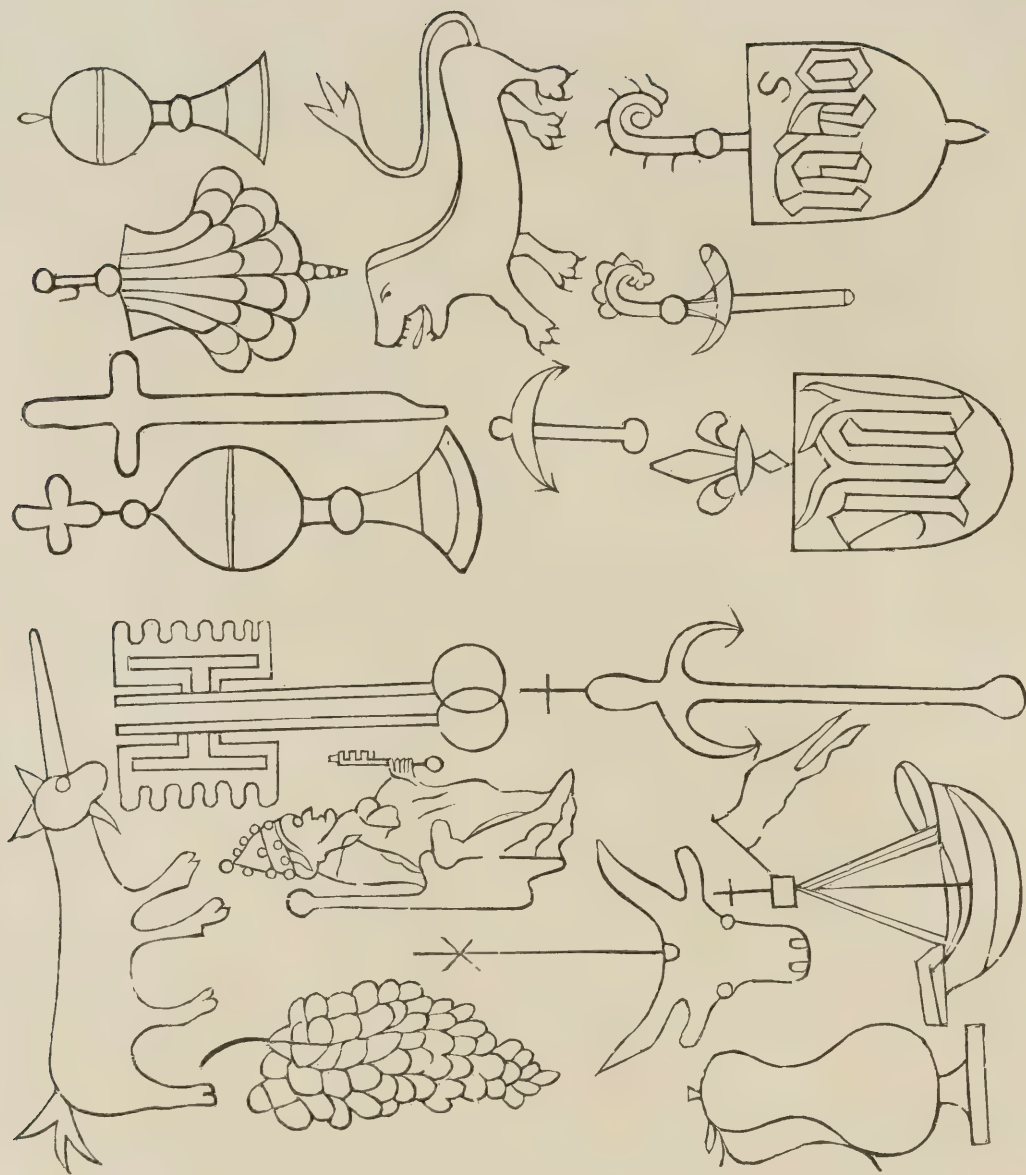
† Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies, p. 4.

‡ In addition to the remarks introduced about the ancient illuminators abroad, in a note to Ames’s Preface [vide ante—with a cut] the reader may not object to be informed that, in our own country, at Oxford, a serious altercation once arose concerning the respective rights of Printers and Illuminators—which is stated in Sir John Fortescue’s work upon ‘*Supreme Power*’—with the opinions of some of the judges thereupon. This I gather from an original letter of Anstis, the famous antiquary; but the work of Fortescue is not at hand to see whether his reference to it be correct. I remember to have read in some foreign book that, in a town in Italy, a civil dissension arose in consequence of the business of the Illuminators falling off by the introduction of the art of printing.

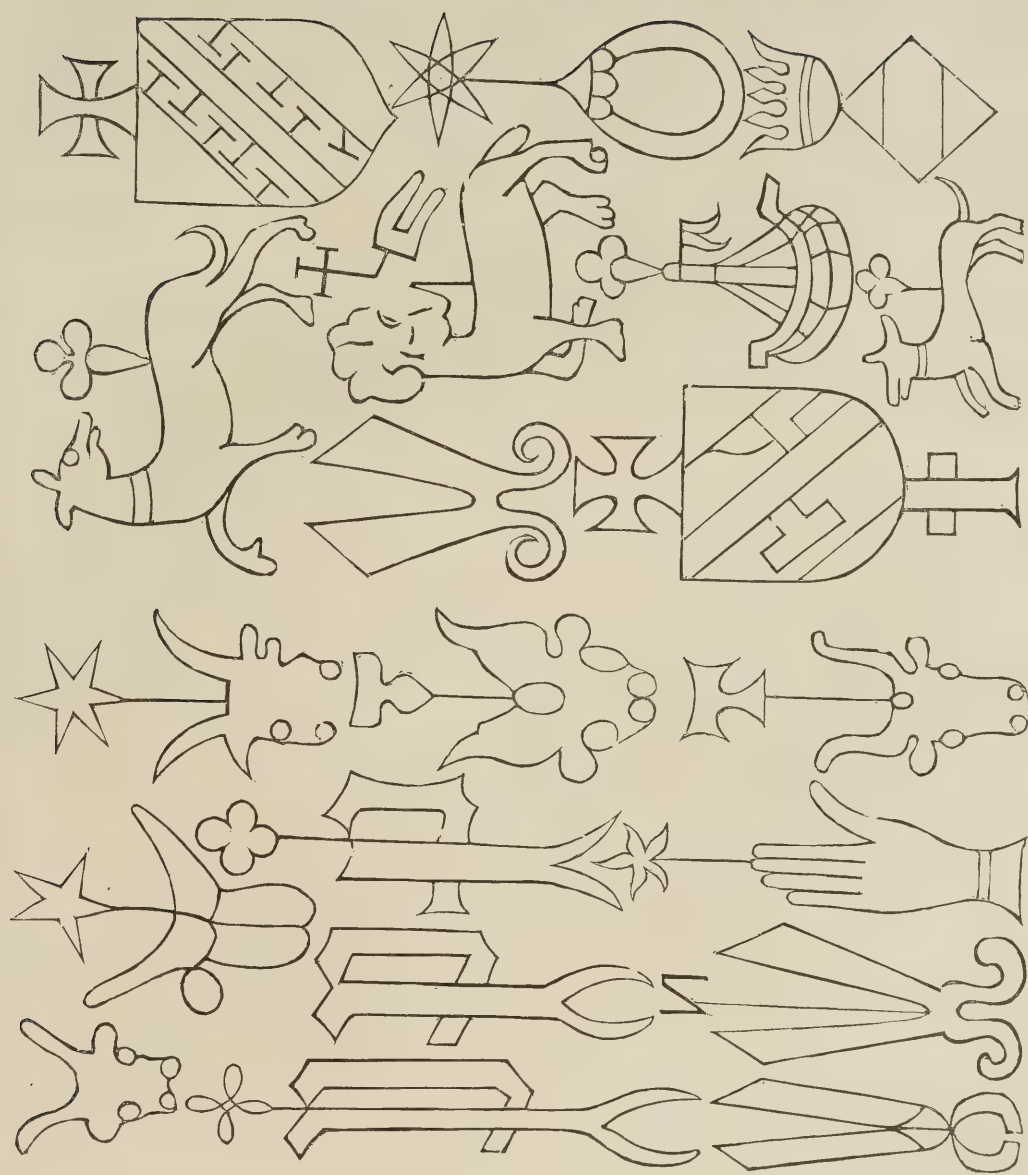
fac-similes of the different species of Capital Initials which I have hitherto found in the books of Caxton: the last may perhaps be considered as a doubtful production of his press.*



* The reader will consult p. 194; where the fac-simile of the Capital Initial T, is said (erroneously) to be given in the 'Preliminary Disquisition,' instead of in the present place. The question of its being really used by Caxton is there discussed.



Water Marks in the Paper of the Town Countries in the 15th Century.



Water Marks in the Paper used by Carton.

But whatever may be the technical distinction of our Typographer's types, and from whatever metal or materials they were founded or cut, the question is, are these types beautiful in their forms, and do they render the perusal of his books easy and pleasant? In regard to the beauty of Caxton's types, it must be confessed that they are greatly inferior to the black letter of Jenson* and Koeburger: these latter have a squareness, firmness, and brilliancy of effect which are not to be discovered in the volumes of our Typographer. It is probable, however, that much of the superiority of effect, in point of beauty, discernible in the works of foreign printers of this period, arises from the excellence of the paper† and press work. The workmen in the Venetian and Nuremberg offices had, no doubt, been regularly trained to their business in the office of Gutenberg, Fust, and Schoeffer, at Mentz; and on the siege of the latter place in

* Whoever happens to possess the '*Constitutiones Clementis Papæ Quinti*,' printed by Jenson, in folio 1476, from the Mentz editions of Fust and Schoeffer, in 1460-1467, need not require further proof of the exquisite beauty and skill of the Venetian artist, Jenson, in the choice and working of the black letter. Almost all of Koeburger's books are distinguished for their lustre and magnificence.

† Lewis observes of CAXTON's paper, that it is 'made of the paste of linen rags, very fine and good, almost like the thin vellum on which they used to write their books at that time. When this was first invented (adds he) I have not been able to find; but our learned Dean Prideaux informs us, that he had seen a Registration of some acts of John Cranden, Prior of Ely, made upon paper which bears date in the *fourteenth* year of King Edward II, that is Anno Domini 1320; and, that in the Bishop's Registry at Norwich, there is a register book of wills, all made of paper, wherein registrations are made; which bear date so high up as the year of our Lord 1370, just an hundred years before the time that Mr. Ray said the use of it begun in Germany.' *Life of Caxton*, p. 125-6.

The art of making paper with linen rags is supposed to have been discovered in the 11th century, though Father Mabillon thinks it was in the 12th. Montfaucon acknowledges that he has not been able to meet with a single leaf of paper with a date anterior to the death of St. Lewis in 1270.

On the plate facing the present page the reader is presented with fac-similes of the WATER MARKS in the paper used by our own, and other printers of the Low Countries, in the fifteenth century. A curious dissertation upon this subject, with plates, is in the *Archæologia*, vol. xii. p. 114.

1462, they dispersed where they could obtain the best livelihood. That perfect order, and symmetry, of press work, so immediately striking in the pages of foreign books of this period, are in vain to be sought for among the volumes which have issued from Caxton's press; and the uniform rejection of the Roman letter, when it was so successfully introduced by the Spiras, Jenson, and Sweynheym and Pannartz, is, unquestionably, a blemish in our printer's typographical reputation. But, on the other hand, whenever we meet with good copies of his books, his type has a bold and rich effect; [especially the type designated by n°. 3] which renders the perusal of them less painful than that of many foreign productions, where the angular sharpness of the letters somewhat dazzles and hurts the eye. In the *Ink* which he used [that material part of printing, unluckily, but now little attended to!] he has been uniformly excelled by a host of foreign printers. Instead of a steady, even, and rich effect, we frequently witness a pale, jaundiced, unequal, and forbidding aspect in many of his volumes. He probably imported his ink; and, in consequence, was left at the mercy of his agents—to receive what had been discarded by other printers.

If a comparison be instituted between the typographical skill of Caxton and his successors, WYNKYN DE WORDE and PYNSON, there can be no question but that these latter are superior to him in every particular before enumerated.

Some other things remain to be noticed while upon the subject of Caxton's Typography. Bagford, Maittaire, and Palmer, have observed that our printer struck off about 200 copies of each work that he published; but this is a mere conjecture. It is probable that, as he did not always print books at his own risk (like the Italian printers), he might venture upon a larger number—especially of small or popular works: and yet it is difficult to account for the almost total disappearance of the copies of some books printed by him, if the small number of the original impression be not taken into consideration.

The Romances, probably, form the scarcest class of books printed by Caxton; of which the impressions must have been very limited, or the number of destroyers, as well as readers, very abundant. It will be seen, from the ensuing pages, that of nos. 29—31—57—only a single [or, as it is called, *unique*] copy of each romance is known to exist; and of the latter, the copy is imperfect. Caxton's religious works [although a great number must have been destroyed in the pillage of monasteries] are yet rather common—but, generally, in an imperfect state: and of these, especially of *The Golden Legend* of 1483, I am inclined to think that at least 400 copies* were struck off. Of the price for which his books were originally sold, no authentic memorandum has yet been discovered.†

* If we are to judge from the celebrated list of the number of copies of the different works printed by those indefatigable typographical artists, Sweynheym and Pannartz, it would appear that 275 was the usual number of copies of a particular work; although sometimes they ventured to strike off as many as 550; and twice, not fewer than 1100 copies. In the course of seven years, they had printed 12,475 copies of different works: an immense number! which lay perishing in their warehouses, and to be relieved from which they petitioned Pope Sixtus IV. The list of the several works, and of the number of copies of each, printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz, may be found in most bibliographical treatises; amongst others, in Maittaire's *Annales Typographici*, vol. i. p. 49, edit. 1719; *Idem*: vol. i. 14, edit. 1733: Palmer's *General History of Printing*, p. 130: Quirini *De optimorum Scriptorum editionibus*, p. 231, edit. 1761: Laire's *Specimen Typographiæ Romanæ*, p. 77: Santander's *Dict. Bibliogr. Choisi*, vol. i. 131. It is alluded to by Audiffredi *Edit. Romanæ*, p. 94; and by Lambinet in his *Recherches, &c. sur l'origine de l'Imprimerie*, p. 166. Mr. Beloe has reprinted the list in his third volume of *Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books*, p. 266, with an extract from the original Latin petition of the printers to the Pope, written by the Bishop of Aleria, and prefixed to the 5th volume of De Lyra's Commentary upon the Bible—which ponderous work appears to have completed the ruin of the printers.

† We have occasionally some evidence of the prices of books in this country at the commencement of the 16th century; but of those of the 15th century I know of no account. Abroad, Lambinet tells us that "the *Catholicon* of 1465 was sold to a monastery for 41 crowns: the same book, ten years afterwards, was purchased for only one third of this sum; namely, for 13 golden florins. *The Mentz Bible* of 1462, printed upon parchment, was bought by William Tourneville, Bishop of Angers, for 40 golden crowns; and

Of the *Devices* used by Caxton, fac-similes will be found opposite the first page which gives an 'Account of the books printed by him.' The earliest known instance of an impression of the large device, is upon the recto of the first leaf of a copy of the *Dictes and Sayings* (A.D. 1477) in the library of the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth. Ames and Herbert had never seen an impression of it earlier than the date of the *Mirror of the World* [A. D. 148 $\frac{1}{2}$]. The figures in the large device form the reverse impression of 74; meaning, as it has been stated, that our printer commenced business, in England, in the year 1474: but not much weight can be attached to this remark, as no copy of the *Chess Book*, printed in 1474, has yet been discovered which presents us with this device. See Herbert, p. 1765.

It will be here necessary to say a few words respecting the supposed *Portraits* of Caxton, which the reader will find engraved opposite the first page of this biographical Memoir. Bagford had imagined that the English edition of Jason of 1492 [vide p. 58, post] exhibited a legitimate likeness of him; but there is no portrait whatever in the copy here referred to; nor, indeed, is there any authentic representation of his head extant. This may not be considered very surprising, when the earliest known specimen of portrait-painting, in Great Britain, is of the date of Richard the III's reign. But fancy is seldom backward to supply what truth has denied: accordingly, a portrait of BURCHIELLO, the Italian poet,* from

one Herman de Stratten, and agent of Fust and Schoeffer, sold it him in 1470. The *Würzburg Missal*, printed upon vellum, was sold to a William Kewsth, an Englishman, for 18 golden florins, in 1481: 'but,' concludes Lambinet, 'foreigners always make the English pay more than other people!' See his amusing *Recherches, &c. sur l'Origine de l'Imprimerie*, p. 198. The bibliographer's reading will no doubt supply him with other anecdotes of the prices of foreign books.

* A particular account of all the early editions of BURCHIELLO will be found in the last (8vo.) edition of Haym's *Notizia De' Libri Rari Italiani*, vol. ii. 128, nos. 1, 2, 3; and of the first two editions, [1475-7] in Santander's *Dict. Bibliogr. Choisi*, vol. ii. 253. There is the same cut, of what is above said to be a portrait of Burchiello, in the 'Zucca' of Doni—printed at Venice, 1551, 8vo.; where it is introduced as illustrative of the dress

a small 8vo. edition of his work on Tuscan poetry, of the date of 1554, was inaccurately copied by Faithhorn, for Sir Hans Sloane, as the portrait of Caxton. Lewis, however, was resolved to improve upon the ingenuity of his predecessor by adding a thick beard to Burchiello's chin, and otherwise altering his character; and in this form the Italian poet made his appearance, upon copper, as Caxton, prefixed to the Life of our Printer.* This portrait afterwards served for the works of Ames and Herbert, not however before a miniature copy of it had graced the frontispiece of Marchand's *Histoire de L'Imprimerie*. The whole length portrait of Caxton kneeling before Edward the IVth, in a MS. of Earl Rivers's *Dictes and Sayings*, [in the Lambeth library] is, in all probability, a spurious one; notwithstanding it was supposed to be authentic by Anstis and the late Lord Orford. See Mr. Park's edit. of *Royal and Noble Authors*, vol. i. 216; and p. 62, post.

It has been advanced by Bagford and Mattaire [see the *Annal. Typog.* vol. i. p. 32, edit. 1733] and from them by Dr. Middleton,

of a Florentine with the *Capuchin* and *Becca*—the turban or cap, and garter or streamer: so that probably even the portrait of the Italian poet may be an ideal one.

* Among the Sloanian MSS, marked 5151, there is a copy of a letter by Ames to Lewis, [as it would appear from the sequel] in which the former mentions that Lord Oxford, the patron of Bagford, had been offended by some one's having written under this portrait of Caxton '*Bagford invenit*.' Lewis thus vindicated himself, in reply: "I meant no reflection on Bagford by having it engraved under Caxton's head '*Bagford inv.*' I had seen the same done by others, particularly under Wiclif's head in the History of the Council of Constance: '*B. Picart, Inv. 1723*.' The reason of which I was told, was, to shew that it was not done from any original picture. But I am truly sorry that any thing I have published has given offence to his lordship or any one else.

From the Original Letter in the possession of Mr. Nichols. J. LEWIS."

Ames, who seems to have taken the head more faithfully from Faithhorn, published it as a wood-cut in his *Typographical Antiquities*, with the portrait adopted by Lewis, expunging the subscription of Bagford's name; and gave permission to have the former inserted in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, where a criticism is subjoined in praise of his work. I have an incorrect copy of the former portrait engraved by one Lockington; prefixed to the late Mr. Reed's copy of Rowe Mores' *Dissertation on Founders and Founderies*.

and Palmer, that Caxton 'corrected, illuminated, and bound all his books with his own hands.' Lewis supposes that 'as he printed long before the present method of adding *Errata* at the end of books was in use and practice, so his extraordinary exactness obliged him to take a great deal more pains than can easily be imagined; for, after a book was printed off, his way was to revise it, and correct the faults in it with red ink, as they then used to correct their written books. This being done to one copy, he caused one of his servants to run through the whole impression, and correct the faults he had noted with a stanesil, or red-lead pencil, which he himself afterwards compared with his own corrected copy, to see that none of the corrections he had made were omitted. Mr. Bagford (continues Lewis) from whom I take this account, adds, that Mr. Caxton translated his books, printed, corrected, illuminated, and bound them in his office or printing house: though Mr. Caxton seems to intimate that the first of these he did sometimes in his study." It will be difficult to conceive a more ridiculous and untenable position than the preceding one advanced by Bagford; for to admit that Caxton bound and illuminated all the books which he translated and printed, is the granting of him the manual powers of a Briareus, with the magical dexterity of a Cornelius Agrippa. It is probable that he might have corrected a single copy of an impression, and ordered his workmen and apprentices to insert these corrections through the whole remaining number; but it is much more probable that the copies, when finally completed, were stitched within a parchment cover,* and in this state delivered to those who

* Bagford says—what may be true enough—that 'When old books and MSS. were done with, they were thrown under the desks by the Scribes and Monks, and there lay till the binders used them as waste parchment or vellum, to bind up with the new books transcribed.' *Harl. MSS.* n°. 5910.

It is certain that most of the ancient printers were *binders* also; that is, the business of the binder was carried on in their offices. Chevillier gives us some instances of their styling themselves *Printers* and *Binders* as well as *Booksellers*; and from Santander we learn that, in the MS. subscription to the first Bible of 1453, it is said

had bespoke, or who casually purchased, them. There is not a shadow remaining whereby we may trace the particular customs and usages of Caxton's office.

Bagford has also remarked, perhaps with no better grounds of support, that all Caxton's books 'were dedicated; and copies were printed UPON VELLUM or parchment, finely illuminated, being presentation copies.* The most sedulous researches of the most active collectors have brought to light only *one* book printed by Caxton upon vellum, which was unknown to Ames, Oldys, and Herbert; and which is described at p. 268, post. This book was not dedicated. The presentation copy of Godfrey of Boulogne, to Edward IV, was upon PAPER: see Bibl. R. Smith, p. 275, n^o. 94.

Having thus closed the subject of Caxton's character, considered with reference to his *Erudition* and *Typographical Skill*, it remains only to observe, that, all traces of his memory, as well as the greater number of the copies of his books, seem to have equally perished in the two centuries which succeeded him; that among the anecdotes which, in this period, have reached us of the witty, the wealthy, the learned, and the ingenious, the name and the labours of Caxton are scarcely once mentioned. That volumes of his press must have met the eye of Leland, when he made his celebrated Itinerary, there can be little doubt; and that a choice copy of each of his romances was in the library of the far-famed Coventry Captain,† may be rationally supposed. But we have no cata-

"This book was illuminated, bound, and finished by Henry Cremer, Vicar of the collegiate church of St. Stephen's," &c.: so that the binding of a book was, in these times, considered no disgraceful occupation. Indeed, the example of Grolier, the friend of Thuanus, who was uncommonly nice and curious in the decoration of his volumes, with his own hands, is an eminent instance of this kind. Consult Chevallier's *L'origine de l'Imprimerie*, 321: Santander's *Dict. Bibliogr. Choisi*, vol. ii. 178.

* *Harl. MSS.* N^o. 5910.

† See the character of this extraordinary captain and mason, in Laneham's Letter concerning the Entertainment given to Elizabeth by the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth Castle: reprinted at Warwick in 1785. 8vo. p. 36.

logue of a library, collected in the 17th century, which contained so many Caxtonian volumes as did that of Mr. RICHARD SMITH, who died in the year 1682.* In the subsequent century, inspired by the fine taste and princely munificence of the Earls of PEMBROKE and OXFORD, [whose libraries contained so many curious and rare specimens of ancient printing] a passion for obtaining the books of our first printer distinguished almost every antiquary and collector of eminence; and this passion has, to the present moment, fortunately never experienced any diminution. The splendid and nearly perfect collection of Caxtonian literature in the library of his present Majesty, forms one of the richest acquisitions to our knowledge of ancient customs and manners, as well as of the early state of the English language. Next to the royal collection, the public ones of Oxford

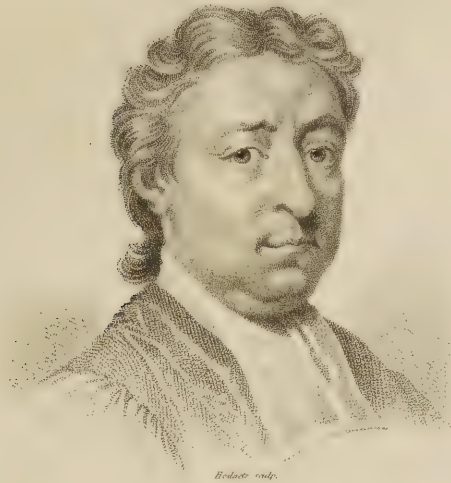
* For a short character of this extraordinary collector, see Hearne's preface to the first volume of *Peter Langtoft's Chronicles*, p. xiii, as well as a small work recently published by me, entitled *Bibliomania*, p. 32. The following list of the prices for which his Caxtonian volumes were sold, may be considered a curious relic of bibliographical antiquarianism.

"GAME OF CHESS; it being [in] Mr. Smith's opinion one of the first books				
	which ever were printed in England [with his obser-	£.	s.	d.
	vations on the several editions of the same MS] 1474.	0	13	2
HISTORY OF JASON [in very old English] [1475]		0	5	1
CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND 1480		0	5	0
GODFREY OF BOULOGNE [being K. Edward the 4th's own book] 1481		0	18	2
<i>Purchased by the famous Earl of Peterborough.</i>				
MIRROR OF THE WORLD [in very old English] [1480]		0	5	0
KNIGHT OF THE TOWER 1483		0	5	10
CATO MAGNUS " . . . 1483		0	4	2
PILGRIMAGE OF THE SOUL: 1483	} "in one volume [all in very old English]"	0	5	2
CHASTISING OF GOD'S CHILDREN				
THE RULE OF ST. BENET				
BOOK OF GOOD MANNERS 1487		0	2	10
VIRGIL'S ÆNEID . . . 1490"		0	3	0
Sum total for 12 volumes!		£. 3	7	5

Which would be about £9. 9s. of money of the present day !!!

and Cambridge—that of the late Duke of Roxburgh, of the present Marquis of Blandford, and Earl Spencer, contain the greater number of books printed by CAXTON ; whose name will always, I trust, among Britons, be held in equal reverence with that of ALDUS by the Italians, and of STEPHENS by the French.

I cannot better close this imperfect memoir than by subjoining an etching of the portrait of our printer's first biographer :



Rev. John Lewis, A. M.

LIST OF CAXTON'S BOOKS.

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ALPHABETICAL LIST of the Books printed by Caxton, with their supposed DEGREES OF RARITY: the number 6 being the highest degree.

	Date.	Deg. of Rarity.	Vide post.
<i>Accidence</i> —	[No date.]	6 —	p. 355
<i>Æsop</i> —	1484 —	5 —	208
<i>Arthur, Histories of</i>	1485 —	6 —	241
<i>Ballad, Fragment of</i>	No date.	6 —	359
<i>Blanchardin and Eglantine</i>	Do. —	6 —	346
<i>Boetius</i>	Do. —	4 —	303
<i>Book of Divers Ghostly Matters</i> }	Do. —	5 —	330
— <i>of Good Manners</i>	1487 —	4 —	263
— <i>for Travellers</i>	Do. —	5 —	315
<i>Cato Magnus</i>	1483 —	4 —	195
<i>Cato Parvus</i>	No date.	5 —	200
<i>Charles the Great</i>	1485 —	6 —	255
<i>Chastising of God's Children</i>	No date.	4 —	356
<i>Chaucer's Book of Fame</i>	Do. —	4 —	311
— <i>Canterbury Tales</i>	Do. —	5 (First Edit.)	291
— <i>Ditto</i>	Do. —	4 (Second do.)	295
— <i>Troilus and Cresside</i>	Do. —	4 —	313
— <i>Minor Works with Lydgate's</i> }	Do. —	5 —	306
<i>Chess, Game of</i>	1474 —	5 —	28
—	No date.	4 —	36
<i>Chivalry, Fait of Arms and</i>	1489 —	4 —	274
— <i>Order of</i>	1484 —	6 —	221

	Date.		Deg. of Rarity.		Vide post.
<i>Chronicle of England, &c.</i>	1480	—	3	—	p. 85
<i>Cordial</i> —	1480	—	4	—	77
<i>Craft to Know well to Die</i>	1490	—	5	—	279
<i>Curial of Alain Chartier</i>	No date.		6	—	333
<i>Dictes of the Philosophers</i>	1477	—	4	—	60
<i>De Fide et Cantu, &c.</i>	No date.		5	—	329
<i>Directorium Sacerdotum</i>	Do.	—	5	—	323
<i>Doctrinal of Sapience</i>	1489	—	4	—	266
<i>Edward the Confessor</i>	qu ?	—	—	—	342
<i>Godfrey of Boulogne</i>	1481	—	5	—	130
<i>Golden Legend</i>	1483	—	4	—	186
<i>Gower's Confessio Amantis</i>	1483	—	3	—	177
<i>Horæ</i> —	No date.		6	—	358
<i>Jason</i>	1475	—	5	—	53
<i>Infancia Salvatoris</i>	No date.		6	—	301
<i>Katherine of Sienne</i>	No date.		4	—	317
<i>Knight of the Tower</i>	1484	—	4	—	202
<i>Liber Festivalis</i>	1483	—	4	—	161
<i>Life of our Lady</i>	No date.		4	—	336
——— <i>Saint Wenefrid</i>	Do.	—	5	—	341
<i>Lombardy, History of</i>	qu ?	—	—	—	344
<i>Lucidary</i> —	No date.		6	—	343
<i>Lyndewood</i> —	qu ?	—	—	—	344
<i>Mirror of the World</i>	1481	—	4	—	101

LIST OF CAXTON'S BOOKS.

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	Date.		Deg. of Rarity.		Vide post
<i>Ovid's Metamorphoses</i>	1480	—	6	—	p. 83
<i>Paris and Vienne</i>	1485	—	6	—	261
<i>Pilgrimage of the Soul</i>	1483	—	4	—	152
<i>Polychronicon</i>	1482	—	4	—	138
<i>Proverbs of Pisa</i>	1478	—	5	—	72
<i>Reynard the Fox</i>	1481	—	6	—	114
<i>Royal Book</i>	1484	—	4	—	239
<i>Russel, Oration of</i>	No date.		6	—	11
<i>Siege of Rhodes</i>	No date.		6	—	350
<i>Speculum Vite Christi</i>	Do.	—	4	—	320
<i>Statutes</i>	Do.	—	6	—	354
<i>Troy, Receuil des Histoires</i>	No date.		6	—	2
— <i>Histories of,</i>	1471	—	5	—	16
<i>Tully of Old Age, &c.</i>	1481	—	3	—	119
<i>Virgil's Æneid</i>	1490	—	4	—	283
<i>Work of Sapience</i>	No date.		4	—	325

This list of the books printed by Caxton cannot, perhaps, be better closed than by the following anecdote from Herbert: "At my first setting out [says he] in this arduous undertaking, I entertained hopes of being able to give a more correct and certain account of Mr. Caxton's works, having been informed that there were still existing complete copies of most, if not all, of Caxton's books, collected and preserved by the late Mr. Cheswell, a very eminent bookseller of the last age, and that they were then in the possession of a gentleman, who, no doubt, would favour me with the perusal of them, and be glad of the opportunity of communicating materials so curious, and

necessary to illustrate and authenticate the memoirs of our first printer. Without delay i waited on the gentleman, who very politely promised me the use of them, but said that they were sent over to Amsterdam, for the inspection of a friend there, but that he would write for them the first opportunity. A short time after, i took the liberty to write to him that i would with pleasure wait on him, in order to take extracts from his Caxtons, in such manner as should be most agreeable to him. In a few days i was indulged with an answer, informing me ' he had received from Holland the very disagreeable intelligence, that all his fine Caxtons had met with the unfortunate accident (*Heu lamentabile dictu !*) of being burnt, and totally destroyed, as he understood, by the neglect of a servant, in his master's absence, throwing down from a shelf a large bottle of aqua-fortis into the box where the said books were, and neglecting them in his fright; so that more mischief was done in the room.' I am very much afraid," concludes Herbert, " that my friend received but a *Flemish* account of his Caxtons." Appendix, p. 1772.



Carson's Devices.

ACCOUNT OF BOOKS

Printed by

William Caxton.



IN describing the titles and colophons of the several volumes, I have followed the plan of De Bure, in preference to that of Herbert ; the leading features of both being brought under one point of view, printed in a larger type : the colophons are, however, given at length in the course of the description of each book. It has most probably happened, that, in the account of so many and such various works, a few particulars have escaped me which required a distinct notice ; while others have been purposely omitted from a consideration of their unimportance.

The reasons for adopting modern orthography (with a few obvious exceptions) in the prologues and other extracts, have been before detailed : at present it is only necessary to add that, while the ancient mode of spelling throws obstructions in the way of the reader's entertainment, nothing seems to be lost to the cause of learning and common sense by the adoption of the modern mode. On these points the reader will exercise his opinion with freedom, and, it is hoped, with candor.

No. 1. CY COMMENCE le volume Intitule LE RECUEIL DES HISTOIRES DE TROYES Compose par venerable homme raoul le feure prestre chappellain de mon tres redoubte seigneur Monseigneur le Duc Philippe de bourgoingne En lan de grace mil cccc lxxiiii Fol.
Without Printer's Name, Date, or Place.

FIRST BOOK PRINTED BY CAXTON; and unknown to German bibliographers. Santander * concludes, too precipitately, that the English writers on Typography are erroneous in assigning it to Caxton's press. The late Mr. Bryant, a diligent collector of Caxton's books, purchased a copy of it at Ames's sale, and after an attentive examination of it with the English edition, he wrote, on a spare leaf, the memoranda which were afterwards communicated to Herbert, and by the latter inserted in the second, third, and fourth pages of his first volume; which clearly prove it to have been the production of Caxton. These memoranda I have myself transcribed from Mr. Bryant's copy, now in his Majesty's collection, and submit the most material part of them to the reader. "In comparing," says he, "these two books together (the French and English editions of Le Fevre), there appears an exact conformity and likeness throughout—for not only the page itself, but the number of lines in a page; the length, breadth, and intervals of the lines are alike in both, and the letters great and small are of the same magnitude. I have compared it likewise with the Game of Chess, printed by Caxton in 1474, and this too exactly corresponds in every one of the above particulars.†"

"Having thus settled who the printer was, the next thing to be

* See his remarks on the English edition printed by Caxton: *Dictionnaire Bibliographique Choisi du Quinzieme Siecle*. 8vo. 1805. Seconde Partie, No. 600: and particularly p. 528 of the Supplement to the third part, or volume: where the book is more particularly described. Santander properly calls it "Edition inconnue des bibliographes, infiniment rare, et certainement la premiere de cet ouvrage." He supposes it to have been printed between the years 1470-1475.

† The annexed engraving will best exemplify this remark.

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Published by W. Miller, Dec: 20th 1809.

considered is, the time when it was published. It must have been before the year 1471, for, if we may credit Stow, and other more ancient historians, Caxton returned that year to England. Nay, it must have been before the year 1470; for he was then employed by the Duchess of Burgundy in translating and printing this book (in the English language), which he did not accomplish till the next year. The only light to be obtained in order to determine this inquiry, seems to be contained in the *title* (vide ante) Le Fevre is here spoken of as Chaplain to Philip D. of Burgundy: and it is mentioned in such a manner as to signify the Duke was then living—But in the *translation*, printed at the request of Lady Margaret the Duchess, some few years after, there is a material difference: Le Fevre is not stiled here, as he was before in the *French*, ‘Chapellain de mon tres redoubte seigneur Monseigneur Philippe le Duc,’ &c. but ‘preest and chapelayn unto the right noble Prince in his time Philippe D. of B—.’ Philip therefore was *not then alive*. Now, Philip died in 1467; so that this book was printed *before that time*—but after * the year 1464, specified in the title.

“Thus much is remarkable in the date; that it is in the very year when Caxton was at the Duke of Burgundy’s court, and had particular access to him, on account of a negociation he was carrying on by order of the king his master. Caxton had resided many years in Brabant and other places as a merchant, and all that time was particularly attentive to get some insight into the new invented art of printing. In the year 1464, he was entrusted by King Edward IV,

* ‘Mr. Ames makes no scruple to allow that the book was printed in 1464, but thinks it was the work of Caxton’s *Master*—but does he know he had a Master? We are morally certain he had none, nor could have any. He was an elderly man, a merchant, and of great repute. He was acting as an Ambassador or Plenipotentiary, at the time he is supposed to be serving an apprenticeship: all he wanted was, to procure some person or persons to print under his direction: this he effected: so that his knowledge proceeded not from any Master, but his own Servants; unless you term *them* his Masters.’ BRYANT.

See my observations on the latter part of these remarks of Mr. Bryant, in the account of the “*LIFE of CAXTON*,” *ante*. The date of the French edition seems to be reasonably fixed between the years 1464-7.

to assist Richard Whitehill, or Whetchill, in carrying on a treaty with the D. of Burgundy. As Le Fevre's history was just come out, the Duke might possibly make it his request to Caxton to reprint it : * the author being his chaplain, and the work in those days of no small repute. Such a request, six years afterwards, we know was made by Lady Margaret, wife to the succeeding Duke, and sister to King Edward. She directed Caxton to translate the same history, which he performed—and printed it in 1471 at Cologne."

There is a good deal of correct reasoning in these observations ; and it is much more probable that Caxton undertook the printing of this work at the request of Philip Duke of Burgundy, or from the prevailing fondness of the times for this marvellous species of reading, than from any inclination on his part, "to gratify the disposition there was at this time in the English or British nation, to derive their original from Brutus and his Trojans"—as Mr. Oldys conjectures. [Biog. Brit. vol. ii. 354] Herbert remarks on Mr. Bryant's hypothesis, that, "how ingenious soever it may be, it has yet this difficulty to get over—the utter silence of Caxton concerning this affair, even when as fair an opportunity offered as could be, to have given at least some intimation thereof." But is not this calling on us to disprove what has every mark of truth about it, from a merely arbitrary datum—namely, that Caxton was necessarily to notice his printing of the French edition in his impression of the English one ? Many ancient

* "The types made use of here, are very like those of Fust and Schoeffer. The *great* letters seem the same : so that I make no doubt this book was printed under Caxton's direction and artificers from Mentz. Dr. Middleton and Mr. Lewis speak of the rudeness of Caxton's types, which I wonder at : for the letters are generally well cut, and his books very legible. It is true his types are like the writings of the times. Upon the whole, this is an extraordinary performance, and I think it superior to many he executed afterwards."

BRYANT.

If Mr. Bryant had specified one or more books printed by Fust and Schoeffer, to which he imagined the types in the above work were "very like," his observation would have carried greater weight. The Bible of 1462 is the only book, the types of which bear the least resemblance to those of the *Recueil* ; but a slight glance of these will convince us especially of the long f and a) that they are materially different.

books have been printed without names, by printers who have afterwards subscribed their names to a greater number, and yet not noticed the anonymous ones ! To return, however, to the work before us.

This French edition opens thus : “ Quant * Je regarde et congnois

* The ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT of Raoul, or the Presentation Copy, is probably yet existing in the library of some ancient family abroad. All my enquiries and conjectures about its identity have terminated fruitlessly : but on referring to the catalogue of the incomparable library of the late Duke de la Valliere, I find an account of a MS. of it, which, in brilliancy and perfection of condition, would seem to have rivalled the original. De Bure's description of this precious volume, is so animated and *picturesque*, that I cannot withhold it from the curious bibliographer. See No. 4087.

“ Chy commence le volume Intitule le Recueil des hystoires de Troyes, composees par venerable homme Raoul le Feure, Chapellain de mon tres redoubte Seigneur, Monseigneur le Duc Philippe de Bourgoingne en lan de grace mil cccc lxiij. (1464) in fol. *m. bl.*

“ SUPERB MANUSCRIPT upon vellum, executed towards the end of the 15th century ; containing 304 leaves, and written in the *ancient gross bastard* hand, in two columns on a page, with the summary of each chapter in red ink.

“ In this manuscript, the beauty of the execution, the elegance of the illuminated capitals, painted in gold upon an azure ground, and the freshness and brilliancy of the miniatures, are equally objects of admiration. There are two miniature paintings 12 inches high, and nearly 8 inches and half wide ; one hundred and thirteen about 7 inches high and 6 and half wide ; and eight of about 3 inches and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 wide : in the whole, 123 miniatures. Those which decorate the leaves numbered j, cxix, and ccvij, are painted within a rich frame work, of which the ground is gold, and the ornaments are composed of flowers, insects, and fruits, delicately executed. On the leaves are depicted the arms of OETTINGEN, an illustrious family in Suabia. In the same frame works are seen many painted figures. There is also a large one executed like the branches of a tree, and which fills almost entirely the page on the reverse of the last sheet of the table of the second book. These figures belonged, no doubt, to the original possessor of the MS. whom a little enquiry might enable us to discover.

“ The invention displayed in some of these paintings shews the ignorance of the artists in the 15th century : for instance, those at fol. vi. and xxxij. In one of them, a bishop, habited in his robes, pronounces the nuptial benediction over Saturn and Cybele—in the other, Jupiter and Juno receive Cybele in a catholic church where a picture of the crucifixion is seen.—Many of these subjects, however, are rendered interesting from the *manner* in which they are executed. Thus, at fol. clx we have Hercules combatting the Hydra of Lerna—at fol. ccij, the same hero, clothed with the shirt dyed in the blood of Nessus, is foaming with rage upon his funeral pile: the back of the leaf which

les oppinions des hommes nourris en aucunes singulieres histoires de troyes, Et voy et regarde aussi que de Icelle faire ung recueil Je In-

precedes the 3d book, represents a curious view of the city of Troy ; and at fol. cclxxviij, we have a representation of the same city pillaged by the Greeks.

"The Dedicatory Epistle of Raoul le Fevre, which is adorned with a beautiful miniature-painting of the author presenting his book to Philip Le Bon, contains nothing remarkable—the mode of dividing his work is thus stated by him :

Ou premier liure jetraicteray de saturne et de jupiter, de l'aduenement de troyes et des fais de parseus et de la merueilleuse natiuité de hercules et de la premiere destruction de troyes.

Ou second ie traicteray des labours de hercules en demonstrant comme troyes fut reedifficee et destruite par le dit hercules la seconde fois.

Et ou tiers ie traicteray de la derniere et generale destruction de troyes faicte par les gregois ad cause du ravissement de dame helaine . . . et y adiousterai les fais et grans prouesses du preu hector et de ses freres et aussi traicteray des merueilleuses auantures et perils de mer qui aduinent aux gregois en leur retour, de la mort du noble roy agamenon qui fut duc de lost et des grans fortunes du fort roy vlixes et de sa merueilleuse mort.

"As soon as Raoul le Fevre's work appeared, it was read with avidity, and translations of it were made into several languages. CAXTON, the first English printer, began to translate it into his own tongue, at Bruges in 1468, by order of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, and finished it at Cologne in the year 1471. An anonymous Flemish translation was published speedily afterwards.

"The present manuscript concludes with the following subscription, from which we learn its age, and the name of the skilful artist who executed it.

Finist le Recueil des hystoires de troyes, Contenant la genealogie dicelles. Ensemble les glorieuses prouesses forces et vaillances de hercules. Et aussi les troys destructions de troyes et reedifications de la dicte cite faictes tant par le dit preu hercules comme par les gregois. Escript et furni en lan mil iiijc. iiij^{xxv} (1495) environ le jour de tousains par pierrot gousset escripuint.

"This subscription, or colophon, is followed by the arms of Oettingen, painted on a large scale, and surmounted with a helmet and crest." This beautiful manuscript was sold for 720 livres.

On looking into Gaignat's Catalogue, No. 2339, there appears to be a similar MS. of the *same date*; and if the title of it, and the description of the binding, did not differ, I should suppose it to be the identical book. It was sold for 480 livres.

It remains to notice a few ancient French editions of the *Recueil* published abroad : and the first that I discover is the one printed at Lyons by Topie and Herenberch, in folio, 1490, with wood-cuts. This is called, by Santander, "the first edition with a date, and with the name of place and printer subjoined : it is rare and sought after"—see his *Dict.*

digne ay receu le commandement de tres noble et tres v'tueux prince Philippe par la grace faiseur de toutes graces duc de bourgoingne, de lothrique, de brabant et de lembourch, Conte de flandres, dartois et de bourgoingne, Palatin de haynau de hollande de zeelande et de namur, Marquis du saint empire Seigneur de frise de salins et de malines, Certes Je treuve assez a pensser. Car des histoires dont vueil recueil faire Tout le monde parle p liures translatez du latin en francois moins beaucop que Je nen traiteray, Et aucuns en y a qui sahurten seulement aleurs particuliers liures Pourquoi Je craing escrivere plus que leurs liures ne font mencion, Mais quant Je considere et poise le tres cremeu command de Icelle tres redoubte prince qui est cause deceste oeuvre non pour corriger les liures Ja solempnellement trāslatez Aincois pour augmenter Je me rendray obaissant Et au moins mal que Je pourray feray trois liures qui mis en ung prendront pour nom le recueil des troyennes histoires, Ou premier liure Je traicteray de Saturne et de Jupiter et de laduenemēt de troyes et des

Bibl. Choisi. du xv Siecle, vol. ii. No. 599. Panzer (vol. i. p. 541, No. 87) and Denis (p. 287, No. 2334) have noticed it in a more particular manner than Maittaire (vol. i. p. 520), or De Bure, (No. 3891.) The second edition was printed at the same place by Maillet, in 1494, fol. with cuts. See Panzer and Denis. It should, however be observed, that a French work, under the title of "La Destruction de Troye le grant," was printed about the year 1470—according to Mr. Edwards. See his *Cat.* of 1790, No. 1134.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth editions were printed by the famous Antony Verard, without date (but one of them in 1498, according to the suggestion of De Bure)—Copies of the two first, printed UPON VELLUM, and in exquisite condition, were sold at Gaignat's and La Valliere's sale.—See *Cat. de Gaignat*, No. 2340, and *De La Valliere*, No. 4088.—The former was sold for 531 livres; the latter was claimed at the sale as belonging to the Abbey of St. Germain. Verard's third edition appears to be the one described in *Gaignat's Cat.* No. 2341—"petit en fol." All these editions, in the 15th century, are printed in the Gothic Letter.

Whether the popularity of the work abated, or the curious were sufficiently satisfied with the old editions, cannot now, perhaps, be ascertained: but no new edition of it appeared in the 16th century (that I have been able to discover) till the one published at Lyons, by Antony du Ry, in the Gothic letter, 4to. 1529. See *Cat. de La Valliere*, No. 4089.

Clement, in his *Bibliothèque Curieuse*, &c. has omitted to notice any edition of the Recueil; a work, which one would think would have exactly suited his lively fancy. It is also unnoticed in the last edition of Vogt's *Catalog. Libror. Rarior.* 1793, 8vo.

faiz de perseus. Et de la merueilleuse natiuite de herculez et de la premiere destruction de troyes. Ou second Je traicteray des labeurs de hercules en demonstrant comment troyes fut reedifiee et destruite par ledit Hercules la seconde fois. Et ou tiers Je traicteray de la derreniere et generalle destrucion de troyes faite par les gregois acause du raiissmēt de dame helaine femme de Menelaus. Et y adiousteray les faiz. et grans prouesses du preu hector Et de ses freres qui sont dignes de grant memoire Et aussi traicteray des merueilleuses auantures et perils de mer qui aduindrent aux gregois en leur retour, de la mort du noble roy Agamenon qui fut duc de lost Et des grans fortunes du roy Ulixes et de sa merueilleuse mort Si requier et supplie celui qui est cause de ceste oeuvre Et tous ceuls qui la liront pour oyseuse euitier que se rudement Je metz ma plume es histoires nomēes Il leur plaise auoir regard non a mon poure conceyuoir Aincois alobseur abisme ou Je les ay recueillies par obeissance et soubz toutes tres humbles corrections."

This extraordinarily-rare volume commences with the title as before given, printed in 5 lines ; it contains three books, and has the arguments or introductory matter prefixed to each book. The first book finishes on the reverse of the 118th leaf;—a blank one following it: the second, on the recto of the 85th leaf, with these words, "apres sensuit:" the third, on the reverse of the 80th leaf; followed by the word "Explicit." His Majesty's copy is a thick volume, about eleven inches high; in perfect, and upon the whole, fine condition. According to Santander, the water mark of the paper is that of the Low Countries, and especially of Cologne. Ames, and after him, Herbert, says, that the French edition "has two wooden cuts:" but I have not been able to discover one. The late Duke of Roxburgh obtained an imperfect copy from Mr. Payne's Catalogue of 1794, No. 799; a few leaves of which were given to supply the deficiencies in his Majesty's copy. This book was marked by Mr. Payne at the moderate sum of 5l. 5s. An imperfect copy is in the British Museum. Probably there are not three perfect ones in existence.

Propositio Clarissimi Oratoris. Magistri Jo-
hannis Russell decretorum doctoris ac adtunc
Ambassiatoris xpianissimi Regis Edwardi
dei gracia regis Anglie et Francie ad illustri-
simū principem, Karolum Ducem Burgundie
super susceptione ordinis garterij ꝛc .

d Estimavit nos Illustrissimē princeps Sa-
cra regia magestas ut tue celsitudinī ꝑce-
lebria sui ordinis garterij insignia ad quem ꝑ
collegas illius gloriose societatis tam spectabile
xpiani orbis fastigium uti pulcherrimū futurꝫ
illius ordinis ornamentum dignissimi delectum
est debitis honoribus offeramus. Optantes igitur
i primis ab immortalī deo tanti primordij ꝑꝑos-
peros in eum successus delectat paululum huiꝫ
nouelli fœderis decus. Stilitatem ꝑꝑstāciā ꝑꝑ-
rimari. quatenus nec inanis aut supuacua mi-
litariū collegioꝝ reputetur inuēcio. Habeant ꝑꝑ-
fideles amboꝝ ꝑꝑncipū vnde ꝑꝑaulianiꝫ delectant
ꝑꝑulāri. Nam si res ab nostra memoria ꝑꝑꝑter
ꝑꝑustitatem remotas. ex litterarꝫ monimentis

Fac-simile of the first page of the work above entitled; printed by Caxton.

From a unique copy in the possession of the Marquis of Blandford.

A word or two remains to be said about the *Original* of this once celebrated romance. Homer, as the reader will naturally imagine, is the fountain head of it; but his pure stream has been so polluted by the absurdities of Dares* and Dictys, and, in the 13th century, by the licentiousness of Guido de Colonna, that it has no pretensions whatever to a faithful historical legend. We are “not only presented in this piece with the habits of feudal life, and the practices of chivalry, but with a multitude of oriental fictions, and Arabian traditions. Medea gives to Jason, when he is going to combat the brazen bulls, and to lull the dragon who guarded the golden fleece asleep, a marvellous ring; in which was a gem whose virtue could destroy the efficacy of poison, and render the wearer invisible. It was the same sort of precious stone, adds our author, which Virgil celebrates, and which Venus sent her son Æneas, that he might enter Carthage unseen. Another of Medea’s presents to Jason, to assist him in this perilous atchievement, is a silver image, or talisman, which defeated all the powers of incantation, and was framed according to the principles of astronomy. The hall of King Priam is illuminated at night by a prodigious carbuncle, placed among sapphires, rubies and pearls, on the crown of a golden statue of Jupiter, fifteen cubits high. In the court of the palace, was a tree made by magic, whose trunk was twelve cubits high; the branches, which overshadowed distant plains, were alternately of solid gold and silver, blossomed with gems of various hues, which

* His contemptible character, as a writer, is thus delineated by the learned Hoffman: “Scriptor est, in quo neque eruditionem, nec judicium, neque ullam elocutionis elegantiam invenias, &c. In enarratione totius historiæ ferè ubique abit ab antiquitate, pauca similia vero de suo adstruit, absurda et inconsequentia plurima,” &c. *Lexicon Universale*, tom. ii. p. 16. edit. 1698. Dares was a Trojan priest, and lived during the siege of Troy, of which he wrote the history in Greek. This history was extant in the time of Ælian. The Latin translation, absurdly attributed to Corn. Nepos, is allowed to be spurious. The name of Dictys, as the joint author of this history, is perfectly fictitious. See Lempriere’s judicious abridgement of the account of both Dares and Dictys—especially of the latter. *Classical Dictionary*, edit. 4to. 1804.

were renewed every day. Most of these extravagances, and a thousand more, are in GUIDO DE COLONNA, who lived when this mode of fabling was at its height, &c." "Clothed with these new inventions, this favourite tale descended to later times. Yet it appears not only with these, but with an infinite variety of other embellishments, not fabricated by the fertile genius of Colonna, but adopted from French enlargements of Colonna, and incorporated from romances, on other subjects, in the French RECUEIL DE TROY, written by a French Ecclesiastic Raoul le Fevre, about the year 1464, and translated by Caxton." * Thus far Warton.

Colonna's work, according to Fabricius,† was written in Latin in the year 1287. A French MS. version, on the authority of Lydgate's Prologue to his poem of the Troye Boke‡, existed soon after the year 1300. It was quickly translated into other languages; and the annals of printing in the 15th century supply us with three

* "At length," says Warton, "Guido de Colonna, a native of Messina in Sicily, a learned civilian, and no contemptible Italian poet, about the year 1260, engrafting on Dares and Dictys many new romantic inventions, which the taste of his age dictated, and which the connection between Grecian and Gothic fiction easily admitted; at the same time comprehending in his plan the Theban and Argonautic stories from Ovid, Statius, and Valerius Flaccus, compiled a grand prose romance in Latin, containing fifteen books, and entitled in most manuscripts *Historia de Bello Trojano*. It was written at the request of Matthew de Porta, archbishop of Salerno. Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis seem to have been in some measure superseded by this improved and comprehensive history of the Grecian heroes: and from this period Achilles, Jason, and Hercules were adopted into romance, and celebrated in common with Lancelot, Rowland, Gawain, Oliver, and other christian champions, whom they so nearly resembled in the extravagance of their adventures." *Hist. Engl. Poetry*, vol. i. 126. If Warton had examined Maittaire, vol. i. 374, or Schwarz, vol. ii. 175 he would not have pronounced the Strasbourg edition of 1486 to be the first which was printed in the Latin language. *Ibid.* note b: and vol. ii. 90-91. See also the conclusion of note u at page 82. "Guido has indeed made Dictys nothing more than the ground work of his story."

† *Bibliotheca Latina Mediæ et Infimæ Ætatis*. vol. iii. lib. vii. 383. Edit. 1734-46, 8vo.

‡ Warton, in the 5th section of the second volume of his H. E. P. has given a diffuse and amusing analysis of this celebrated work of Lydgate, of which particular mention is made in my account of the first printed edition of it by Pynson, A. D. 1513.

Dutch, two German, eight French, and two Italian editions. At the beginning of the 16th century appeared two Spanish translations, by Petro Nunnez Delgado, in 1512-19, folio. Of the original Latin, Panzer enumerates about nine editions in the 15th century—which would not make it so scarce a work as Warton intimates.* See Panzer's *Annal. Typog.* vol. v. 160: vii. 121: viii. 316. Maittaire is less copious in his list. But consult the excellent *Bibliotheca Sicula Mongitoris*. vol. i. 265—to which both Fabricius and Maittaire seem to have been equally indebted.

2. PROPOSITIO Clarissimi Oratoris Magistri JOHANNIS RUSSELL decretorum doctoris ac adtunc Ambasiatoris xp̄anissimi Regis Edwardi dei gracia regis Anglie et Francie ad illustrissimū principem Karolum ducem Burgundie super susceptione ordinis garterij etc. 4to. *Without Printer's Name, Date, or Place.*

Some account of this curious article appeared in the eighth volume of the *Censurā Literaria*, p. 351, &c.; from which the Public were led to expect a fuller description of it in the present work. By the kindness of the Marquis of Blandford, who has favoured me with the loan of it, I am enabled to gratify the curious with a full (and I trust satisfactory) account: at the same time it would be injustice to the publication just referred to, not to avail myself of its assistance where it may be necessary. Although no printer's name is affixed to this oration, a glance upon the annexed plate will convince those, who are conversant with early typography, that it is undoubtedly the production of Caxton's press; and that the types are the same with which the "JASON," the "DICTES AND SAYINGES," the "VIRGIL," and the greater number of his books, were printed. As to the period of its impression, that was most probably just after the

* *History of English Poetry*, vol. ii. 82. Note u.

knighthood of Charles Duke of Burgundy ; which ceremony, from the account below,* we find to have taken place in the year 1469.

The speech of the orator, who officiated as Garter King at Arms, and which curiously enough introduces the Knights of the Round Table and the Holy Trinity in the same oration, is literally as follows ;

“ Destinavit nos Illustrissimē princeps Sacra regia magestas vt tue celsitudini pcelebria sui ordinis garterij insignia ad quem per collegas illius gloriose societatis tam spectabile xpiani orbis fastigium vti pulcherrimū futurū illius ordinis ornamentum dignissimi deletum est debitis honoribus offeramus. Optantes igitur ī primis ab īmortali deo tanti primordij prosperos in eum successus delectat pau-

* “ The certificate of Charles Duke of Burgundy receiving the order of the Garter is dated February 4th 1469—“ Charles par le Grace de Dieu Duc de Bourgogne &c Certifications et faisons scavoir a tous que par le Mains de Messire Galliard Seigneur de Duras, Chevalier Thomas Vaghan Tresorier de la Chambre, Maister JEHAN RUSSELL Docteur en Decret Arche diacre de Berkshire et Jarretier Roi d'Armes, conseilliers et Ambassadeurs de treshault et tres puissant Prince Edward &c &c Donnie en nostre Ville de Grand soubz nestre Grant seel le 4 jour de Fevrier l'An de Grace 1469”—*Appx. to Ashmole's Order of the Garter*, No. cxiv. See also *Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. v. pt. ii. p. 173. edit. 1745, where it is more methodically stated. “ At a ceremony, not only of English origin, but performed by Englishmen, a natural presumption arises that Caxton would of course be present ; and that as he was then engaged in various literary pursuits, out of compliment to his countryman, John Russel the orator, and acting under the immediate sanction and patronage of the Dutchess, he would produce a specimen of his art either as a curiosity of itself, or in compliment to the ceremony, and perpetuating an eulogium upon an order of which her brother and his royal master was sovereign.” Thus far the *Censura Literaria*.

The custom of printing Ordinances, Institutions, Orations, and Sermons, is sufficiently ancient to warrant the conclusion that Caxton printed the above speech soon after its delivery. This custom obtains at the present day ; and Russell's oration was most probably printed, not so much from “ friendship to its author,” or “ as a curiosity of itself,” but from the prospect of gain in dispersing many copies of a speech which was connected with so popular an event. Caxton had already tried his strength, on a larger scale, in the production of the “ *Recueil* ;” and probably had before printed many fugitive pieces, which have now escaped us. At any rate this oration is the earliest known specimen extant of the type with which it is printed ; and of which Caxton might not have then had so ample a font as of the letter of the *Recueil*. Of these types a more particular account will be found in the *LIFE OF CAXTON* ; for which *vide ante*.

lulum huius nouelli federis decus, vtilitatem prestāciam que rimari, quatenus nec inanis aut supuacua militariū collegiorum reputetur inuēcio. Habeant que fideles amborum principū vnde peculiarius debeant g̃tulari. Nam si res ab nostra memoria propter vetustatem remotas, ex litterarum monumentis repetere curavemus, Plerasque firmissiās societates, multas sanctissiās amicitias, ligas, cōcordias, quibus huāne sepenumero nacōnes, vltro citoque adiute releuate que fuerint, Corā ī mediū affere fas foret, tanta siquidē historiarū copia ut ipas ānumerātes facilius tempore quā multitudine careremū, tot eīm ab exordio nascenciū populorū extitere cause principes federādi, tot occasiones hominem homini cōsiliandi, tot denique necessitates, eciā diversarū linguarū gentes ad vnus animi motum cōsonanciā que reducendi Qd si hac cōsuetudine spreta singuli suorū sensuū procerima ducerētur, alter que alterius quod absit consorciū amiciā ve horreret, quid aliud quin ipm denuo tempus, de quo Cicero ī rethoricis cōmemorat rediisse putaremus, qū homines tectis silvestribus abditi sparsim ī agris bestiarū more vagabātur, et sibi victu ferino vitā inhumanit̃ ppagabant. Sed tandē subintravit melioris racōis vsus, dum homo se animal sociale plasmatū quandā inter omēs cognacōem, qua hominē homini insidiari nephas sit natura ipsa constitutā intelligens, quodā mutue associationis desiderio indies vehementē afficitur. Ex quo igitur socialis nature fonte, omnis ordo, omnis religio, omnis vnanimis cetus scaturit; ab inde que processit, vt qū plurimi militares viri quorū natura vt plurimū ferox esse solet, modestiam, obedienciā que pene religiosam profitentis diuinis aliquociens rebus cultu et habitu, orādo, obsēcrādo, offerendo mirā celebritate inseruiavit taliter quidē dupliciū officiorū vicissitudinem moderantes vt et in p̃liis strenuitate, in tēplo vera deuotione ac pietate quoslibet antecellant. Et ne nimis longe huius p̃cellentis obseruantie queramus exēpla, post ipsam rotunde tabule fraternitatē, in qua temporibus victoriosissimi regis arthuri, tot reges, tot principes, ac barones militaribus insigniti cingulis cōuiuebant duo seorsū egregia militanciū collegia decencius honorificentius que stabilita sunt, vnū ab illustrissimo Edwardo tercio illius noīe anglorū rege, Alterum ab excellentissimo

genitore tuò Philippo duce, Duobus siquidem principibus sempiterna recordatione dignis, Que nimirum collegia sicuti iam diu maioris prestancioris que fame inter cetera computari meruerant, Ita et rebus ipsis ac personarū meritis aliorū quorumlibet apparatusum pompam quinimo et omnē similem ornatū seculi superare creduntur, Nec vllis unquā temporibus aut hunc aut illum ordinē celebracōnem fuisse credimus, quam presenti etate nostra in qua vtrique principi moderno beneplacitū esse videmus Alterius se se mutuo suorum ordinum decorare insigniis, vt qui in uno presidet, in altero quodāmodo se summittat, sicque suum carum habeat vt et reliquum ad quem applicari voluit pariter honorabilē ipso suo facto ostendere nō detractet. Hec sunt magnifice princeps et tua et regis mei in eternū recolenda preconia, Hec fortissima fraternitatis vincula verissima dilectione signa, Iam em̄ nostri gloriosissimi Edwardi regium collum velleris aurei torque circumdatur. Et iam potentissimi ducis principis procul dubio, iusticia, fide, veritate, ac omnium rerum ordine probatissimi et insignis Generosum genu spectabilis garterij cingulo accingetur Ille vero rex noster tuarum dignitatum zelator feruentissimus, ordinem tuum sincerum colit et veneratur. Tua sublimitas amplexabitur viscerose observabit que suum. Ille tuus confrater in ordine tuo, tu illius consors in ordine suo. Et ecce res nova maxima vtriusque subditorum gratulatione digna, quando duo tanti principes semel sororis contubernio fratres effecti iam, iam iterum atque tercio in aliud legitimū genus fraternitatis coincidunt. Nam quis non speret individue Trinitatis opus existere, sua que opitulante gracia divisionem capere non debere. Hanc triformis trinitatis plantacionē novam meo arbitrio quis inuidet aut aliter videt. Hec est plantatio celestis que non eradicabitur, quoniam vt sapiētis dicto fidem habeamus. Funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur. Eya ergo Inuictissime princeps suscipiat iā libens illa seculo nostro vince spectata magnificencia tua xp̄ianissimi bellatoris Georgii sancti religionem, accingere cingulo milicie societatis eius, Induere clamidem ordinis quasi armaturam fidei ipsius, honoret amodo vniuersum collegium tue singularis psone meritum singulare, vt qui hactenus in virtutē crucis piissimi andree maximorū hos-

tium tociens incredibilis victor euaseras, De cetero glorioso isto martire nouo accumulato patrono, valeat tua in eum sancta devotio simul et in ipsius viuifico signo ubi res expostulauerit egregie triūphare ad dei laudem et exaltationem fidei xpiane, nostrique serenissimi regis robor solacium revelationem que, et gloriam plebis sue. amen.

This Oration of nearly five quarto pages and a half (22 lines to a full page) forms the whole of the production under discussion ; which is printed with a fine black ink on excellent paper, and exhibits one of the most elegant specimens extant of Caxton's press. It has a small star or cross occasionally by way of full stop, and an oblique stroke uniformly instead of the comma. It begins on the reverse of the first leaf, and ends on the recto of the fourth. The Marquis of Blandford obtained this unique copy from the first part of the library, sold by auction, belonging to the late Mr. Brand, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries ; who had thus remarked on a fly leaf : " nearly at the end of this book * is a singular curiosity ; 5 pages and a half are printed from very early types or blocks." It was wholly unknown to Lewis, Oldys, Ames, and Herbert.

* This book, with the exception of the above printed oration, is filled with MS. partly written on vellum and partly on paper : containing about 140 leaves. " It seems to have been a common place book of some literary scribe at the infancy of printing." *Cens. Literar.* *ibid.* According to Mr. Douce, the weight of whose authority on these subjects is sufficiently attested, these MS. extracts contain 1. Some pieces by Richard hermit of Hampole, on the Canticles. 2. A Life of St. Catharine. 3. An account of the last Supper, and an amplified description of the passion of Christ, and of his crucifixion ; divided into hours, apparently for the service of the Romish Church. 4. Some wretched but pious lines including the Virgin's lamentation for the death of her Son ; the burden of which is, " She sobbed, that her Son was bobbed, and of his life robbed." 5. Vision of St. Brigit. 6. Six virtuous questions and answers by some holy and wise clerks at Rome. 7. Story of St. Jerome and his Lion, from the *Vitus Patrum*. 8. Augustinus de laude psalmodum. 9. De Jejunio. 10. Legend of Archbishop Sampson. 11. English Verses on the Virgin Mary. 12. Extract from the testament of the xii patriarchs ; a work translated out of the Greek into Latin by Robert Grosteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1242. 13. Account of the authors of the various books in the Bible, and of the language in which the Gospels and other parts of the New Testament were written.

3. HERE begynneth the volume intituled and named the RECUYELL OF THE HISTORYES OF TROYE, composed and drawen out of diuerce bookes of latyn in to frensshe by the ryght venerable persone and worshipfull man. Raoul le ffeure. preest and chapelayn vnto the ryght noble glorious and myghty prynce in his tyme Phelip duc of Bourgoyne of Braband &c In the yere of the Incarnacion of our Lord god a thousand foure honderd sixty and foure, And translated and drawn out of frensshe in to englisshe by Willyam Caxton mercer of the cyte of London, at the comaūdemēt of the ryght hye myghty and vertuose Pryncesse hys redoubtyd lady. Margarete by the grace of god Duchesse of Bourgoyne of Lotryk of Braband &c. Whyche sayd translacion and werke was begonne in Brugis in the Countee of. fflaundes the fyrst day of marche the yere of the Incarnacion of our said lord god a thousand foure honderd sixty and eyghte, *And ended and fynisshed in the holy cyte of Colen the .xix. day of septeembre the yere of our sayd lord god a thousand foure honderd sixty and enleuen &c.**

On the back of this title, which is printed in red ink, commences the following prologue: this I shall give in its ancient form, as a specimen of the orthography of the age.

“ Whan I remembre that euery man is bounden by the comandement & counceyll of the wyse man to eschewe slouthe and ydlenes whyche is moder and nourysshar of vices and ought to put my self vnto vertuous occupacion and besynesse, Than I hauynge no grete

* “ The date mentioned in the title page indicates only the time of beginning and ending the translation. However no doubt it was printed soon after the translation was finished; if not in the same year, early in the next, and at Cologne.”

HERBERT'S *Additions*, p. 1765.

charge or occupacion followyng the sayd councyl toke a frensshe booke and redde therin many straunge meruellous historyes where in I had great pleasyr and delyte, as well for the nouelte of the same as for the fayr langage of the frensshe whyche was in prose so well and compendiously sette and wreton, me thought I vnderstood the sentence and substance of euery mater, And for so moche as this booke was newe and late maad and drawen in to frensshe and neuer had seen hit in oure englissh tonge, I thought in my self hit shold be a good besynes to translate hyt into oure englissh, to thende that hyt myght be had as well in the royaume of Englund as in other landes, and also for to passe therewyth the tyme and thus concluded in my self to begynne this sayd werke, and forthwith toke penne and ynke and began boldly to renne forth as blynde bayard in thys presente werke whiche is named the recuyel of the troyan historyes And afterwarde whan I rememberyd my self of my symplenes and vnperfightnes that I had in bothe langages, that is to wete in frensshe and in englissh for in france was I neuer, and was born and lerned myn englissh in kente in the weald * where I doubte not is spoken as brode and rude englissh as is in any place of Englund and have continued by the space of .xxx.† yere for the most parte in the contres of Braband. flandres holand and zeland and thus whan alle thyse thynges cam to fore me aftyr that y had made and wretyn a fyve or six quayers y fyll in dispayr of thys werke and purposid no more to

* This might occasion T. Creed, who printed the third edition of the said *Troy History*, in 4to. 1607, to address his Readers thus; "And whereas, before time the translator, William Caxton, being (as it seemeth) no Englishman, had left very many words mere French, and sentences so improperly Englished, that it was hard to understand, we have caused them to be made plainer English, &c." HERBERT. p. 6. note o.

† "Query, whether these xxx years were accomplished when he began to translate the *Recuyel*, or when he printed? As this is mentioned in his prologue, which doubtless was not written till after the translation was finished, the probability seems rather to incline to the latter." *Ibid.* The solution of the question is of little importance. A year or two only is gained either way: but I incline to the former circumstance—the translating, and not the printing.

haue contynuyd therein and the quayers leyd a part and in two yere aftyr laboured no more in thys werke And was fully in wyll to have lefte hyt. tyll on a time it fortunēd that the ryght hygh excellent and right vertuous prynces my ryght redoughted lady my lady Margarete by the grace of god suster vnto the kynge of englond and of frāce. my souerayn lord, Duchesse of Bourgoine of Lotryk. of brabant. of lymburgh. and of luxenburgh Countes of flādes of artoys and of burgoine Palatine of heynewd of holand of Zeland and of Namur Marquesse of the holy empire. lady of ffryse of salins and of mechlyn sente for me to speke wyth her good grace of diuerce maters among the whyche y lete her hyenes haue knowleche of the foresaid begynnyng of this werke whiche anone comanded me to shewe the sayd. v. or. vi. quayers to her sayd grace and whan she had seen hem. anone she fonde defaute * in myn englisshe whiche sche comāded me to amende ād more ouer comanded me straitly to contynue and make an ende of the resydue than not translated. whos dredfull comādemēt y durste in no wyse disobey becāse y am a seruāt vnto her sayd grace and resseiuē of her yerly ffee and other many goode and grete benefets. and also hope many moo to resseyue of her highnes but forthwith wente and labouryde in the said translacion aftyr my symple and poor conning al so nigh as y can following myn auctour mekely beseechyng the bounteous hyenes of my said lady that of her benyuolence liste to accepte and take in gree this symple and rude werke here following. and yf ther be ony thyng wreton or sayd to her playsir. y shall thynke my labour well employed and were as ther is defawte. that she arette hyt to the symplenes of my connyng whiche is ful small in this behalue and requyre and praye alle them that shall rede this said werke to correcte hyt and to hold me ex-

* "What the *defaute* was, which the Lady Margaret found in Caxton's *Englisshe*, is not specified. Her Ladyship might perhaps be as nice a *purist* as the Attic herb-woman, who detected Theophrastus for a stranger. No modern critic, I believe, will pretend to lay down the peculiarities of the Kentish dialect from the writings of Caxton." Tyrwhitt's *Vindication of the Appx. to the Poems, called Rowley's*. 1782. 8vo. p. 5. note.

cusid of the rude & symple translacion And thus y ende my prologue. . .” This is succeeded by a prologue of Raoul le Fevre.

At the end of the second book is another piece of Caxton’s, which runs thus :

“ Thus endith the seconde book of the recule of the histories of Troys, Whiche bookes were late translated in to frensshe out of latyn, by the labour of the venerable persone raoul le feure preest as a fore is said, And by me indigne and vnworthy translated in to this rude englissh, by the comandement of my said redoubtid lady duches of Bourgone: And for as moche as I suppose the said two bokes ben not had to fore this tyme in oure englissh langage, therefore I had the better will to accomplishe the said werke, whiche werke was begonne in Brugis, & contynued in gaunt And finysshid in Coleyn In tyme of the troublous world, and of the great deuysions beyng and reygnyng as well in the royames of englond and fraunce as in all other places vnyuersally thurgh the world that is to wete the yere of our lord a thousand four honderd lxxi. and as for the thirde book whiche tretith of the generall and last destruccōn of Troye hit nedeth not to translate hit in to englissh, ffor as moche as that worshipfull and religyō man dan John lidgate monke of Burye dide translate hit but late, after whos werke I fere to take vpon me that am not worthy to bere his penner & ynke horne after hym. to medle me in that werke. But yet for as moche as I am bounde to contemprare my sayd ladyes good grace and also that his werke is in ryme, and as ferre as I knowe hit is not had in prose in our tonge, And also paraventure, he translated after some other Auctor than this is, And yet for as moche as dyuerce men ben of dyuerce desyres. some to rede in ryme and metre. and some in prose And also be cause that I have now god leyzer beyng in Coleyn And haue none other thyng to doo at this tyme In eschewyng of ydlenes moder of all vices. I have delibered in my self for the contemplacion of my sayd redoubtid lady to take this laboure in hand by the suffrance and helpe of almyghty god, whom I mekely supplye to gyue me grace to accomplysshe nit

to the playsir of her that is causer thereof and that she resseyue hit in gre of me her faithfull trewe and most humble seruant &c.

Thus endeth the seconde book."

The title of the third book is printed in red ink : at the end of this book, the following curious passage is subjoined :

" Thus ende I this book whyche I have translated after myn auctor as nyghe as god hath gyuen me connyng to whom be gyuen the laude and preysing, And for as moche as in the wrytyng of the same my penne is worn, myn hande wery & not stedfast myn eyen dimed with ouermuche lokyng on the whit paper, and my corage not so prone and redy to laboure as hit hath been, and that age crepeth on me dayly and feebleth all the bodye, and also be cause I have promysid to dyuerce gentilmen and to my frendes to addresse to hem as hastely as I myght this sayd book, Therfor I have practysed & lerned at my grete charge and dispense to ordeyne this said book in prynte after the maner & forme as ye may here see, and is not wretton with penne and ynke as other bokes ben, to thende that euery man may haue them attones, ffor all the books of this story, named the Recule of the historyes of Troyes thus enprynted as ye here see were begonne in oon day, and also fynyshid in oon day,* whiche booke I

* "This seems calculated to appear the more marvellous to those who did not well understand the method of printing ; as if the bookes had all been completed in one day."

HERBERT. p. 8. note q.

Lewis, in his *Life of Caxton*, (p. 6.) has the following observations. " Thus it is observed of Faust and Schæffer, the very first practisers of this art of printing, that they used to advertise the public, at the end of their first works from Mentz, that they were '*non atramento plumali canna neque ærea*,' 'not drawn or written with a pen and ink,' as all books had been before, but made by a new art or invention of printing or stamping them by characters, or types of metal set in forms ; by which means the several sheets were done all at once, and not line by line, as when they are written." Nearly the same observations are made by Dr. Middleton in his *Dissertation on the Origin of Printing*, p. 16 ; and Oldys, in his *Life of Caxton in the Biogr. Britan.* has freely copied from both. With submission, however, to these respectable writers, their illustrations are not quite in point ; for these only go to prove that the book was *printed* and not *written*. The question

presented to my sayd redoubtid lady as a fore is sayd. And she hath well acceptid hit, and largely rewarded me, wherefore I beseche almyghty god to rewarde her euerlastyng blisse after this lyf. Praying her said grace and all them that shall rede this book not to des-

is, what Caxton meant by saying that the book was "begun and finished in one day?" Did he wish his countrymen to believe that the translation of Le Fevre's book was absolutely printed in 24 hours? We know that such a thing is impracticable; even if a printer had 34 presses at work, which is twice the number that Plantin is said to have used. The author of the 4th volume of the *Dictionnaire Bibliographique* (1802, 8vo. p. 348) praises Didot for his activity and zeal in printing 250 copies of the folio edition of Racine, (1801. 3 volumes) in the space of *one year*—but what is the merit of this activity compared with Caxton's, who could print 778 folio pages in "*one day*?"

We must have recourse then to the only rational conclusion which presents itself, and it is this. Caxton, in many of his colophons, has imitated those of the ancient printers. When he talks of "his hands being weary, and his eyes dimmed with overmuch looking," he had probably in recollection the last verse but one of the colophon of the Editio princeps of Pliny's Natural History—"Fessa manus quondam moneo: calamusque quiescat." See Panzer's *Annales Typog.* vol. iii. 63. When he says "it is not written with pen and ink as other books be," he might have thought of the colophons of the first Mentz Psalters, and of the Catholicon (to say nothing of other ancient books) which the reader will see extracted in Wurdwein's *Bibliotheca Moguntina*, 1787, 4to. p. 55–66. Lastly, when he avows that "his book is begun and finished in one day," he probably borrowed the style of Udalricus Gallus, or Hahn, a knowing German printer, who came to Rome about the year 1470, and printed some of the first and most valuable books in the 15th century. See La Caille *Hist. de L'Imp. et De La Librairie* 1689, 4to. p. 17. I subjoin a few of Gallus's colophonic verses, that the reader may judge for himself whether Caxton did not imitate them, and whether the expressions of both printers are not to be considered as purely marvellous and hyperbolic—to enhance the importance of the newly discovered art of printing.

Imprimit ille die quantum non scribitur anno.

Ingenio: haud noceas: omnia vincit homo.

Plutarch; Cicero's Orat. Philip. Livy; Juvenal—A.D. 1470.

See Audiffredi *Edit. Roman.* 1783, 4to. p. 32. 39.

Ego Udalricus Gallus sine calamo

aut pennis eundem Librum impressi.—Santii *Hist. Universal*, 1470.

See La Caille *ibid.* and the boastful colophon of Gallus subjoined to an edition of Laurentius Valla, printed in 1471—as extracted by Laire in his *Specimen Hist. Typogr. Romanae* 1776, 8vo. p. 31.

daigne the symple and rude werke. neither to repleye against the sayyng of the maters towchyd in this book, thauwh hyt acorde not vnto the translacōn of other which haue wreton hit, ffor dyuerce men haue made dyuerce bookes, whiche in all poyntes acorde not as Dictes. Dares. and Homerus for dictes & homerus as grekes sayn and wryten fauorably for the grekes, and gyue to them more worship than to the troians, And Dares wryteth otherwyse than they doo, And also as for the propre names, hit is no wonder that they acorde not, ffor some oon neme in thyse dayes haue dyuerce equyuocacions after the contrees that they dwlle in, but alle acorde in conclusion the generall destruccion of that noble cyte of Troye, And the deth of so many noble prynces as kynges dukes erles barons. knyghtes and comyn peple and the ruine irreperable of that cyte that neuer syn was redefyed which may be ensample to all men duryng the world how dredefull and leopardous it is to begynne a warre and what hormones. losses. and deth followeth. Terfore thapostle saith all that is wreton is wreton to our doctrine, whyche doctryne for the comyn wele I beseeche god may be taken in suche place and tyme as shall be moste nedefull in encrecyng of peas loue and charyte whyche graunte vs he that suffryd for the same to be crucyfied on the rood tree, And saye we alle Amen for charyte."

After the above, on the last leaf, are the following fourteen Latin verses.

" Pergama flere volo. fata danais data solo
 Solo capta dolo. capta redacta solo
 Causa mali talis. meretrix fuit exicialis
 femina letalis. femina plena malis
 Si fueris lota. si vita sequens bona tota
 Si eris ignota. non eris absq; nota
 Passa prius paridem. pidis modo thesia pridem
 Es factura fidem. ne redeas in idem
 Rumor de veteri. faciet ventura timeri
 Cras poterunt fieri. turpia sicut heri

Scena quid euadis. morti qui cetera tradis
 Cur tu non cladis. concia clade cadis
 ffemina digna mori. reamatur amore priori
 Reddita victori. deliciis q; thori"

At the end of Raoul le Fevre's prologue, in red ink, —

"The begynnyng of this book sheweth the Genelagye of Saturne and of the paccion and promys that he maad to his broder Tytan. and how he toke warre mortel agayn Iubyter his owen sone"

This is the first book printed in the English language. Herbert says it was "not printed in England, yet being printed by Caxton, and being full of information, Mr. Ames began with it, and hoped that it would be favourably received." In his Additions, [p. 1765] he properly observes, that "it is without initial-capital letters, signatures, catchwords, numerals or figures to the leaves or pages: but it contains 778 pages, as told over by Mr. Rundal Minshull, library keeper to the late Earl of Oxford, who published, about the year 1740, 'Proposals for printing by subscription, an account of all the books printed by William Caxton, who was the first printer in England,' &c. See Bibl. West. n°. 1909.

One Robert Braham, in his Epistle to the Reader prefixed before Lydgate's "*Troye Boke*," printed by Marshe in 1555, is rather severe against our venerable typographer for his impression of this work. He says, "If a man studious of that history [the Trojan War] should seek to find the same in the doings of WILLIAM CAXTON, in his *leawde* [idle] *recueil of Troye*, what should he then find think you? Assuredly none other thing but a long tedious and brainless babbling, tending to no end, nor having any certain beginning: but proceeding therein as an idiot in his folly, that cannot make an end till he be bidden. Much like the foolish and unsavoury doings of Orestes, whom Juvenal remembereth—which CAXTON's *recueil*, who so list with judgment peruse, shall rather think his doings worthy to be numbered amongst the trifling tales and 'barrayne

luerdries' of Robin Hood and Bevis of Hampton, than remain as a monument of so worthy an history."

How far Braham was justified in these remarks, from the superiority of the fable and style adopted by his favourite Lydgate, the reader will judge from the subjoined extracts *—which have

* SPECIMENS OF CAXTON'S TRANSLATION.

Death of Hercules.

'These dolorous and sorrowful words accomplished, Hercules took his club and cast it into the fire, that was made ready for to make his sacrifice. After, he gave to Philotes his bow and his arrows: And, syn, he prayed him that he would recommend him to Iole and to his friends—And then feeling that his life had no more for to sojourn, he took leave of Philotes—and then, as all brente and sudden, he laid him down in the fire; lifting his hands and his eyes unto the heaven—and there consumed the course of his glorious life.'

Second Book: last leaf but two.

Dialogue between Priam and Æneas.

'Then were there many Trojans that would have run upon the Greeks, and drew their swords for to have slain them—But the King Pryant [Priam] detoured them: and said to them that they should let two fools see their folly—and that it was the nature of a fool to shew folly, and to a wise man to suffer it.' 'Ha ha Sire, said Æneas, what is that that ye say? men should shew to a fool his folly!?' and, truly, if it were not in your presence, this fellow that hath spoken so foolishly before you, should receive his death by my hand!

Third book, fol. 29.

Death of Patroclus.

When all the battles were ordained on that one side and on that other, and was nothing to do but to assemble, then advanced him Hector, all there first—and Patroclus came against him as much as his horse might reiu; and smote him so sprongly with his spear in his shield, that he pierced it throughout—but more harm did he none. Then Hector assailed Patroclus with his sword, and gave him so great a stroke upon his head that he cleft it in two pieces, and Patroclus fell down dead to the ground. When Hector saw him dead, he coveted his arms, for they were right quent and rich, and alighted down off his horse for to take them—But the King Menon (Agamemnon) came upon him with three thousand good knights for to defend the King Patroclus against Hector; and said to him thus 'Ha! a wolf ravishing and insatiable—Certes thee behoveth to seek thy prey in some other place, for here gettest thou none!' And then they assailed him on all sides, and would have taken from him *Galathea*, his horse, but Hector by his prowess remounted, &c.

Third Book, fol. 38. reverse.

have been carefully extracted by me from the copy in his Majesty's possession. Herbert observes (p. 5. note m) that he compared the orthography of two copies of this work, one belonging to Mr. West,

Hector and Ajax at the ships.

'As they [Hector and Ajax] were fighting, they spake together, and thereby Hector knew that he was his *Cousin German*, son of his aunt. And then Hector for curtesy embraced him in his arms, and made him great cheer—and offered to him to do all his pleasure, if he desired one thing of him—and prayed him that he would come to Troy with him for to see his lineage of his mother's side. But the said Thelamon, that intended nothing but to his advantage, said that he would not go at this time—but prayed to Hector, saying, that if he loved him so much as he said, that he would for his sake and at his instance do cease the battle for that day, and that the Trojans should leave the Greeks in peace. The unhappy Hector accorded to him his request; and blew an horn, and made all his people to withdraw into the city.'

Third book fol. 43, reverse.

Hector's departure for battle, before his fatal encounter with Achilles. The supplications of his wife and mother.

'It happened that day was fair and clear, and the Trojans armed them, and Troilus issued first to the battle. After him, Æneas—after, Paris, Deïophobus, Poledamus, and the King Sarpedon, the King Epistropus, the King Trois, and the King Philomenus: And after all, the princes that were coming in the aid of the Trojans; each man in good ordinance. And the King Priam sent to HECTOR that he would keep him well that day from going to battle. Wherefore Hector was angry, and said to his wife many words reproachable, as he that knew well that this defence came by her request—howbeit, notwithstanding this defence, he armed him. And when Andromeda [Andromache] saw him armed, she took her little children, and fell down to the feet of her husband, and prayed him humbly that he would take off his arms—but he would not do it. And than she said to him 'at the least, if ye will not have mercy on *me*, so have pity of your *little children*—that I and they die not a bitter death, or that we shall be led in servitude and bondage into strange countries.' With this point came upon them the queen Hecuba, and the queen Helen, and the sister of Hector. And they kneeled down tofore his feet, and prayed him with weeping tears, that he would do off his harness, and unarm him, and come with them into the hall. But never would he do it for their prayers; but descended from the palace thus armed as he was, and took his horse and would have gone to the battle. But at the request of Andromeda, the king Priam came running anon, and took him by the bridle, and said to him so many things of one and other, that he made him to return—but nowise he would not unarm him.'

Hector afterwards gets intelligence of the death of his friend Margareton, whom

the other to Mr. Tutet, with the extracts made from one in the *Biographia Britannica* (old edition), and he found them vary so much as to induce him to suppose there had been "more than one edition of this book:" but I have no doubt he was led to this conclusion by

Achilles slew—this provokes him to fight; 'and he went him to the battle that his father knew not of.'

Encounter between Hector and Achilles; 'in the which Hector bare Achilles to the ground twice.'

'Hector ordained his battles in likewise, and set in the first Troilus; and in all the other he set good captains and hardy, and made all the battles to issue out; and he set himself in the front tofore. And when Achilles saw him he ran against him—and Hector against him—that they smote each other to the earth right sore. Hector remounted first, and left Achilles lying on the earth; and smote in among the other in the most greatest prees. And he caught no knight but he slew him, or beat him down—and went throughout the battle all made red of the blood of them that he had slain. When Achilles was remounted, he thrust in among the Trojans in the greatest prees, and slew many, and he went so far that he encountered Hector again—and he ran to him—and Hector to him. But Achilles was borne down to the ground—and Hector would have taken his horse, but he might not for the great succours that Achilles had. When he was remounted, he assailed Hector with his sword, and gave so great strokes to Hector, that nigh he had beaten him: but Hector gave to him so great a stroke upon the helm, that he enfoundered [confounded] him, and made the blood spring out of his head. Thus was the battle mortal between the two knights, and if they had not been departed [separated] that one or that other had be slain; but their people departed them.'

Third book, fol. 44, rev.

Death of Hector.

'When Achilles saw that Hector slew thus the nobles of greece, and so many other that it was marvail to behold, he thought that if Hector were not slain that the Greeks should never have victory—and also for as much as he had slain many kings and princes—he ran upon him marvellously and a noble Duke of Greece with him named Polyceus, and was come for the love of Achilles, the which had promised to give to him his sister in marriage. But Hector slew the same duke anon, seeing Achilles. Then Achilles, meaning to avenge the death of Policeus, assailed Hector by great ire: but Hector cast to him a dart so fiercely, and made him a wound in his thigh. And then Achilles issued out of the battle, and did bind his wound, and took a great spear on purpose to slay Hector if he should meet him. Among all these things Hector had taken a much noble Baron of greece, much quaintly and richly armed; and, for to lead him out of the host at his ease, had cast his shield behind him at his back—and had left his breast discovered—and as he

the extract in the *Biographia Britannica* being an inaccurate one. There seems to be no reasonable ground whatever to suppose that Caxton printed two English editions of the Trojan history.

A beautiful and perfect copy of this exceedingly rare book is in his Majesty's library: another is in the Roxburgh collection—"having a sheet (says Mr. Nicol in his preface to the account of the library) transposed; by which means the pages, not the leaves, are misplaced. This the Duke has distinctly noticed with his own hand in the book. In the same book is a very curious note, written on vellum, in an ancient hand, and modernized by the Duke, which shews that this copy belonged to ELIZABETH GREY, Queen to Edward the Fourth—It begins thus "This Boke is mine, Quene Elizabeth, late Wiffe unto the most noble King Edward the fourthe." This lady being sister-in-law to the Duchess of Burgundy, it is not surprising, continues Mr. N. "that Caxton presented so fine a copy of the book to his queen, and the sister-in-law of his patroness." p. 8-9. In the Bodleian Library, and in the public library at Cambridge, there are two imperfect copies of it—all four volumes being in fair condition. See too *Bibl. Harl.* vol. iii. n°. 2783: *West.* n°. 4090: *Tutet.* n°. 487. This latter copy, which was purchased by the late Mr. Austin, is described in the catalogue as being "fine and quite complete:" but Herbert says, "the title was supplied by a well written MS." Lord Spencer has an imperfect copy which belonged to Mr. Steevens.

was in this point, and took none heed of Achilles, that came privily unto him and put his spear within his body. And Hector fell down dead to the ground.'

The end of Hector is certainly not here so heroically described as by his first biographer, Homer. Raoul makes his knight fall in the most contemptible manner; or rather suffers Achilles to kill him in a way which would disgrace a common soldier.

The Burial of Hector is very curiously described. The Hero of Troy is entombed in a magnificent sepulchre—and the Roman catholic custom of praying for the souls of the deceased is strongly alluded to in these lines; 'To this sepulture the same masters made a lamp of fine gold, burning continually, without going out or quenching. And after they made a closure, to the end that no man should approach nor go unto this tabernacle without license or leave. And in this temple, the King Priam ordained and set great plenty of priests for to pray to the gods without ceasing for his son Hector—and gave to them good rents.'

Third book, fol. 53, 54, 55.

See Bibl. Steevens. n°. 1150. An imperfect one is also in the library of Sion College. However popular this book might have been, it did not run through more than eleven editions in two centuries; the eleventh being printed in the year 1684, in 4to. "for T. Passinger, at the Three Bibles on London Bridge." See the *Censura Literaria*, vol. ix. 213. Copland's edition of it, in folio, 1553, (of which hereafter) brought a considerable price at Woodhouse's sale. See Bibl. Woodh. n°. 837. Bibl. Allen. n°. 1563.

4. THE GAME AND PLAYE OF THE CHESSE: Translated out of the French, and imprynted by William Caxton. *Fynysshid the last day of Marche, the yer of our Lord God a thousand foure hondred and lxxiiij.* Folio. (Type No. 1.)

The work opens with the following dedication:

"To the right noble, right excellent and virtuous Prince George Duke of Clarence Earl of Warwick and of Salisbury, great Chamberlain of England and Lieutenant of Ireland, eldest brother of King Edward by the grace of God King of England and of France, your most humble servant William Caxton, among other of your servants, sends unto you peace, health, joy and victory upon your enemies. Right high puissant and redoubted prince, for as much as I have understood and known, that you are inclined unto the commonweal of the king, our said sovereign lord, his nobles, lords and common people of his noble realm of England, and that ye saw gladly the inhabitants of the same informed in good, virtuous, profitable and honest manners, in which your noble person with guiding of your house aboundeth, giving light and example unto all other—therefore I have put me in *devoir* to translate a little book lately come into my hands out of French into English, in which I find the authorities, *dictes*, and stories of ancient doctors, philosophers, poets and of other wise men which *ben* recounted and applied unto the morality of the public weal as well of the nobles as of the common people after THE

GAME AND PLAY OF THE CHESS: which book, right puissant and redoubted lord, I have made in the name and under the shadow of your noble protection; not presuming to correct or *empoigne* any thing against your *noblesse*, for God be thanked your excellent *renomme* shineth as well in strange regions as within the realm of England gloriously unto your honour and laud; which God multiply and increase. But to the intent that other of what estate or degree he or they stand in, may see in this said little book, that they govern themselves as they ought to do, wherefore for my right dear redoubted lord I require and supply your good grace not to disdain to receive this little said book in *gree* and thanks, as well of me your humble and unknown servant as of a better and greater man than I am. For the right good will that I have had to make this little work in the best wise I can, ought to be reputed for the *faite* and deed. And for more clearly to proceed in this said book I have ordained that the chapters be set in the beginning to the end that ye may see more plainly the matter whereof the book treateth, &c."

The Table of contents begins thus: "This book containeth 4 treatises

The first treatise is of the invention of this play of the Chess, and containeth 3 chapters

The first chapter is under what king this play was founded [ivented]

The ij chapter, who found this play

The iij chapter, treateth of iij causes why it was made and founded

The second treatise treateth of the chess men and containeth 5 chapters.

The first chapter treateth of the form of a king and of such things as appertaineth to a king

The ij chapter treateth of the queen and her form and manners

The iij chapter of the form of the alphyngs and their offices and manners

The iiij chapter is of the knight and of his offices

The v is of the rooks and their manners and offices

The third treatise is of the offices of the common people, and hath viij chapters

The first chapter is of the labourers and tilling of the earth
The ij is of the smiths and other works in iron and metal
The iij is of the drapers and makers of cloth and notaries
The iiij is of merchants and changers
The v is of physicians and surgeons and apothecaries
The vi is of taverners and hostellers
The vij is of the guards of the cities and tollers and customers
The viij is of ribalds dice-players and couriers
The iiij treatise is of the moving and issue of them and hath 8
chapters
The first is of the exchequer [Chess Board]
The second is of the issue and progression of the king
The third is of the issue of the queen
The fourth is of the issue of the alphyngs [Bishops]
The fifth is of the issue of the knights
The sixth chapter of the issue of the rooks
The seventh is of the moving issue and of the common people
And the eighth and last chapter is of the epilegation
And of the recapitulation of all these aforesaid chapters."
The first chapter opens thus ;

" Among all the evil conditions and signs that may be in a man,
the first and the greatest is, when he feareth not, nor dreadeth to dis-
please and make wroth God by sin, and the people by living disorderly ;
when he receiveth not, nor taketh heed unto them that re-
prove him and his vices, but fleeth them : in such wise as did the
emperor Nero, which did so flee his master Seneca for as much he
might not suffer to be reprov'd and taught of him : In like wise was
some time a king in Babylon, that was named ELSMERODACH, a
jolly man, without justice, and so cruel that he did do hew his fa-
ther's body in three hundred pieces, and gave it to eat and devour
to three hundred birds, that men call vultures ; and was of such con-
dition as was Nero, and right well resembled and was like unto his
father Nabogodonosor (Nebuchadnezzar) which on a time would do
flee all the sage and wise men of Babylon ; for as much as they could

not tell him his dream that he had dreamed on a night, and had forgotten it—like as it is written in the bible in the book of daniel. Under this king, then, Emsmerodach was the game and play of the chess founded,” &c.

In the third chapter we are thus told ‘wherefore the play was founded and made.’

‘The causes wherefore this play was founded be three; the first was, to correct and reprove the king. For when this king Emsmerodach saw this play, and the barons knights and gentlemen of his court play with the philosopher, he marvelled greatly of the beauty and novelty of the play, and desired to play against the philosopher. The philosopher answered and said to him, that it might not be done, but if he first learned the play. The king said it was reason, and that he would put him to the pain to learn it. Then the philosopher began to teach him and to shew him the manner of the table of the chess board and the chess men, and also the manners and conditions of a king, of the nobles, and of the common people and of their offices, and how they should be touched and drawn; and how he should amend himself, and become virtuous. And when this king heard that he reproved him, he demanded him upon pain of death to tell him wherefore he had founded and made this play. And he answered—‘My right dear Lord and King, the greatest and most thing that I desire is, that thou have in thyself a virtuous and glorious life; and that may I not see—but if thou be endoctrined and well mannered, &c.’ The philosopher then goes on with useful admonition to his monarch.

‘The *second* cause wherefore this play was founded and made, was, for to keep him from idleness.’

The *third* cause is, that every man naturally desireth to know and to hear novelties and tydings.

The book ends thus, “And therefore my right redoubted lord I pray Almighty God to save the king our sovereign lord, and to give him grace to issue as a king and to abound in all virtues, and to be assisted with all other his lords in such wise that his noble realm of England may

prosper and abound in virtues, and that sin may be eschewed, justice kept, the realm defended, good men rewarded, malefactors punished, and the idle people to be put to labour: that he with the nobles of the realm may reign gloriously in conquering his rightful inheritance, that very peace and charity may endure in both his realms, and that merchandize may have its course in such wise that every man eschew sin, and increase in virtuous occupations. Praying your good grace to receive this little and simple book, made under the hope and shadow of your noble protection, by him that is your most humble servant in *gree* and thank. And I shall pray Almighty God for your long life and welfare, which he preserve! and send you the accomplishment of your high, noble, joyous, and virtuous desires. Amen. “*Fynysshed*, &c. [as subjoined to the title.]

It has been the received opinion of English bibliographers that the “lityll [French] book late comen into the hands” of Caxton, and which, in the second edition of the game of chess, is said to have been made “by an excellent doctour of dyuynte in the royaume of Fraunce, of the ordre of thospytal of saynt Johns of Jherusalem”—was, in fact, the composition of JEHAN DE VIGNAY, or Du Vignay; being a translation from the Latin original of Jacobus De Cessolis. Most probably De Vignay’s book was the immediate original of Caxton’s; although the French author is not accurately described by our typographer, and a previous French translation had appeared from the pen of JEAN FERRON, which is allowed to be different from De Vignay’s.* M. De La Monnoye is inclined to think that Ferron’s translation was never printed: a beautiful manuscript of it was in the collection of the Duke de La Valliere.† There are many transcripts of the ori-

* Consult the last and best edition of *Les Bibliothèques Françaises de la Croix du Maine*, Paris, 1772, 6 vols. 4to. tom. i. 493-605. Ferron’s translation is here said to have been begun in 1347. Vignay commenced author about the middle of the same century; and Warton (*Hist. E. P.* vol. ii. p. 111, note u) assigns to a copy of his translation the date of 1382. The Latin work upon the Game of Chess, by GELLIUS, appears to be supposititious. See the former authority, as referred to, where Du Vignay is called “Hospitalier de S. Jacques du Haut-pas.”

† Cat. de La Valliere, n°. 1321. “Moralité du jeu des echecs,” in 4to. MANUSCRIPT.

ginal Latin MS. of Cessolis, which was executed towards the end of the 13th century. Warton erroneously assigns the date of 1483 to Caxton's edition, and says that "while it was printing, William Lord Arundel gave him annually a buck in summer and a doe in winter"—but upon what authority, is not specified. It is not improbable that Caxton employed a summer and winter in printing this volume, as the book of the "Cordyaill" was two years in the press.

Lewis, in his *Life of Caxton*, p. 12, is "inclinable to be of Mr. Bagford's opinion, that this was the first book printed by Mr. Caxton, after his return to England in 1472 or 3." Bagford's words are these—"Caxton's first book in the abbey was the Game of Chess; a book, in those times, much in use with all sorts of people, and in all likelihood first desired by the abbot, and the rest of his friends and masters. It underwent two impressions if not more."* At all

SUR VELIN, du xiv^e Siecle, contenant 52 feuillets écrits en lettres de forme, à longues lignes, et ornés de tourneures peintes en or et en couleurs; il est enrichi de 16 miniatures, dont la plupart ont 2 pouces et demi en quarré, à l'exception de la premiere qui porte 4 pouces de largeur, sur 3 de hauteur, &c."—From the commencement of the MS. it appears to have been executed in the year 1357.

* *Harl. MSS.* 5910. That there were more than two editions printed by Caxton is a mere unsupported conjecture. "Oudin informs us, (*De script. ecclesiæ. vol. iii.*) from the learned Lambecius's Catalogue of the Imperial Library, that this book was written originally in Latin, and is sometimes entitled "Super ludo Schaccorum;" sometimes, "De moribus hominum, et officio nobilium et popularium super ludo Schacchorum;" and "Tractatus de causa inventionis ludi Schaccorum;" that the author of it was *Jacobus de Thessalonica*, of the order of preaching friars. In Anthony Senensis's Chronicle of this order is the following account given of him: Frater "*Jacobus De Cezolis*, Vir gravis, literaturæ egregiæ et multum venerandus, transmisit ad posteros Sermones varios et librum moralem pro nobilibus *De Ludo Schacorum*. Claruisse fertur circa annum Domini 1295. Lambecius observes that his true name was *De Casulis*, from a city in Italy, called *Casali*, where he was born: that, through corruption, it was written *de Casolis*, *Cassalis* and *Casallis*: then *de Cesolis*, *Cessolis*, *Cezolis* and *Sesselis*; that again the name was written *de Tessalis* and *Thessalis*; and at length absurdly and foolishly changed into *de Thessalonica* et *Thessalonica*; and that he flourished about the year 1290 or 1295: L'Abbe says before the year 1200. The learned Du Fresne supposed *Jacobus De Cessulis* and *Jacobus de Thessalonica*, to have been two different men of the same order of preaching friars: the first to have lived about A. D. 1295, and the second about 1410." LEWIS'S *Life of Caxton*, p. 142, 3.

events, it is incontrovertible that the present work is the first book printed by Caxton to which the date of the imprint is affixed ; and is, in consequence, a great curiosity. "This book," says Herbert, "has

For the gratification of collectors of *Books upon Chess*, I subjoin a list of some of the earliest publications on the subject printed in the 15th century.

The first LATIN edition, apparently unknown to Panzer, was printed at Utrecht, by Ketelaer and de Leempt, about the year 1473, in fol.—according to Santander; who describes it as "The first edition, very rare, and unknown to bibliographers; printed in long lines, 32 in a page; without signatures, numerals, and catchwords. The volume contains 39 leaves, and concludes on the reverse of the last—"Explicit solaciū ludi schacorū." What is singular, the author commences his work with styling himself "Jacobus de Thessalonia."—which Santander imagines to be a corruption of "*Cessolis*,"—or perhaps (whimsically enough) of "tessellarum ludum." See his *Bibliograph. Choisi*, du xv Siecle: tom. ii. n°. 415-417.

The first Latin edition, with a date, was printed at Milan in small folio, 1479. From the title, the moral tendency of the piece (it being in fact only an ancient undramatized Morality) may immediately be discovered; "De ludo Scaccorum, seu de moribus hominum, officiisque nobilium." Santander, vol. ii. n°. 416, calls this a rare book: and Maittaire (*Annal. Typog.* vol. i. 402, note 8) declares that Hyde had never seen a copy of it. Panzer (vol. ii. 37.) calls it a quarto: but I should apprehend Maittaire to be correct in describing it as a small folio.

Three other Latin editions succeeded; the two latter without dates. The first of these three was a Milan edition printed in 1497, small folio: See Maittaire, vol. i. 644, note 6. Of the dateless editions, Denis (p. 660, n°. 5865) has given the title of one of them at large; from which the increasing popularity of the work may be inferred. It is called "Solatium ludi Schacorum scilicet regiminis ac morum, &c. quorum si quis formas menti impresserit bellum ipsum et ludi virtutem cordi faciliter poterit obtinere." The remaining similar edition is sufficiently noticed by Laire (*Index Libror. ad Am.* 1500, tom. ii. n°. 25): it is printed in the Gothic character (supposed) about the year 1480, and was unknown to Beyer; who gave an account of the early editions of books upon Games in his *Memorie librorum critico-rariorum*.

According to Maittaire (i. 402) Cessolis's book was translated into the GERMAN language in verse, as early as the year 1337, and was printed at Gouda in 1479, fol.: again at Delphis in 1483, 4to.—and twice again, in the same century, without year or place subjoined. See Panzer's *Annal. Typog.* vol. iv. p. 190, n°. 1121; where the first dateless work is said to be composed in the vulgar dialect of Germany, and printed in an 8vo. volume of 230 pages, with cuts. Of the second dateless edition he appears to have had no certain knowledge.

The first impression of Cessolis's work in the ITALIAN language was at Florence in the year 1493, in 4to.; copies of it occur in the catalogues of Crevenna, La Valliere, and Pinelli. Crevenna (edit. 1776) calls it "a curious work and rather rare." An Italian edition

been compared with the *Recueil des histoires de Troyes*, 1464, as well as by the translation thereof by Caxton, printed at Cologne 1471, and a perfect resemblance found between them, in the manner of printing, not only the page itself, but the number of lines in a page; even the length, breadth, and the intervals between the lines are alike." Ames says that, at the sale of Lord Hardwicke's books, a copy "had a broad black line drawn diagonally behind the date, whereby the l seemed to be an x, and appeared thus xxxiiii."

There are few of Caxton's books which exceed the present one in rarity. It would appear from the prologue to the ensuing impression, that all the copies of this first edition were quickly sold, and before the second went to press. Perfect copies are in the libraries of his Majesty and the Marquis of Blandford. In the public library at Cambridge [A. B. 10. 30.] there is a copy made perfect by a few manuscript leaves in the middle. In Richard Smith's library [A. D. 1682] p. 199. n°. 92, there appears to have been a perfect one; and in Lord Harley's magnificent collection there was "a well preserved and finely bound and gilt" copy. See *Bibl. Harl.* vol. iii. n°. 4048: *Bibl. West.* n°. 2296. Ratcliffe, n°. 1429. Oldys says [*Biogr. Britann.* vol. iii. 357, note F] that "the late Earl of Pembroke for a fair copy thereof, which was given him by Mr.

was also printed without date in the same century; and is described by Denis (n°. 5866) as containing cuts. Whether Caxton borrowed the cuts in his second edition from those in the 8vo. German edition, without date, or from this latter Italian one, I am not able to ascertain, having seen neither. The best Italian work upon chess is Carrera's book of 1617, 4to. containing 600 pages; and full of curious and instructive matter. It is rare. The earliest FRENCH impression of De Vignay's book, which I have discovered, is the one printed by Michel le Noir, at Paris, in 4to. 1505. See *Cat. de la Valliere*, n°. 1322.

Of SPANISH publications on the Game of Chess, the only one extant is, I believe, Ruy Lopez's book of 1561, 4to. containing 300 pages.

After all, it does not seem improbable that Caxton's edition of 1474 was *the first book ever printed* on the subject of chess. The date of 1473 assigned to the Utrecht edition, by Santander, is conjectural: his reasonings to support it do not appear to me to be conclusive. It is rather surprising that De Bure, in his *Bibliographie Instructive*, has not noticed a single work upon chess.

Granger, presented him with a purse of forty guineas." This sum was more than double the one given for Ratcliffe's copy, and exceeded Mr. West's by 10 guineas. Its present price would probably be more than double that of the Pembroke copy; which was the only one known to Palmer. [History of Printing, p. 336.]

4. THE SAME. Folio. *Without Date or Place.* Wood Cuts. (Type No. 3.)

This edition opens with the following Introductory address to the Reader. "The holy apostle and doctor of the people, Saint Paul, saith, in his epistle, all that is written is written unto our doctrine, and for our learning, wherefore many noble clerks have endeavoured them to write and compile many notable works and histories, to the end that it might come to the knowledge and understanding of such as be ignorant, of which the number is infinite and according to the same, saith Solomon, that the number of fools is infinite. And among all other good works, it is a work of right special recommendation to inform, and to let understand wisdom and virtue unto them that be not learned, nor cannot discern wisdom from folly. Then among whom there was an excellent doctor of divinity in the *royaume* of France, of the order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, which intended the same, and hath made a book of the chess moralized, which, at such time as I was resident in Bruges, in the county of Flanders, came into my hands; which, when I had read and overseen, me seemed full necessary for to be had in English. And in eschewing of idleness, and to the end that some which have not seen it, nor understand French, nor Latin, I deliberated in myself to translate it into our maternal tongue: and when I had so achieved the said translation, I did do set in imprint a certain number of them, which anon were *depressed* and sold. Wherefore, because this said book is full of wholesome wisdom, and requisite unto every estate and degree, I have purposed to imprint it, shewing therein the figures of such persons as belong to the play, in whom all estates and degrees be comprized, beseeching all them that this

little work shall see, hear, or read, to have me excused for the rude and simple making and reducing into our English, and whereas is default, to correct and amend ; and in so doing they shall deserve merit and thanks : and I shall pray for them, that God, of his great mercy, shall reward them in his everlasting bliss in heaven, to the which he bring us, that with his precious blood redeemed us. Amen.

“ This book is divided and departed into four treatises and parts.

“ The first treatise.

How the play of the chess was first founded, and under what king.	^{Chap.} i.
Who found first the play of the chess.	ii.
Wherefore the play was founded and made.	iii.

“ The second treatise.

The form of a king. his manners and estate.	i.
The form and manners of a queen.	ii.
The condition and form of the alphyngs.	iii.
The order of chivalry or knighthood ; her offices and manners.	iiii.
The form and manner of rooks.	v.

“ The third treatise.

The offices and manners of labourers.	i.
The manner and office of a smith.	ii.
The office of notaries, advocates, scriveners, and drapers, or cloth-makers.	iii.
The manners of merchants and changers.	iiii.
The form of physicians, leeches, spicers, and apothecaries.	v.
Of taverners, hostlers, and victuallers.	vi.
Of keepers of towns, receivers of custom, and tollers.	vii.
Of messengers, couriers, ribalds, and players at the dice.	viii.

“ The fourth treatise.

Of the chess-board in <i>genere</i> , how it is made.	i.
The draft of the king, and how he moveth him in the exchequer.	ii.
Of the moving of the queen, and how she issueth out of her place.	iii.

Of the issue of the alphyns.	iiii.
Of the moving of the knights.	v.
Of the issue of the rooks, and of their progress.	vi.
Of the issue of the common people, whom the pawns represent.	vii.
Of the epilegation and recapitulation of this book.	viii."

For the gratification of the curious, I annex a *Description of the Pieces and Pawns*, illustrated with fac-simile wood-cuts from this edition. The text is taken from the preceding edition; with a few various readings subjoined from the present. The first cut in the work, which is repeated more than once, is the following.



Description of the Pieces.

“THE KING must be thus made : for he must sit in a chair clothed in purple, crowned on his head ; in his right hand a sceptre, in his left hand an apple of gold. Fol. v. rev.”



* In the 9th and 11th volumes of the *Archæologia* are some learned and amusing “Remarks on the European names of Chessmen,” by Messrs. Barrington and Douce.

“Thus ought THE QUEEN to be made: she ought to be a fair lady, sitting in a chair, and crowned with a crown on her head, and clad with a cloth of gold, and a mantle above furred with ermine: and she should sit on the left side of the King for the *amplections* and embracings of her husband.” Fol. viii. rev.



“The ALPHYNS [OR BISHOPS] ought to be made and formed in manner of Judges sitting in a chair, with a book open before their eyes ; and that is because that some causes be criminal, and some be civil,” &c. Fol. xii. rev.



“THE KNIGHT ought to be made all armed upon an horse in such wise that he have an helm on his head, and a spear in his right hand, and covered with his shield, a sword and a mace in his left side ; clad with an hawberk and plates before his breast, leg-harness on his legs, spurs on his heels, on his hands his gauntlet, his horse well broken and taught, and apt to battle, and covered with arms.”

Fol. xv. rev.



“The Rooks, which be vicars and legates of the King, ought to be made like * a knight upon a horse, and a mantel and hood furred with *meneuyer*, holding a staff in his hand,” &c. Fol. xxi. rev.



* 'like' is omitted in the second edition.

Description of the Pawns.

“*The First Pawn* that is in the play of the chess, signifieth a man of the Common People, for they be all named *pietons*; that is as much as to say, as *footmen*. And then we will begin at the pawn which standeth before the rook on the right side of the king, for as much as this pawn appertaineth to serve the vicar or lieutenant of the king, and other officers under him, of necessities of victual. And this manner of people is figured and ought to be made in the form and shape of a man holding in his right hand a spade or shovel, and a rod in the left hand. The spade or shovel is to delve and labour therewith the earth, and the rod is to drive and conduct withal the beasts unto her pasture. Also he ought to have on his girdle a crooked hatchet, for to cut off the superfluities of the vines and trees.”

Fol. xxviii. recto.

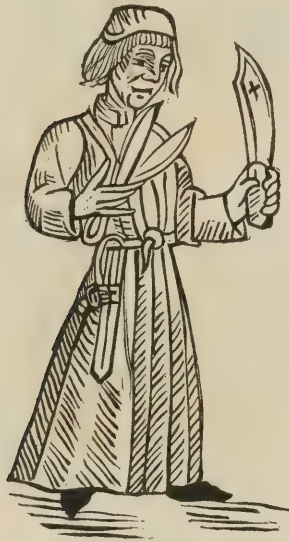


“*The second Pawn* that standeth before the knight on the right side of the king, hath the form and figure of a man as a *Smith*, and that is reason ; for it appertaineth to the knights to have bridles, saddles, spurs, and many other things made by the hands of smiths—and [he] ought to hold a hammer in his right hand, and in his left hand a do-labre, and he ought to have on his girdle a trowel.” Fol. xxxii. recto.



“*The third Pawn* which is set before the Alphyn on the right side, ought to be figured as a *Clerk*, and it is reason that he should so be. [here the reasons, not very interesting ones, are specified.] And this Pawn ought to be made and figured in this manner: he must be made like a man that holdeth in his right hand a pair of shears or forcetis [forceps] and in the left hand a great knife, and on his girdle a penner and inkhorn, and on his ear a pen to write with.”

Fol. xxxv. recto.



“*The fourth Pawn* is set before the King, and is formed in the form of a man holding in his right hand a balance, and the weight in the left hand, and before him a table, and at his girdle a purse full of money, ready for to give to them that require * it: and by this people be signified the *Merchants* of cloth-linen, woollen, and of all other merchandises.”

Fol. xli. rev.



* ‘required’ in the second edition.

“*The fifth Pawn* that is set before the Queen signifieth the *Physician*, spicer, and apothecary, and is formed in the figure of a man; and he is set in the chair as a master, and holdeth in his right hand a book; and an ample* or a box with ointments in his left hand; and at his girdle his instruments of Iron and of silver, for to make incisions and to search wounds and hurts, and to cut apostumes.”

Fol. xlvi. recto.



* This word is a little farther spelt ‘ampole,’ in both editions. ‘And by the ampole be signified the makers of pigmentaries, spicers, and apothecaries; and they that make confections and confytes [comfits] and medicines made with precious spices.’ This word signifies also a pitcher, or big-bellied bottle. “*La Sainte Ampoule*” is the vessel in which the holy oil for anointing kings is kept. In Latin it is *Amphora*.

"*The sixth Pawn* which standeth before the Alphyn on the left side, is made in this form: for it is a man that hath the right hand stretched out as for to call men, and holdeth in his left hand a loaf of bread, and a cup of wine; and on his girdle hanging a bundle of keys: and this resembleth the *Taverners*,* hostlers, and sellers of victual."

Fol. l.



* After moralizing, as usual, on the licentiousness and mischief attending the trade of the Taverner, the author discourses upon the sin of gluttony, (which probably was pretty general in public houses at the time of the book being written) and illustrates it with a story from the "*Vitas Patrum*."

"These manner of people ought (he continues) to eschew the sin of gluttony; for much people come to their houses for to drink and to eat, for which cause they ought reasonably to rule themselves and to refrain them from too much eat and drink, to the end that they might the more honestly deserve things needful unto the people that come unto them: and nothing by outrage that might annoy the body—for it happeneth oftentimes that there cometh of gluttony, [con] tensions, strifes, riots," &c.

fol. l.

The seventh Pawn. “The *Guards and Keepers of Cities* be signified by the seventh Pawn, which standeth on the left side before the knight, and is formed in the semblance of a man holding in his right hand * great keys, and in his left hand a pott and an ell for to measure with, and ought to have on his girdle a purse open.”

Fol. liv. rev.



* In the second edition the description of the instruments in the hands is reversed; in order that the plate, which was taken from the first description, might agree with the account beneath.

The eighth Pawn. "The Ribalds, players at dice, and the messengers and *Couriers* ought to be set before the rook, for it appertaineth to the rook, which is vicar of the King, to have men covenable [convenient] for to run here and there for to enquire and espy the places and cities that might be contrary to the King. And this Pawn that representeth this people ought to be formed in this manner: he must have the form of a man that hath long heeris [hairs] and black, and holdeth in his right hand a little money, and in his left hand three dice, and about him a cord instead of a girdle, and ought to have a box full of letters."

Fol. lvii. rev.



At the fourth leaf from the description of this pawn, commence the rules for making the chess board and conducting the game: these occupy eleven leaves and a half.

The book ends with these words :

“ And by this manner it happened, that the king, that tofore time had been vicious, and disordinate in his living, was made just and virtuous, *debonair*, gracious, and full of virtues unto all people. And a man that liveth in this world without virtues, liveth not as a man, but as a beast. Then, let every man, of what condition he be that readeth or heareth this little book read, take thereby example to amend him.

Explicit per Caxton.”

This second edition of the *Game of Chess*,* “ rare to see except in the curious libraries of collectors of old books,” (says Bagford) contains only 84 leaves, has 29 lines in a page, and is illustrated with 24 wood cuts. Herbert says it was in Ames’s library, and afterwards in J. Ratcliffe’s ; but his reference to the latter, n°. 1429, relates to the first edition of 1474. A copy of it will be found in Bibl. Farmer. n°. 6211, and in the collections of his Majesty, the Marquis of Blandford, and Earl Spencer. A perfect copy is also in the Bodleian Library. Mr. Johnes has a copy of the *first* edition which ought to have been mentioned in the preceding article. It is a much rarer book than the present one.

* At p. 33, note *, I might have referred the reader to the curious article of “*CESSELES*” in Marchand’s *Diction. Historique*, vol. i. 179, on the subject of ancient editions of books upon Chess ; but more particularly as a means of correcting the numerous errors that have gone abroad respecting the name, country, and profession of Cessolis. Marchand says, that “ he was named Cessoles from the place of his birth ; that he was a monk, and a master in theology of the convent of the Dominicans at Rheims ; that he lived towards the middle of the 13th century, or at the commencement of the fourteenth ; that he was neither of Casali, Florence, Thessaly, nor Thessalonica, but of *Cessoles*, a village near the frontiers of Picardy and Champagne.” Quetif and Echard, on the authority of Pignon (who was of the same place and convent, and who lived at the end of the 14th century), are supposed by Marchand to have satisfactorily corrected the vague and erroneous accounts of Lambecius and Oudin.

6. A BOKE OF THE HOOLE LYF OF JASON. *Without date; but supposed to have been printed in 1475.* Folio. Type No. 3.

This is another translation by Caxton from the prolific pen of Raoul Le Fevre; who, it seems, had partially treated of the "history of Jason touching the conquest of the golden fleece" in his Troy book; and had previously composed the history of Jason "and three books beside; too great to be set in the Trojan history." The present work is a compilation of all the histories extant of Jason,* comprehending "the history of him which Dares Phrygius and Guido de Colonna wrote in the beginning of their books." Caxton's Prologue (vide p. 55, post) is, in some parts, curious enough; especially where he describes to us the hangings set up by Philip, Duke of Burgundy, who instituted the Order of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, in his Castle of Hesdin, in Artois, upon the river Canche. According to Anstis, no other writer has mentioned these hangings which were

* Spenser has not neglected to embellish his poem with the curious imagery suggested by this popular tale. That he was "wrought upon" by Caxton's animated description, requires better proof than I am prepared to bring forward. It is most probable, according to Mr. Todd's surmise, that he was indebted to the *Trionfo d' Amore*, chap. i, of Petrarch. In the 12th canto of the 2d book of the *Faerie Queene*, we have the following description of the *Gate* which led to the "Bowre of Blisse."

Yt framed was of precious yvory,
That seemed a worke of admirable witt;
And therein all the famous history
Of JASON and MEDÆA was ywritt;
Her mighty charmes, her furious loving fitt;
His goodly conquest of the golden fleece,
His falsed fayth, and love too lightly flitt;
The wondred Argo, which in venturous peece
First through the Euxine seas bore all the flowr of Greece, &c.
Todd's *Spenser*, vol. iv. 205.

The Duke of Burgundy's chamber, which Caxton so minutely describes, seems to have been a work of equally "admirable wit."

probably destroyed* in 1553, when the town and castle of Hesdin were demolished by Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, one of the Emperor Charles the Fifth's generals. The Prologue of Caxton is as follows :

“ Forasmuch as late, by the commandment of the right high and noble princess my right redoubted lady, my Lady Margaret, by the grace of God Duchess of Bourgoyne, Brabant, &c. I translated a book out of French into English, named *Recuyel of the Histories of Troye*, in which is comprehended how Troy was thrice destroyed, and also the labours and histories of Saturnus, Titan, Jupiter, Perseus, and Hercules, and other more therein rehearsed, but as to the History of Jason, touching the conquest of the golden fleece, mine author hath not set it in his book but briefly; and the cause is, forasmuch as he had made before a book of the whole life of Jason, which he presented unto the noble Prince in his days, Philip Duke of Bourgoyne—and also the said book should have been too great if he had set the said history in his book, for it containeth three books beside the history of Jason—then forasmuch as this said book is late new made a part of all the histories of the said Jason, and the history of him which that Dares Frigius, and Guido de Columpnys wrote in the beginning of their books, touching the conquest of the said golden fleece, by occasion whereof grew the cause of the second destruction of the said city of Troy, is not set in the said book of *Recuyel of the Histories of Troye*—therefore, under the protection and suf-

† See LEWIS'S *Life of Caxton*, 144, where is added, from the same authority: “ But Oliver de la March, who was bred up in the court of Philip Duke of Burgundy, has intimated, that the Duke had a regard to this story in his Institution of the Order of the Garter; but afterwards, by the advice of John German, Bishop of Nevers, the first Chancellor of this order, Gideon's Fleece was substituted in the name of that of Jason: and, that, of this story were very rich hangings of gold and silver remaining in the court of Brussels, in 1652, when Chiflet printed his *Breviarum Ordinis Velleris aurei*.” Monstrelet tells us, that, on the collar of this order was “ appendent une toison que jadis conquist anciennement JASON en l'isle de Colchos comme on le trouve in l'Histoire de Troye.” Warton tells us that the Duke of Burgundy's institution of the Order of the Golden Fleece took place in the year 1468; but upon what authority, is not specified. *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, vol. i. 138.

ferance of the most high puissant and christian king, my most dread natural liege Lord Edward by the grace of God King of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, I intend to translate the said book of the Histories of Jason, following mine author as nigh as I can or may, not changing the sentence, nor presuming to add nor minish any thing otherwise than mine author hath made in French—and insomuch as the greatest fame and *renome* standeth and resteth in the conquest of the fleece of gold, whereof is founded an order of knights, whereof our said sovereign lord is one and hath taken the profession thereof, how well some persons affirm and say that the said order hath taken its original of the Fleece of Gideon, wherein I will not dispute. But well wote I that the noble Duke Philip, first founder of this said order, did do maken a chamber in the Castle of Hesdyn, wherein was craftily and curiously depainted the conquest of the golden fleece by the said Jason. In which chamber I have been, and seen the said history so depainted; and in remembrance of Medea and of her cunning and science, he had do make in the said chamber, by subtil engine, that, when he would, it should seem that it lightened, and after thunder, snow, and rain; and all within the said chamber, as oft times and when it should please him, which was all made for his singular pleasure. Then for the honour and worship of our said most redoubted liege lord which hath taken the said order, I have under the shadow of his noble protection enterprized to accomplish this said little book, not presuming to present it unto his highness; forasmuch as I doubt not his good grace hath it in French, which he well understands; but not displeasing his most noble grace, I intend by his license and *congé*, and by the supportation of our most redoubted liege lady, most excellent princess the Queen, to present this said book unto the most fair, and my most redoubted young lord, my Lord Prince of Wales, our to-coming sovereign lord, whom I pray God save, and increase in virtue, and bring him unto as much worship and good *renome* as ever had any of his noble progenitors, to the intent, he may begin to learn read English, not for any beauty or good inditing of our English tongue that is therein,

but for the novelty of the histories, which, as I suppose, hath not *ben* had before the translation hereof, most humbly beseeching my said most dread sovereign and natural liege lord the King, and also the Queen, to pardon me so presuming, and my said to-coming sovereign lord, my lord the prince, to receive it in *gree* and thank of me his humble subject and servant ; and to pardon me of this my simple and rude translation, and all other that lust to read or hear it, to correct where as they shall find default."

Here endeth the prologue of the translator.

The volume concludes with Caxton's prayer, thus :

" Praying my said Lord Prince to accept and take in *gree* of me his *indigne serviteur*. Whom I beseech God Almighty to save and increase in virtue, now in his tender youth, that he may come unto his perfect age, to his honour and worship, that his *renome* may perpetually be remembered among the most worthy. And after this present, everlasting life in heaven, who grant him and us that bought us with his blood, blessed Jesus, Amen." Next follows the author's dedicatory prologue to Philip Duke of Burgundy.

The date of this edition has been settled according to the supposed age of the young Prince of Wales at the time of its publication. Lewis, in his *Life of Caxton*, p. 145, says, the prince was then five years old ; and he has been implicitly followed by the compiler of the *Harleian Catalogue* (n°. 3504) Oldys (*Biogr. Brit.*) and Herbert. The young prince was murdered by Richard III, (according to Granger, vol. i. 23, edit. 1804) on the 9th of April, 1483, in his eleventh year ; which, if the present book were printed in his 5th year, would affix the date of 1477 to it. On the other hand, Caxton, in the preface to his *Golden Legend*, tells us expressly it was the third book he printed ; so that most probably the prince was a year or two younger—which is no violation of the printer's idea of his " beginning to learn to read English." Ames, without mentioning any thing about the age of the prince, places the date of 1475, opposite to his description of the work, in the margin.

The original of this translation formed one of the celebrated sub-

jects of Romance in the age of chivalry ; although, perhaps, of less popularity than Rowland and Oliver, Alexander, Charlemagne, King Arthur, and Gawaine. It owed its success chiefly to the inventive powers of Guido de Colonna ; and is mentioned, after the preceding, in the fertile list of romances which is to be found in the Prologue to Richard Cœur de Lion.* Warton “ did not recollect any old French Metrical Romance on this subject, but presumed there were many.” I believe there are none. French editions † of it will

* In the prologue to an ancient metrical version of Guido de Colonna’s book, erroneously attributed to Lydgate by Warton, and among the old romances noticed in a Parisian MS. by Montfaucon, No. 7540, the above one of Jason is omitted ; but in the prologue to Wynkyn de Worde’s uncommonly scarce edition of *Richard Cœur de Lion* (1528, 4to. for which vide vol. ii.) it is mentioned in the following couplet :

Ne of JASON, neither of Achilles
Ne of Eneas, neither Hercules.” Sign. p. iii.

Consult Warton’s *Hist. Engl. Poet.* vol. i. 119-123 (note *t.*) 126 : Ritson’s *Metrical Romances*, vol. i. cii. iv. Ellis’s *Metr. Rom.* vol. ii. 171, &c.

“ The *TROJOMANNA SAGA*, which begins with Jason and Hercules, and their voyage to Colchos, and ends with the siege and destruction of Troy,” is thought by Warton to be posterior to Colonna’s book. There is a Scandic Manuscript of it at Stockholm.”

Hist. Engl. Poetr. p. 138, note *r.*

† I subjoin a list of the earliest and rarest *French* editions of this Romance : premising, in the language of De Bure, that the curious prefer those which have the initial letters to each chapter “ gravées a jour ”—(“ open ”), and which are supposed to be the original editions ; printed before the year 1490.

“ *LE ROMAN de JASON et MEDEE*, contenant différentes Avántures chevaleresques et amoureuses. In fol. lit. goth. Without date, or place, or printer’s name.

This edition, which is considered to be the first, is printed with a large gothic type, in two columns, 31 lines to a page. Santander, *Dict. Bibliog. choisi*, vol. iii. n°. 754. This seems to be the same impression as is mentioned by De Bure, No. 3894.

Le même Ouvrage. Printed by Maillet. Lyon 1491. Fol. lit. goth.

A copy of this edition, which was in the Valliere collection, is noticed by both the preceding bibliographers. Santander (n°. 755.) gives the Colophon.

LES FAITS et Prouesses du preux, noble and vaillant Chevallier IASON. In fol. Without printer’s name, place, or date.

See *Catalogue de Gaignat*, 2345.—The wood cuts were coloured.

It appears, from Maittaire, vol. i. 469, that there was a *Dutch* edition of Jason printed at Haarlem, in 1485, fol. with cuts. This must be a curiosity. Panzer adds the authority of *Viss.* p. 20.

be found in the Cat. de la Valliere, n°. 4085-6: and of Crevenna, n°. 5146. Maittaire (vol. i. 414.) thus mentions an English edition of this work: "The History of y Knyght Iason, printed at Antwerp by Gerard Leeu, in 1480 fol.:" in which he has been implicitly followed by Panzer, (vol. i. 5, n°. 3.) who cites "Viss Naaml. p. 11." The edition in question is, most probably, the one printed in the year 1492; and, as being the first or second English book printed abroad in the 15th century, may be considered, in every respect, a great curiosity. The subjoined description * is taken from a copy of it in the Roxburgh collection.

* **The verap trew
hystory of the val-
iant knight Iaso**

**How he conqueryd or wan the golden fles by
the counsel of Medea and of many othre vic-
toryouse and wondrefull actis and dedys that
he dyde by his prowesse and chevalrye in his
tyme.**

This (in part) fac-simile title is over a wood cut of Jason conquering the Dragon by the side of a castle: and two bulls are near, and some sheep are at a distance. Jason's ship at an-

Neither Lambinet (p. 415) nor Santander [vol. i. 349], who are both partial to Leeu, and speak in strong commendatory terms of the beauty of his printing, even hint at an edition of 1480. See Lambinet in particular.

A perfect copy of Caxton's book is in the Bodleian library, and in the possession of his Majesty and the Marquis of Blandford. See too Bibl. Ratcliffe, n°. 1665. It was in the extraordinary collection of R. Smith, p. 199 (falsely numbered 275), n°. 86.

7. THE DICTES AND SAYINGES OF PHILOSOPHRES.

Whiche Boke is translated out of Frenshe into Englyssh by the Noble and puissant lord Antoine Erle of Ryuyers lord of Scales and of the Jsle of Wyght, Defendour and directour of the siege Apostolique * &c.

chor is in the background. Opposite the "Prologue of the Author," is a large wood cut: There are other small ones of jousts, and battles. The colophon is as follows;

"Here endyth Thystorie of the noble and vailliant knyght Iason, and printyd by me Gerard Leeu in the towne of Andewarpe In the yere of oure lord M. CCCC. foure skore and twelve and fynysshed the secunde day of Juyne." With his usual device of the Castle of Antwerp beneath.—The book is printed in a sharp and brilliant secretary-gothic type, like Verard's Petrarch of 1514; and the dash is uniformly introduced for the comma—It seems to be an exact reprint of Caxton's edition. The following memorandum was written on the fly leaf of this copy.

"I have a copy in MS. folio, and also a fair copy printed by Caxton, which is mentioned by Ames, 7 and 8, but I don't find that he ever saw this book printed at Antwerp. They all agree there are no cuts in Caxton. Nor has the manuscript copy the translator's prologue, neither is it continued so far as the printed ones by about one page's length."

The above anecdote by honest T. Martin—says Herbert.

* "This title of the Earl's, of Defender and Director of the Siege Apostolic, &c. is an intimation of an office of which I have hitherto met with no account, and can therefore only guess at the nature of it. Sir Henry Spelman has observed, that Defenders are of many kinds, and known by several names, both in the church and state: that, particularly, there were defenders of the Patrimony of St. Peter, which were appointed by the Popes in the provinces, to defend and take care of the patrimony of the Roman church, and particularly of what legacies were left to it: that of these Defenders there is often mention made by the Popes, Gregory and Pelagius, in their epistles; and, that from

Enprynted by me William Caxton at Westmestre the yere of our lord M.CCCC. lxxvij, Folio. (Type No. 3.)*

thence may be learned their office. Du Fresne informs us, that these Defenders of the Churches, or Apostolic See, were of the Order of Scholastics, or, as I suppose, Advocates of the Canon Law; but that afterwards this office was conferred on military men, and those of greater power, that there might be those to defend the rights of the churches, which they took into their protection, not only with their tongues but with their arms. Earl Rivers was a fit person for this office, who, according to the character given of him by Sir Thomas More, had a hand to execute as well as a head to advise. From hence I have surmised, that this office was something like that of the King's Lord Advocate in Scotland; who, it is said, was a person most eminent for eloquence and knowledge of the laws, and to defend the king's right and interest in all public meetings, by law and reason. The word DIRECTOR seems to import the same; as if the person invested with this office, had the direction or management of what concerned the Apostolic See here in England, or of what temporal concerns the Pope had here. It is in this sense that the word is still used. "*Directeur, Procurator, terme de palais. C'est une Administrateur laïque qui est choisi par le Bureau général des Pauvres, pour avoir soin du bien de quelque hôpital, et qui va un jour la semaine à cet hôpital, pour ouïr les plaintes des pauvres et leur rendre justice.*" Richelet. *Dict. De la Langue Française Ancienne et moderne*, vol. i, 759: ed. 1753.

LEWIS's *Life of Caxton*, p. 145-6.

Richelet adds, that "after 25 years service as Director, a person has a right to the title of Noble."

* "Sir Richard Wydewyll, or Wydevylle, the first Earl of Rivers, was beheaded by the Northampton mutineers, A. D. 1469. In King Edward's proclamation for making Knights of the Bath, dated 18 April, 15 Edward IV, or 1475, the name is spelt Widevil; some of our writers have changed it to Woodville. In the following Memorandum of William de Wyrccestres, it's spelt Widwele; 'Cito post dictum Festum Nativitatis Domini 1459, Johannes Denham cum aliis de Calesia secrete intravit Sandwycum ac ibidem cepit dominum de Revery et Antonium Widwele filium ejus, cum multis magnis navibus, et adduxit Calisiæ Comitibus Marchiæ et Warrenici et Sarum Calisiæ existentibus.' Sir Thomas More gave the following character of him in his *Life of King Richard III.* 'Moderator Pueritiæ datus est Antonius Vodevilus, cognomento Riverus, reginæ frater, vir haud facile discernas manune aut consilio promptior.' LEWIS's *Life of Caxton*, p. 17. n. p. Concerning the brave and accomplished translator, Earl Rivers, who appears to have been at once a scholar, a hero, and, as some might think, a saint, consult the last edition of Lord Orford's *Royal and Noble Authors*, by Mr. Park, where every thing the most interesting and appropriate relating to him is collected: vol. i. 208 to 224. The Ballad which he made during his confinement, and which Mr. P. has given in its genuine form, does indeed convey sentiments "tinctured with sage reflection and manly resigna-

The volume opens with the following interesting preface of the noble translator.

"Where it is so that every human creature by the sufferance of our Lord God is born and ordained to be subject and thral unto the storms of fortune, and so in divers and many sundry wises man is perplexed with worldly adversities; of the which I Antoine Wydeuille Earl Ryuyeres, Lord Scales, &c. have largely and in many different manners had my part; and of them relieved by the infinite grace and goodness of our said Lord, through the mean of the Mediatrix of Mercy, which grace evidently to me known and understood compelled me to set apart all ingratitude, and drove me by reason and conscience as far as my wretchedness would suffice, to give therefore singular lovings and thanks to God; and exhorted me to dispose my recovered life to his service in following his laws and commandments; and in satisfaction and recompence of mine iniquities and faults before done, to seek and execute the works that might be most acceptable to him; and as far as my frailness would suffer me, I rested in that will and purpose. During that season I understood the jubilee and pardon to be at the holy Apostle St. James in Spain, which was the year of grace a thousand cccc,lxxij; and de-

tion." It is inserted in Ritson's "*Ancient Songs*," p. 86, (8vo. 1790.) The Earl was beheaded in his 41st year, by order of Richard III, at Pontefract, in Yorkshire, 13th June A. D. 1483. See Granger, vol. i. 39, edit. 1804; and Dugdale's *Baronage*; referred to in Oldys's *British Librarian*, 64. "Who can help observing, with surprise and sorrow, (exclaims the humane and enlightened Dr. Henry,) that King JAMES I, the Earls of WORCESTER and RIVERS, the great ornaments of Britain in the age in which they flourished, were all cut off in the prime of life, by unmerited and violent deaths? This is one proof, amongst many others, of the cruel ferocious spirit which reigned in those unhappy times. May such a spirit be held in everlasting detestation!" *History of Great Britain*, vol. x. 149. edit. 1800. Oldys was once in possession of a very ancient and curious history in manuscript, containing the whole ceremony of Lord Rivers jousting with *The Bastard of Burgundy*, in Smithfield, which was considered by him to be "the most copious and exact account of any such martial solemnity" then in existence. He has given the heads of it in the *Biograph. Britan.* vol. iii. 359, note n: and amply repaid will the reader be for the toil of perusing it. Hall and Stow (the latter in his *Annals*) make handsome mention of this celebrated tournament.

termining me to take that voyage, I shipped at Southampton in the month of July the said year. And so sailed from thence till I came into the Spanish sea, there lacking sight of all lands, the wind being good and the weather fair. Then for a recreation and a passing of time, I had delight and axed to read some good history. And among other, there was that season in my company a worshipful gentleman called Lewis de Bretaylles, which greatly delighted him in all virtuous and honest things—that said to me he had there a book that he trusted I should like it right well, and brought it to me, which book I had never seen before, and is called the *Sayinges or Dictes of the Philosophers*. And as I understand it was translated out of Latin into French by a worshipful man called Monsieur JEHAN de TEONVILLE,* sometime Provost of Paris. When I had heeded and

* By others he is called Guillaume de Tignoville, or Thignoville. He was Provost of Paris in the year 1408. HERBERT. Maittaire, [*Annal. Typog.* vol. i. 377. note *] has given us two references, the one to La Croix du Maine, the other to Gilles Corrozet, p. 133, for a short account of Tignonville; whose work (a translation from the Latin) was published under the following title: “*Les Dicts Moraux des Philosophes, les Dicts des Sages, et le Secret des Secrets d’Aristote.*” fol. The list of foreign editions of this work, given by La Croix du Maine, is rather barren. He mentions none in the 15th century. From Corrozet, however, we have a more interesting piece of information. “Tignonville was Provost of Paris, and, in this capacity, after having caused two scholars to be hung for murder, contrary to the statutes of the university, he was compelled to have them taken down from the gallows, to kiss their lips, and to attend their interment in the cloisters of the Mathurins. This happened about the year 1408.” The story is a little amplified in the catalogue of La Valliere, n°. 1241.

The present may be a proper place for noticing a few of the ancient Manuscripts and Editions of the original French work. There are two ancient MANUSCRIPTS of it now existing in this country. The one is in the Archbishop of Canterbury’s library at Lambeth, and has been described with sufficient accuracy by Lewis, Oldys, and Lord Orford. It is written in a fine Roman type, and is brilliantly executed on vellum. Of the illumination prefixed to it, (supposed to be the portraits of Earl Rivers and Caxton,) I have taken notice in my “Life of Caxton,” vide ante. Beneath the illumination are the following lines:

This boke late translate here in sight
By Antony erle [Rivers] that vertueux knight,
Please it to accepte to your noble grace,
And at youre convenient leysoure and space,

well looked upon it as I had time and space, I gave thereto a very affection. And in especial by cause of the wholesome and sweet sayings of the *paynems*, which is a glorious fair mirror to all good

It to see, reede, and understand,
A precious jewell for alle your lond :
For therin is taught, how and in what wyse
Men vertues shulde use and vices despise,
The subgetts theire princes ever obeye,
And they theim in right defend ay :—
Thus do every mann in his degre,
Graunt of his grace, the Trinitè.

See Park's edit. *Royal and Noble Authors*, vol. i. 216, note.

I have compared Mr. Park's extract with the original, and find it to be correct.

The other manuscript, which was formerly in the possession of the late Mr. Meyrick, is now in the collection of Mr. Broster, Bookseller, of Chester. It contains 75 leaves, is written in an indifferent Secretary hand, with pale ink, on inferior vellum; and is adorned with 21 miniatures. Mr. Broster had thus inserted it as a leading article in his Catalogue of 1808.

"LES Ditz Moraux des Philosophes, a very curious and valuable MANUSCRIPT, with TWENTY ILLUMINATED MINIATURES and ornamented borders, in very HIGH PRESERVATION.

"This is supposed to be the original book from which CAXTON, the first English Printer, translated his book which was printed in 1477. Mr. Ames gives a particular account of this book, and says, it was translated out of Latin into French by Iohan de Thionville (others say Thignonville). Caxton, in his preface to the English translation, gives us some little account of his own life, and states, that it was going to the Jubilee, at Rome, he first saw the French translation. He acknowledges his own want of time prevented his paying so much attention to the book as it deserved, and expressly says, that after his return it was translated by THERLE RIVERS LORD SKALES, who sent it to him to revise it, and then print it." (It will be seen that Mr. Broster has mistaken the preface of Lord Rivers for that of Caxton.) I was of course anxious to obtain a sight of it, and he was so obliging as to transmit it from Chester for my inspection. At the end of it I found the following interesting observations, written by the late Mr. Benjamin White, (as I conceive from the signature B. W.) which are here laid before the reader.

"It is to be doubted whether *this* is the very book from which Caxton's was made, as he in his preface observes that he has learnt there are other copies about, of the same French work, which may probably differ a little from that used for his English translation, so begs the reader, who may be curious enough to compare the English with the

Christian people to behold and understand. Over that, a great comfort to every well disposed soul. It speaketh also universally to the example, weal and doctrine of all kings, princes, and to people of

French, may have this in his memory, and not reckon as a fault a difference of language in the French books. I have discovered that this copy was written about 1472 or 1473, which any person may see by looking at page 94, where, in the miniature round the border of the canopy, may be read in gold letters FAIT. LAN. MIL. CCCC. LXXIII. 1 APRIL. which is April 1, 1473. Now they always painted their miniatures the last; so that the date must be as I before mentioned. [Note. "I should recommend every gentleman having illuminated MSS. carefully to examine the paintings, as it is extremely probable dates might be hid whose discovery might be interesting."] In p. 18 in the miniature, is a scroll wanting a few letters to make it intelligible. On the whole, I think this is a curious and interesting book, and which I value the more on Mr. Egerton's (an excellent authority) opinion. B. W." On examining Mr. Meyrick's Sale Catalogue of Books, 1806, n^o. 117, I find this curious volume was thus briefly noticed: "Les Ditz Moraux des Philosophes MS. folio in vellum, with paintings."

In the *Cat. de la Valliere*, n^o. 1241, occurs a MS. of this work of the 15th century, containing 78 leaves, and written in the ancient bastard current hand in long lines: the arguments of the chapters being in red ink. De Bure supposes that the translation was made by Tignonville, from the original Latin of WILLIAM SOMERSET, in the year 1402, at the request of Charles VI. This MS. is noticed in the inventory of the books belonging to John, Duke of Berry, taken in 1416. There is great reason to think William Somerset, or more properly, William of Malmesbury, never compiled such a work. It is not mentioned by Leland, Bale, or Tanner; nor would De Bure have found it in the list given by Fabricius, *Bibl. Med. et Inf. Lat.* vol. iii. 451-455. 8vo. edit.

Of the early EDITIONS of this work printed abroad, it seems to be material to correct a mistake into which Panzer and Denis have fallen: namely, that an edition of it was published at Bruges in 1473, folio. It is so specified in the *Bibl. Harleian.* vol. v. n^o. 2642; and this very (supposed) edition, "with the initial capitals illuminated," is marked at 2l. 2s. in Osborne's Catalogue of 1748, n^o. 2736. But the fact is, no such edition exists. Let any bibliographer consult the valuable abstract of Vanpraet's "*Recherches sur les vieilles editions de Colard Mansion* (the printer of the supposed edition) given in Lambinet's *Recherches sur l'Imprimerie*, p. 371 to 393—or Santander's *Dict. Bibl. &c. du xv siecle*, vol. i. 350, &c. where he will find it is questionable whether Mansion [the first Bruges printer] ever printed so early as 1473; and, at any rate, that the very edition under discussion, which was seen by Lambinet, has no date subjoined to it. Thus are the errors of one bibliographical work hastily adopted in another! Marchand, in his *Histoire de L'Imprimerie*, p. 69, assigns the first printed book at Bruges to the year 1476; and in this he seems to be supported by Santander: vide *ibid.* In his *Dict. Historique Typographique*, &c. (1758-9, fol.) vol. ii. 24, no mention is made of

every estate, it lauds virtue and science, it blames vices and ignorance. And all be it I could not at that season nor in all that pilgrimage-time have leisure to oversee it well at my pleasure—what for the dispositions that belongeth to a taker of a jubilee and pardon, and also for the great acquaintance that I found there of worshipful folks, with whom it was fitting I should keep good and honest company—yet nevertheless it rested still in the desirous favour of my mind intending utterly to take therewith greater acquaintance at some other convenient time. And so remaining in that opinion, after such season as it listed the king's grace [to] command me to give mine attendance upon my lord the Prince, and that I was in his service, when I had leisure I looked upon the said book, and at last concluded in myself to translate it into the English tongue, which in my judgment was not before. Thinking also full necessary to my said lord the understanding thereof. And least I could not at all times be so well occupied or should fall in idleness, when I might, now and then I fell in hand with all, and drew both the sentence and the words as nigh as I could. Nevertheless, I have sithen [since] seen and heard of other of the same books which difference and be of other importance, and therefore I dread that such as I should list to read the translation, and have very intelligence of any of those books either in Latin or in French, should find errors in my work, which I would not affirm cause of the contrary, but allege the default to mine uncunning, with the diversities of the books; humbly desiring the reformation thereof with mine excuse, and the rather since after my rudeness, not expert, I in my manner followed my copy and the ground I had to speak upon as hereafter ensues."

such an edition by Mansion; and Mercier, in his Supplement to the latter work, p. 78, has fallen into an error by introducing it.

It is probable that an ancient edition of this work in French, subsequent to Caxton's English one, was printed abroad in the 15th century; but the date of it cannot be ascertained. Michel Le Noire printed it in 4to. at Paris, in the 16th century, without date: see *Cat. de la Valliere*, n°. 4299. La Croix du Maine (vol. i. 353) mentions two Paris editions; one of 1531, the other of 1532. The collections of Crevenna, Pinelli, and Gaignat do not contain a copy of any edition.

“The work itself opens,” says Oldys,* “with the sayings of Sedechias; so goes on with those of many eminent ancients, as Homer, Solon, Hippocrates, Pythagoras, Diogenes, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Alexander, Ptolemy, Seneca, St. Gregory, Galen, and some few others: all of whom have a chapter a-piece bestowed upon their sayings. But the concluding chapter comprehends the sayings of several persons; first, of those whose names are remembered, and lastly, of such as are anonymous; from which, as the apothegms of most of those ancients are now more directly translated from the original languages, in which they were delivered, we shall only give this one example. “There came before the king three wise men; the one was a Greek, the other a Jew, and the third a Saracen: of whom the said king desired that each of them would utter some good and notable sentence. Then the Greek said; ‘I may well correct and amend my thoughts, but not my words.’ Then the Jew said; ‘I have marvelled of them that say things prejudicial, where silence were most profitable.’ And the Saracen said: ‘I am master over my words or [ere] it be pronounced; but when it is spoken, I am servant thereto.’ And it was asked one of them—Who might be called a king? and he answered he that is not subject to his own will.”

The translation of Lord Rivers concludes with the foregoing chapter, but the work is extended to three additional leaves by Caxton; who, on a minute comparison of his lordship’s translation with the French, discovered that the earl was too gallant to insert the “sarcasms of Socrates against the fair sex; and it is no less remarkable that his printer ventured to translate the satire, and add it to his lordship’s performance; yet with an apology for his presumption.”† Such is Lord Orford’s remark. Oldys says,‡ “The reader is left to judge if the said earl seriously intended to favour the fair by such an omission, in the middle of his book, whether his printer would probably make so free as to publish it, of his own accord, tho’ in his own

* *British Librarian*, p. 65.

† *Royal and Noble Authors*. Park’s edit. vol. i. 217.

‡ *British Librarian*, p. 65.

name, more conspicuously at the end of it. If it is a piece of *finesse*, it is artfully enough conducted, to expose them more notoriously under the notion of forbearing to do it at all. We never read that the case has been so interpreted; nor can say in what vein or air Maister Caxton's apology for the said edition was written, or is to be read."

But the reader is probably anxious to be introduced to this curious Appendix. It is as follows.

"Here endeth the book named the Dictes or Sayings of the Philosophers, enprinted by me William Caxton at Westminster, the year of our lord M,CCCC,LXXvij. Which book is late translated out of French into English, by the noble and puissant lord Lord Antony Earl of Rivers Lord of Scales and of the Isle of Wight, defender and director of the siege apostolic, for our holy father the Pope, in this realm of England, and Governor of my Lord Prince of Wales. And it is so that at such time as he had accomplished this said work, it liked him to send it to me in certain quires to oversee; which forthwith I saw and found therein many great, notable, and wise sayings of the Philosophers, according unto the books made in French which I had oft afore read; but certainly I had seen none in English till that time. And so afterward I came unto my said lord, and told him how I had read and seen his book, and that he had done a meritori[ous] deed in the labour of the translation thereof into our English tongue, wherein he had deserved a singular laud and thank, &c. Then my said lord desired me to oversee it, and, where as I should find fault, to correct it. Wherein I answered unto his lordship, that I could not amend it: but if I should so presume I might *apaire* * it; for it was right well and cunningly made and translated into right good and fair English. Notwithstanding, he willed me to oversee it, and shewed me divers things which as him seemed might be left out, as divers letters missives sent from Alexander to Darius and Aristotle, and each to other, which letters were

* Impair: injure.

little appertaining unto the dictes and sayings aforesaid, forasmuch as they specify of other matters. And also desired me, that done, to put the said book in print. And thus obeying his request and commandment, I have put me in *devoir* to oversee this his said book, and beholden as nigh as I could how it accordeth with the original being in French; and I find nothing discordant therein, save only in the Dictes and Sayings of Socrates. Wherein I find that my said lord hath left out certain and divers conclusions touching women. Whereof I marvelled that my said lord hath not writ on them, nor what hath moved him so to do, nor what cause he had at that time. But I suppose that some fair lady hath desired him to leave it out of his book; or else he was amorous on some noble lady, for whose love he would not set it in his book; or else for the very affection, love, and good will that he hath unto all ladies and gentlewomen, he thought that Socrates spared the sooth, and wrote of women more than truth; which I cannot think that so true a man and so noble a philosopher as Socrates was, should write otherwise than truth. For if he had made fault in writing of women, he ought not nor should not be believed in his other Dictes and Sayings. But I perceive that my said lord knoweth verily that such defaults be not had nor found in the women born and dwelling in these parts nor regions of the world. Socrates was a Greek born in a far country from hence, which country is all of other conditions than this is, and men and women of other nature than they be here in this country; for I wote well, of whatsoever condition women be in Greece, the women of this country be right good, wise, pleasant, humble, discreet, sober, chaste, obedient to their husbands, true, secret, stedfast, ever busy, and never idle, attemperate in speaking, and virtuous in all their works; or at least should be so. For which causes so evident, my said lord, as I suppose, thought it was not of necessity to set in his book the sayings of his author Socrates touching women. But forasmuch as I had commandment of my said lord to correct and amend where as I should find fault, and other find I none save that he hath left out these Dictes and Sayings of the Women of Greece. There-

fore in accomplishing his commandment, forasmuch as I am not in certain whether it was in my lord's copy or not, or else peradventure that the wind had blown over the leaf at the time of the translation of his book, I purpose to write those same sayings of that Greek Socrates, which wrote of those women of Greece, and nothing of them of this *royame*, whom I suppose he never knew. For if he had, I dare plainly say that he would have reserved them in especial in his said Dictes. Alway not presuming to put and set them in my said lord's book, but in the end apart, in the rehearsal of the works; humbly requiring all them that shall read this little rehearsal, that if they find any fault to *arette* it to Socrates and not to me, which writeth as hereafter followeth."

"Socrates said, That women be the *apparailles* to catch men, but they take none but them that will be poor, or else them that know them not. And he said that there is none so great *empesement* unto a man as ignorance and women. And he saw a woman that bare fire, of whom he said that the hotter bare the colder. And he saw a woman sick, of whom he said that the evil resteth and dwelleth with the evil. And he saw a woman brought to the justice, and many other women followed her weeping, of whom he said the evil be sorry and angry because the evil shall perish. And he saw a young maid that learned to write, of whom he said, that men multiplied evil upon evil. And said that the ignorance of a man is known in three things; that is to wit, when he hath no thought to use reason; when he cannot refrain his *couetises*, and when he is governed by the counsel of women in that he knoweth that they know not. And he said unto his disciples, will ye that I *enseigne* and teach you how ye shall more [over] escape from all evil: and they answered, yea. And then he said to them, for what somever thing that it be, keep you and be well aware that ye obey not to women. Who answered to him again, And what sayest thou by our good mothers and of our sisters? He said to them, Suffice you with that I have said to you, for all be semblable in malice. And he said, who somever will acquire and get science, let him never put him in the governance of a woman. And

he saw a woman that made her fresh and gay, to whom he said, Thou resembleth the fire : for the more wood is laid to the fire, the more will it burn, and the greater is the heat. And on a time one asked him, what him seemed of women ? He answered That the women resemble unto a tree called *Edelfla* which is the fairest tree to behold and see that may be, but within it is full of venom. And they said to him and demanded wherefore he blamed so women, and that he himself had not come into this world, nor none other men also without them. He answered ; The woman is like unto a tree named *Chassoygnet*, on which tree there be many things sharp and pricking, which hurt and prick them that approach unto it. And yet nevertheless that same tree bringeth forth good dates and sweet. And they demanded him, why he fled from the women ? And he answered ; forasmuch as I see them flee and eschew the good, and commonly do evil. And a woman said to him ; wilt thou have any other woman than me ? And he answered to her ; Art not thou ashamed to offer thyself to him, that demandeth nor desireth thee not."

" Lo these be the Dictes and Sayings of the Philosopher Socrates, which he wrote in his book ; and certainly he wrote no worse than afore is rehearsed : and forasmuch as it is accordant that his Dictes and Sayings should be had as well as others, therefore I have set it in the end of this book ; and also some persons peradventure that have read this book in French, would have *arette* a great default in me that I had not do my *devoir* in visiting and overseeing my lord's book according to his desire. And some other also happily might have supposed that Socrates had written much more ill of women than here afore is specified ; wherefore in satisfying of all parties, and also for excuse of the said Socrates, I have set these said Dictes and Sayings apart in the end of this book, to the intent that if my said lord, or any other person what somever he or she be that shall read or hear it, that if they be not well pleased with all, that they with a pen erase it out, or else rend the leaf out of the book. Humbly requiring and beseeching my said lord to take no displeasure on me so presuming, but to pardon where as he shall find

fault ; and that it please him to take the labour of the enprinting in gree and thank, which gladly have done my diligence in the accomplishing of his desire and commandment ; in which I am bounden so to do for the good reward that I have received of his said lordship, whom I beseech Almighty God to increase and to continue in his virtuous disposition in this world, and after this life to live everlastingly in heaven. Amen. Et sic est Finis."

" Thus endeth this book of the Dictes and notable wise Sayings of the philosophers late translated and drawn out of the French into our English tongue by my aforesaid Lord the Earl Rivers and Lord Scales, and by his commandment set in form and imprinted in this manner as ye may here in this book see ; which was finished the xvij day of the month of November, and the seventh year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth."

Of this work there are two differently printed editions ; both of which I have examined in the public library of the university of Cambridge. [A. B. 9. 41: 10. 27 :] The type is the same in both. The first, and probably the most ancient, is the one described by Oldys, Ames, and Herbert, as containing 75 leaves ; and being printed without numerals, signatures, and catchwords, " on a good thick paper with the mark of the heifer's horns, and a flower above. The division of the chapters is seldom by any larger space than the other lines ; only the first three lines of every chapter being shorter than the rest, leave room, towards the margin, for the *initial* letter, which is always a small one ; and the second letter of the word which begins every chapter, is always a capital one." " As to *Orthography*," continues Oldys, " the same words are not always spelled alike, and several of the proper names are much obscured by the old manner of spelling them, especially after the French copy ; and as to *Pointing*, there are but two sorts of stops used ; the one, a little dash ; the other a little cross ; and seldom either used as a period at the end of a complete sentence, &c." British Librarian, 64. note. The other edition, which neither Oldys, Ames, nor Herbert appear to have seen, (and for the mention of which, in his Addenda, Herbert was most probably in-

debted to a vague notice of Dr. Middleton) has signatures, and a mark, thus, ¶, at the beginning of each sentence. It contains only 66 leaves and has 31 lines to a page; whereas the former has but 29 lines. The conclusion of both editions is the same in substance; but the latter, which terminates on the recto of the second leaf after sign. I. iij, has, in addition, "*Caxton me fieri fecit.*" This last edition seems to have been inspected by Maittaire; (Annal. Typog. vol. i. 397, note 2 :) but he is wrong in calling it a quarto. Consult Bibl. West. n°. 2288. Ratcliffe, 1217, and Sebright (1807) n°. 792; which latter copy was sold for thirty guineas. It was the first edition, and, upon the whole, a respectable copy. The libraries of his Majesty, Earl Spencer, and the Marquis of Blandford each contain a copy of this curious volume; and in the Lambeth Library there is one of the second edition, which has the *unique* distinction of the printer's large device impressed on the recto of the first leaf, numbered 1092. This is the earliest known instance of such an impression.

8. THE MORALE PROVERBES OF CRISTYNE (Of Pyse)
Enprinted by Caxton. In feurerer the colde season.
 Folio. (A. D. 1478) Type No. 3.

This is a metrical translation of a French work under the title of "*Les Proverbes Moraux et la Prudence par Christine de Pisan fille de M. Thomas de Pisan, autrement dic de Bologne.*" It is a small poem of about two hundred verses, (each verse generally ending in e) and printed on four leaves only. The first page is as follows;

The morale prouerbes of Cristyne.

The grete vertus of oure elders notable
 Ofte to remembre is thing profitable
 An happy is where dwelleth prudence
 For where she is Raison is in presence
 A temperat man cold from hast asseured
 May not lightly long saison be miseured

Constante couraigis in sapience formed
Wole in noo wise to vicis be conformed
Where nys Justice, that land nor that coūtre
May not long regne in gode prosperite
Withouten faith may there noo creature
Be unto god plaisant, as saith scripture
Propre worldly and to god acceptable
Can woman be, but he be charitable
Hope kepeth not promys in euery wise
Yet in this world hit guideth māny awise
In gret estat lighth not the gloire
But in vertu whiche worth is memoire
A cruell prynce groned in auarice
Shulde his people not truste, if he be wise.
Giuyng in tyme and wisely to refreigne
Maketh oon welthy and in estat to reigne.
Now preyse now blame comunely by usance
Sheweth folye and noo maniere constance
A pryncis court withoute a gonuerneur
Beyng prudent can not leste in honneur."

The last page presents us with the following equally homely couplets.

"There is noothing so riche I you en seur
As the seruice of god oure createur.
Litle availleth good exemple to see
For him, that wole not the contraire flee.
Though that the deeth to us be lamentable
Hit to remembre is thing moost conuenable :
Thende dooth shewe euery werk as hit is ;
Woo may he be that to God endeth mys.

Explicit."

These are succeeded by two seven-lined stanzas, probably of Cax-
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ton's composition : at least they are not controverted by Ritson in his *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 51.

Of these sayynges Cristyne was the aucteuresse,
Whiche in makyng hadde suche Intelligence,
That therof she was mireur and maistresse ;
Hire werkes testifie the experience ;
In Frenssh language was writen this sentence,
And thus Englished dooth hit rehers
Antoin Wideuyll, therl Ryuers.

Go thou litil quayer* and recōmaund me
Unto the good grace of my special lorde

* "*Cayer* or *Quayer*, a piece of a written book divided into equal parts. Cotgrave. Fr. Dict. Here it signifies a little book or pamphlet. So Chaucer uses it in his *Complaint of the Black Knight*.

Go litil quaire unto my livis quene,
And to my very hertis soverayne,
And be right glad, for that she shal be sene
Soche is thy grace.—

Though as Caxton uses it before, when he tells us the Duchess of Burgundy perused five or six *quaires* of his translation of the *Recuyel*, &c. it seems to mean only a leaf, or piece of his translation. However this be, we have here a specimen of Mr. Caxton's great accuracy and exactness in printing, in that he followed every word of the copy given him, and had witness of his doing so." LEWIS'S *Life of Caxton*, p. 19.

"QUAIR," says Mr. G. Chalmers, means "a number of sheets of paper, written or printed, and stitched together; a pamphlet, a stitched book, a book: so *quaire*, in old English. Fr. *cahier*. The term was applied by the old poets to their larger productions. Thus in Lyndsay:

"Thou lytil *quair* of mater miserabill
Weill auchtest thou coverit to be with sabill."

The elegant poem of James I. of Scotland is called "*The King's Quair*." [Part of the above passage from Chaucer is then extracted by Mr. C.] And Gawin Douglas calls his *Palice of Honour* "*Brief beryal quair*, of eloquence all quite." "*The word*," concludes Mr. C. "has now assumed the form of *quaire*; and signifies a parcel of paper, consisting of 24 sheets." Lyndsay's *Poems*, edit. 1806, 8vo. vol. iii. 433.

Therle Ryueris, for I have enprinted the
At his cōmandement; folowyng eury worde
His cōpye, as his secretaire can recorde.
At Westmestre, of feurer the xx daye
And of kyng Edward the xvii yere vraye."

The fair authoress of the original work, says M. De La Monnoye, was born at Bologna (la Grasse) in the year 1364. At five years of age she was taken to Paris to live with her father, who was Grand Judiciary Astrologer; and who, on account of his celebrity, had been invited by Charles V, surnamed the Wise, to be near his person at court. Christina, in her 15th year, was married to Stephen Castel, a young gentleman of Picardy; who died at the age of thirty-four, A.D. 1389, and left her a widow with two sons and one daughter. Having received as good a literary education as the times could afford, she commenced authoress at the age of 35, and seems to have enthusiastically devoted herself to all sorts of compositions, whether in prose or verse: so much so, that, in her book of "Visions,"* she

Dr. Jamieson, in his truly excellent *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, Art. *QUAIR*, has given us the foregoing, and other illustrative authorities for this word; by which it would clearly appear that it was meant for a *book*:

"To cutte the wintir nycht and mak it shorte
I toke a *quere*, and left al othir sporte, &c.

Henryson's Test. *Creseide Chron.* S. P. i. 158."

"*Perqueir*, that is, by *book*," says Mr. Pinkerton, *with formal exactness*." But consult Jamieson. The word, however, seems to have been almost exclusively applied to a book composed of few leaves. Christina herself, in the colophon to the *Visions*, says that she had compiled 15 volumes, besides sundry other little treatises, "*lesquels tout ensemble contiennent environ lxx quaiers de grant volume*." Cat. De la Valliere, n°. 1327.

* "LA VISION DE CHRISTINE, composé en 1405. In folio. Consult the Cat. de La Valliere, n°. 1327 where the title of the work, and the description of its contents, are given somewhat at large. Her Visions are divided into three parts: in the first we have an account of the *Image of the World*, and its wonders: in the second, of *Lady Opinion* and her shadow: and in the third, of the *Study of Philosophy*. The three parts are filled with those absurd allegories common to the 14th and 15th centuries; at the same time they afford

mentions that she had already composed fifteen volumes ; the contents of which, with those of eleven other volumes, subsequently executed by her, have the subjoined titles.* See, continues the same authority, the curious life of this lady given by Mr. Boivin, in the 2nd vol. of the *Mem. de L'Acad. des Belles Lettres*. *Bibl. Francoise de La Croix du Maine*, vol. i. 127-8. The reader may consult the *Catalogue de la Valliere*, n°. 1327, for a more interesting abridgment of her life.

“ In this translation of Earl Rivers,” says Lord Orford, “ the Earl dis-

curious details of the author's life, from her infancy to the 42d year of her age. This vision, says De Bure was never printed: the MS. contains 80 leaves, written in the ancient bastard hand upon two columns in each page. It is adorned with a miniature of Christina, in the attitude of sitting and composing her work.

* IN VERSE. *Cent Balades: Lais: Virelais: Rondeaux: Jeux à vendre, ou Vente d'Amours: Autres Balades: l'Epitre au Dieu d'Amours; le Debat des deux Amans; le Roman d'Othea, ou l'Epitre d'Othea à Hector*. [The Abbé Sallier has given an account of these two latter compositions, which are considered as interesting specimens of the state of the French Poetry in the 14th century. See *Bibl. Franc. de la Croix du Maine*, vol. 1. 128: Goujet's *Bibl. Francoise*, vol. ix. 423. *Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, vol. xvii. 515. The famous Duke de Berry, a great collector of books at this period, purchased a copy of the “ *Balades, &c.*” of Christina herself, for 200 crowns—according to Peignot's *Curiosités Bibliographiques*, p. xv.] *Le Livre des trois Jugemens; le Livre du dit de Poissy; le Chemin de lonc étude; les Dits Moraux, ou les Enseignemens que Christine donne à son fils; le Livre de Mutacion de fortune*, [An amusing anecdote, connected with this latter work, is mentioned in the description of a copy of the MS. in the *Cat. de la Valliere*, 2785. M. De La Monnoye has “ omitted to notice *Les Cent Histoires de Troyes, mises en ryme*,” of which a copy was in the Valliere collection, n°. 2784, printed by Pigouchet in 4to. without date. See also *Bibl. Instruct.* n°. 3890 and *Cat. de Gaignat*, No. 1836.]

IN PROSE. *Histoire du Roi Charles le Sage; la Vision de Christine* [See the preceding note] *la Cité des Dames*; [This book was elegantly printed in English, by Wynkyn De Worde; of which an account is given in its proper place. Verard also printed it in French, 1497, folio. See *Bibl. Instruct.* de De Bure, No. 3863] *les Epitres sur le Roman de la Rose; le Livres des faits d'Armes et de Chevalerie; le Livre des trois Vertus, ou l'Instruction des Princesses, Dames de Court et autres*: [Next to the *Life of Charles V*, which is included in *Le Livre de Mutacion de fortune*, this book *Of the Three Virtues, &c.* is said by De Bure to be the rarest of all the compositions of its author. It gives a curious account of the customs, habits, and domestic usages of female life at the commencement of the 15th century. See *Cat. de la Valliere*, No. 1328.] *Lettres à la Reine Isabelle, en 1405*; and lastly *LES PROVERBES MORAUX, ET LE LIVRE DE PRUDENCE*.

covered new talents, turning the work into a poem of two hundred and three lines, the greatest part of which he contrived to make conclude with the letter E: an instance at once of his lordship's application, and of the bad taste of an age, which had witticism and whims to struggle with as well as ignorance." I have seen the "superb manuscript" of the works of Christina with illuminations, mentioned by Mr. Park to be in the Harleian collection, n°. 4431, and not described in the catalogue—and find that it contains, as Mr. P. learnt from the Rev. Mr. Nares, [late at the head of the MS. department] thirty different articles. The Moral Proverbs are in rhyming distichs: the Book of Prudence is in prose. Consult the recent edition of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. i. 217, note 4.

A copy of this very rare book, which does not seem to have been inspected by Herbert, was in Ames's collection, and in that of the late George Mason, Esq. In the Harleian Library it was bound up with the "Dictes and Sayings:" see Bibl. Harl. vol. iii. n°. 3507, Bibl. West. n°. 2283. The Marquis of Blandford and Lord Spencer each possess a copy.

9. THE Book named CORDYALE; or Memorare Novissima: which treateth of "The foure last Thinges.* *Began on the morn after the Purification of our blissid Lady (2d Feb. 1478), &c. And finisshed on the even of thannunciacion of our said blissid Lady, fallyng on the wednesdaye the xxiiij daye of Marche In the xix yere of Ryng Edward the fourthe. (A. D. 1480) Folio.*

This work opens with the following exhortation to the reader:

* "The first of *Death*; the second of the *Last Judgment*; the third of the *Pains of Hell*; and the fourth of the *Joys of Heaven*." This subject was an exceedingly popular one in the 15th and 16th centuries, and engaged the attention of the learned Sir Thomas More, who wrote a Treatise expressly upon it. An extract from this Treatise, as a favourable specimen of the serious style of its author, is given in my edition of More's *Utopia*, vol. i. lxxxix.

“ All ingratitude utterly setting part, we ought to call to our minds the manifold gifts of grace, with the benefits, that our Lord of his most plenteous bounty hath given us wretches, in this present transitory life, which remembrance of right should directly induce us to give his Godhead therefore continual and immortal lovings and thanks, and in no wise to fall to the ignorance or forgetfulness thereof, &c.”

Then the following table on the next leaf.

“ This present treatise is divided in four principal parts ; of the which every part containeth three other singular parts, as in the manner following is shewed.

The first principal part is, of the bodily death ; and thereunto belongeth three other singular parts :

The first of the three is, how remembrance of death causeth a man to meek and humble himself.

The second is, how remembrance of death maketh him to despise all vain worldly things.

The third is, how remembrance of death causeth a man, unconstrained, to take upon him to do penance and to accept it with glad heart.

The second principal part is, of the last day of Judgment, and containeth in himself three other singular parts :

The first of these three is, how accusation that shall be at the day of judgment is thing to be dreaded.

The second is, how the last day of judgment is terrible, and not without cause ; for there must be given a due reckoning and account of every thing.

The third is, how the terrible abiding of the extreme sentence causeth doubts to be had of the judgment.

The third principal part is, of hell or of the infernal *Gehenne*, and containeth in itself three other singular parts :

The first of those iij is, how hell after holy scripture is named in diverse and many ways.

The second is, how they that descend into hell be punished with many great and sundry pains.

The third is, how there be many divers conditions of grievances in the pains of hell.

The fourth principal part is, the blissful joys of heaven, and thereunto appertaineth three other singular parts:

The first of those three is, how the realme of heaven is loved, praised, and recommended for his beauty, clearness, and light.

The second is, how the realm of heaven is praised for the manifold goodnesses that be abundant therein.

The third is, how the celestial realm is to be lauded for the perpetual and infinite joy and gladness therein.

Hereafter follows the prologue of the four last things."

The book concludes with Caxton's epilogue, as follows;

"This book is thus translated out of French into our maternal tongue, by the noble and virtuous Lord Anthoine EARL RIVERS, Lord Scales, and of the Isle of Wight, defender and director of the causes apostolic for our holy father the Pope in this realm of England, uncle and governor to my Lord Prince of Wales; which book was delivered to me William Caxton by my said noble Lord Rivers, on the day of the purification of our blessed Lady, falling the Tuesday the second day of the month of February, in the year of our Lord M,cccc,lxxviii for to be imprinted, and so multiplied to go abroad among the people, that thereby more surely might be remembered the four last things undoubtedly coming. And it is to be noted that since the time of the great tribulation and adversity of my said lord, he hath been full virtuously occupied, as in going of pilgrimages to Saint James in Galice, to Rome, to Saint Bartholomew, to Saint Andrew, to Saint Matthew, in the realm of Naples, and to Saint Nicholas de Bar in *Puyle*, [Apulia] and other divers holy places. Also hath procured and gotten of our holy father the pope, a great and a large indulgence and grace unto the chapel of our lady of the *pieue* [pious] by Saint Stephen's at Westminster, for the relief and help of christian souls passed out of this transitory world, which grace is of like virtue to

the indulgence of *Scala celi*: and notwithstanding the great labours and charges that he hath had in the service of the king, and of my said lord prince, as well in Wales as in England, which hath been to him no little thought and business both in spirit and in body, as the fruit thereof experimentally sheweth. Yet over that, to enrich his virtuous disposition, he hath put him in *devoir* at all times when he might have a leisure, which was but *startemele*, to translate divers books out of French into English. Among other, passed through mine hand the book of the "*Wise Sayings or Dictes of Philosophers*," and the wise and wholesome "*Proverbs of Christine of Pise*," set in metre. Over that, [he] hath made divers ballads against the seven deadly sins. Furthermore, it seemeth that he conceiveth well the mutability and the unstableness of this present life, and that he desireth, with a great zeal and spiritual love, our ghostly help and perpetual salvation; and that we shall abhor and utterly forsake the abominable and damnable sins, which commonly be used now a days, as pride, perjury, terrible swearing, theft, murder, and many other. Wherefore he took upon him the translating of this present work, named *CORDIALE*; trusting that both the readers and the hearers thereof should know themselves hereafter the better, and amend their living, or they depart and lose this time of grace to the recovery of their salvation; which translating, in my judgment, is a noble and a meritorious deed. Wherefore he is worthy to be greatly commended, and also singularly remembered with our good prayers: for certainly as well the readers as the hearers, well conceiving in their hearts the aforesaid four last things, may thereby greatly be provoked and called from sin to the great plenteous mercy of our blessed Saviour, which mercy is above all his works; and no man being contrite and confessed, needeth to fear the obtaining thereof, as in the Preface of my said lord's book, made by him, more plainly it appeareth. Then in obeying and following my said lord's commandment, in which I am bounden so to do, for the manifold benefits and large rewards of him had, and received of me undeserved, I have put me in *devoir* to accomplish his said desire and commandment: whom I beseech Al-

mighty God to keep and maintain in his virtuous and laudable acts and works; and send him the accomplishment of his noble and joyous desires and pleasures in this world, and after this short dangerous and transitory life, everlasting permanence in heaven. Amen. Which work present I began the morn after the said purification of our blessed lady, which was the day of Saint Blase, Bishop and Master, and finished on the even of the annunciation of our said blessed lady, falling on the Wednesday the xxiiij day of March, in the xix year of King Edward the fourth."

Lewis, in his *Life of Caxton*, p. 19, 20, from the account of Maittaire, [vol. i. 394] has given a confused description of this work, which he specifies as two books; although he afterwards supposes them to be but one. On what authority he adopts the date of 1479, for the year when the printing of it was finished, does not appear upon the face of the colophon. Lord Orford * imagined that Caxton was employed two years upon the work; and certainly, the space of time from the year 1478 to the 24th of March, in the 19th of Edward IV's reign, forms a period of two years, as Edward began to reign in 1461. It is probable that Caxton made a mistake in the first date, and that we should read 1479 instead of 1478. At all events the book was printed in 1480. "It does not appear," says Lord Orford, "that he published any other work in that period; yet he was generally more expeditious; but the new art did not, or could not, multiply its productions, as it does now in its maturity." The latter part of this observation is not the language of a well-versed bibliographer: for when it is recollected that John Spira produced two editions of Cicero's epistles, the first edition of Tacitus and of Pliny's Natural History, in one year (1469)—when also we call to mind that, in the same year, the *Editiones Principes* of Cæsar, Aulus Gellius, Apuleius, and Lucan were printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz, [to say nothing of the labours of Aldus, and, indeed, of the four ponderous and magnificent volumes, a Latin and a German Bible, [each in 2 vols.] printed by

* *Royal and Noble Authors*. Park's edit. vol. i. 219.

Fust in the year 1462*] we shall not be inclined to think that "the new art [of printing] did not, or could not, multiply its productions as it does now in its [supposed] maturity."

To return however to the "CORDIALE" of Earl Rivers. The original of his lordship's translation was a Latin work, frequently printed in the 15th century; and, for the first time, at Cologne by Petrus de Olpe, in folio, 1477. See *Laire's Index Libror. ad Ann. 1500*, vol. i. p. 424; where the rarity of this Cologne edition is noticed, and the composition of a similar work is given to one Dionysius, a Carthusian monk. The author of the present book is unknown. Lewis notices a Cologne edition by Unckel of 1483; but the reader should consult Panzer's *Annal. Typog.* vol. v. 165—where upwards of twenty foreign editions in the 15th century are specified; and where, copying Maittaire's inaccuracy, the date of 1478 is assigned for the period of the impression of Caxton's edition.

In the account subjoined to the Harleian copy of this book ("bound with red morocco and embellished with gold,") we are told that the preface before the book was written by the Earl Rivers; "and at the end of the author's prologue ensuing, it appears that it is called *The Cordiale*, from the reasons urging that the four important articles treated of therein, may be *cordially* enprinted in us." See *Bibl. Harl.* vol. iii. n°. 1544. This very copy was afterwards marked by Osborne, in his *Catalogue* of 1748, n°. 950, at 2l. 2s: a sum, at least, ten times beneath its present value. This work is printed in long lines, has neither capital letters [but spaces with small ones as a direction to insert the capitals] catchwords, nor signatures, and the leaves, amounting to 76 in number, are not numbered. In the type there are several combined letters, and some marks of abbreviation: in the orthography the words are frequently not spelt alike; and as to the punctuation, the only stops are small square ones, like a cross, and little oblique dashes.

* Consult Wurdwein's *Bibl. Moguntina*, 73. 78; and Vogt *Catal. Libror. Rarior.* p. 128-129-153. edit. 1793, 8vo.

Perfect copies of this rare book are in the Bodleian Library, and in the public library at Cambridge. [A. B. 10. 54:] Mr. Johnes is also in possession of a perfect copy, which was formerly in the Alchorne collection. See too Bibl. West. n°. 1873; which "fine copy, in morocco," is now in his Majesty's library.

10. OUYDE HIS BOOKE OF METAMORPHOSE *Translated and fynysshed by me William Caxton at Westmestre the xxii day of Apryll, the yere of our lord m. iiij^c. iiij^{xx}. And the xx yere of the Regne of kyng Edward the fourth.* A manuscript in Folio.

Of all the productions of Caxton, none are attended with greater difficulties in the investigation than the present work under consideration. Herbert has implicitly followed Ames, who had before literally copied Lewis.* The authority upon which the latter rests his account is, the following loose dictum of Casimir Oudin, in his Commentary upon the ancient writers of the church. "Libri xv Metamorphoseon Ovidii in Anglicam prosam per Caxtonum conversi, A. D. 1480." From these words no certain inference can be drawn that Caxton *printed* the work. That the above colophon bears strong marks of a copy of some printed book, and that the Metamorphoses of Ovid came under Caxton's review as a *translator*, seems unquestionable.

For the description of the manuscript I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Marsh, the learned translator of Michaelis, who took it from a volume in the Pepysian collection, [n°. 2124.] now deposited in Magdalen College, Cambridge. This volume contains only the last five books in prose; which makes it exceedingly probable that the whole xv books were translated by the same hand, and that the remaining ten were contained in two other volumes: but no traces of these have been discovered by the most diligent bibliographer.

* *Life of Caxton*, p. 27. I do not discover any notice of this work by Oldys.

This manuscript, which is adorned with a fine portrait of the donor of the library, presents us with the following specimen of penmanship; which has been considered by Bagford * as the handwriting of CAXTON—but upon what authority, remains yet to be proved.

*Here followeth the
xvth booke of Ouyde.
Wherof the first fa-
ble is of the mar-
age of Orpheus
and Erudice his lo-
ue. Cap^o pmo.*

The entire five books are written in precisely the same character, but with black ink: the titles of all the fables, like the above, are in red ink. At the bottom of the last leaf but one is; "Thus endeth the xvth and laste booke of Ouyde. And next hys prayer to the goddes followeth." At the bottom of the last leaf is the colophon: "Thus endeth Ouyde his booke of Metamorphose, Translated," &c. (exactly as in the title.)

I cannot dismiss this curious article, without indulging the hope that the labours of some more successful bibliographer may bring a *printed* copy of the book to light: none of the kind has hitherto, I believe, been seen or heard of. It is not improbable that the love of the marvellous, which seems to have so strongly possessed our venerable typographer, and which was also the ruling literary passion of the day, might have induced Caxton to print, as well as translate, the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid.

* *Harl. MSS.* n°. 5910. Bagford mentions a copy "in the possession of Richard Jackson, Esq. of Clapham." This became probably, afterwards, the property of Mr. Secretary Pepys. The above "specimen" is a fac-simile made by a young friend at Magdalen College.

11. THE CRONICLES OF ENGLOND &c *Enp̄nted by me William Caxton In thabbey of Westmynstre by london &c the v day of Juyn the yere of thincarnacion of our lord god* M.CCCC.lxxx. &c. Folio. (Type 4.) With which is usually bound

12. THE DESCRIPCION OF BRITAYNE &c *Fynysshed by me William Caxton the xviii day of August the yere of our lord god* M.CCCC.lxxx. &c. Folio. (Type 4.)

These two small volumes, which are to be found in most collections of Caxton's pieces, have not been clearly described by either Ames or Herbert; although they were once, and still are, held in respect by the antiquary. Before I touch upon the authenticity of their materials, I will give an outline of their contents; and first of the *CHRONICLES*—commencing thus:

"In the year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ M. cccc. lxxx. And in the twentieth year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth, at request of divers gentlemen, I have endeavoured me to enprint the Chronicles of England, as in this book shall by the suffrance of God follow; and to the end that every man see, and shortly find such matter as it shall please him to see or read; I have ordained a table of the matters shortly compiled and chaptered as here shall follow; which book beginneth at *Albyne*, how she with her sisters found this land first, and named it Albion; and endeth at the beginning of the reign of our said sovereign lord King Edward the Fourth."

Then follows the table of the chapters,* 268 in number, on thirteen

* "In chapter 200," says Ames, "the word *knave* is put for a *young man*: to which Herbert adds—"Tho commaunded he a knave anone to have of his spores on his heles," &c. Which sentence, continues he, in two MSS. in my possession, runs thus; "Tho comaundede he a knawe anon to heue of his sporres with his heles."

The terme *KNAVE*, or "*knaw, knawe, knaif*" originally meant, as I submit, a *lad under*

pages. After which is a blank leaf, affording an excellent specimen of the fine stout paper upon which the work is printed; and on signature a 2 the Chronicle begins.

The last chapter, which is a short one, is devoted to the account of the battle of Towton, (so fatal to the interest of Henry VI.) which was fought on a Palm Sunday. The battle is thus summarily described. "And on Palm Sunday after, he [Edward IV.] had a great battle in the north country at a place called Towton, not far from York, where with the help of God he gat the field and had the victory: where were slain of his adversaries xxv [or x ?] thousand men and more, as it was said by men that were there." Caxton concludes his Chronicle with this pious wish—"that there may be a very final peace in all christian realms; that the infidels and miscreants may be withstanden and destroyed, and our faith enhanced which in these days is sore minished by the puissance of the Turks and heathen men. And that after this present and short life, we may come to the everlasting life in the bliss of heaven. Amen."

The volume concludes on the recto of the third leaf after signature y 3. "Thus endeth this present book of the Chronicles of England, enprinted by me William Caxton, in the Abbey of Westminster, by London. Finished and accomplished the 5th day of June, the year of the incarnation of our Lord God, m.cccc.lxxx, and in the xx year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth." It has neither numerals, signatures, nor catchwords.

On the 18th of August following, Caxton published his DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND; to which he prefixed the following short prohemie. "It is so, that in many and divers places, the common

age in a *menial capacity*. In this sense it was used by Chaucer, Wyntown, and in the fragment of "Robin Lyth" in the reign of Hen. V: as appears in Ritson's *Ancient Songs*, p. 48-51. v. 38. See also one of the songs in Ritson's *Robin Hood*, p. 16. v. 321. Even Shakspeare adopts the term in this sense. "Whip me such honest *knaves*." *Othello*, Act. I. Sc. 1. But consult Jamieson's *Scottish Etymological Dictionary*, Art. *KNAW*. After this, we may leave the graceless sceptic to enjoy his triumph, when he discovers, in some ancient English versions of the Bible, St. Paul to be called "a *knave*!"

Chronicles of England ben had, and also now late imprinted at Westminster—And for as much as a description of this land, which of old time was named *Albyon*, and after *Britayne*, is not described *ne* commonly had, *ne* the nobleness and worthiness of the same is not known—Therefore I intend to set in this book the description of this said Isle of Britayne, with the commodities of the same." A table of the chapters, 29 in number, follows; which, with the prologue occupies a full page; being on the reverse of the first leaf.

The heads of the chapters are these.

In the first shall be told the names of the island	Chap. i.
Of the setting, bounding, length and breadth	ii.
Of the worthiness and prerogatives	iii.
Of the marvels and of the wonders *	iiii.
Of the chief parts of the same land	v.
Of the islands that be thereto adjacent	vi.
Of the King's highways and streets	vii.
Of the famous rivers and streams	viii.
Of ancient cities and towns	ix.
Of provinces and shires	x.
Of the laws and names of the laws	xi.
Of kingdoms, of bounds, and marks between them	xii.
Of bishopricks and their sees	xiii.
Of how many manner people have dwelled therein	xiiii.
Of the languages of manners and usage of the people of that land	xv.
Of the land of Wales	xvi.
Of the name and why it is named Wales	xvii.
Of the commodities of the land of Wales	xviii.

* Of these *wonders* take, gentle reader, two samples. "At *Pecton* there bloweth so strong a wind out of the chinks of the earth, that it casteth up again clothes that men cast in." At *Stonehenge*, besides Salisbury, there be great stones and wonderous huge. And be reared on high, as it were gates set upon other gates; *ne* nevertheless it is not known clearly *ne* apperceived how and wherefore they be so areared and so wonderful hunged."

	Chap.
Of the manners and rights of the Welchmen	xix.
Of the marvels and wonders of Wales	xx.
Of the description of Scotland, sometimes called Albany	xxi.
Of the description of Ireland	xxii.
Of the greatness and quantity of that land	xxiii.
Of the defaults of that land	xxiiii.
Of them that first inhabited Ireland	xxv.
Of the conditions and manners of Irishmen	xxvi.
Of the marvels and wonders of Ireland	xxvii.
Of the marvels of Saints of Ireland	xxviii.

On the recto of the last leaf, "Here endeth the description of Britain, the which containeth England, Wales, and Scotland; and also because Ireland is under the rule of England, and of old time it hath so continued, therefore I have set the description of the same after the said Britain, which I have taken out of Polycronicon. And because it is necessary to all Englishmen to know the properties, commodities, and *mervailles* of them, therefore I have set them in enprint according to the translation of Trevisa, which, at request of the Lord Berkeley, translated the book of Polycronicon into English. Finished by me, William Caxton, the xviii day of August, the year of our Lord God m.cccc.lxxx, and the xx year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth."

It contains 29 leaves; and has neither signatures, numerals, nor catchwords. The Lambeth copy of these two works, from which the foregoing extracts have been taken, is probably the finest one ever seen. The book is generally in a dirty and cropt condition, but the Archbishop's copy is quite clean, and has a LARGE PAPER aspect. [n°. 15. 4. 11.]

His Majesty, Earl Spencer, Mr. Johnes, and most of the collectors of Caxton's pieces, have copies of these volumes. I have seen upwards of seven. J. Ratcliffe had two copies. Bibl. Rat. n°. 1022: 1393.

It now remains to make a few observations on the *authenticity of their materials*; and on this head great assistance has been derived

Capitulum Lx:

N^o 3.

Erne beganne agayne the bataylle of the one par
te/ And of the other Eneas ascryed to theym and
sayd. Lordes Why doo ye fyghte/ Ye knowe well
that the couenaunte ys deuyd and made/ That Tur-
nus and I shall fyghte for you alle/ Whyle that e-
neas sayd these wordes. and cryed vnto his folke that
they sholde not fyghte/ There was a quareyll launche in
to his hande/ and wyfte neuer who shotte hit. Erne
departed Eneas from thens /and Turnus and his folke
came soone to fetch theire armures And thenne Tur-
nus smote hym selfe in to the troians! Turnus atte
his comynge on dyde grete damage to the troians For
he was a ryghte, valyaunte knyghte of his body. And de-
spred moche for to dyscomfyte theym.

N^o 4.

This nycolas had a fayr wyf and was blamed of the awf-
tles as though he were jelous and he brought forth his wyf e-
yf ony man wold lye by her he wold suffre it. In synfel and
innocent doyng though somme folowyd dyuerse lechery, yet ny-
colas dide yet in despylyng of the wyse of jelousy and not by
wyll to teche men to desyre flesshely lykyng and namely for his
sonnes and doughters lpyued chaste to her wyues ende and also for
hym selfe toke none other wyf after his fyrst wyse. R Of
this James take hede that he had four surnames and so he is na-
med Jacobus Alphay for he was Alphens sone our lordes bro-
der for he was moost lyke to oure lord in holynesse and in face
So that many men were hygyled in the lykenesse of them two
And therfor Judas gaf the Jewes a signe of a cusse lest they
were deayued in takyng of crist

J^r Basire sc.N^o 3. *Fac simile of the type of Caxton's edition of the Aeneid.*N^o 4. *D^o..... of the Chronicles of England.*

from the publications of T. Warton, Mr. G. Ellis*, and Mr. Burnett†; the two latter especially. Major, ‡ the historian, very gravely attacked our printer as the AUTHOR of these Chronicles; not reflecting

* Consult the *Third Section* of Mr. Ellis's *Metrical Romances*, vol. i. p. 43, &c. where 52 pages are devoted to an interesting abridgment of Geoffrey's Chronicle, in which "Geoffrey has no where shewn the slightest solicitude to establish the credibility of the events he relates: He only insists that he has translated into Latin the text of a native historian; that the MS. which he follows is ancient; that it is British; and that it was put into his hands by Walter [Calenias] Archdeacon of Oxford, who had brought it from Armorica. [in the 12th century.] Ibid. p. 88. "Upon the whole, (he continues, at page 94) there seems to be no good reason for supposing that this strange Chronicle was a sudden fabrication, or the work of any one man's invention. It rather resembles a superstructure gradually and progressively raised on the foundation of the history attributed to Nennius." Giraldus Cambrensis, says Mr. Ellis, adduces a very comical proof of Geoffrey's want of veracity. "There was it seems, in the neighbourhood of Chester, a man of the name of Melerius, who, in consequence of having had an intrigue with a young lady on the eve of Palm Sunday, was, ever after, more or less tormented by devils. Though perfectly illiterate, he could distinguish the true from the false passages in books; because the former drove away, while the latter attracted round him, crowds of evil spirits. When Geoffrey's Chronicle was put into his lap, a more numerous tribe than usual of those infernal imps sat for a considerable time not only about his body, but about the book which was placed upon it." See p. 72. note. Consult also Ritson's *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, vol. i. p. xlviii.

† *Specimens of English Prose Writers*, vol. i. 173 to 209. We are much indebted to Mr. Burnett for his copious and amusing extracts from this work; which, after all, seems to have been the grand store-house of the extraordinary adventures described in subsequent romances.

‡ "On occasion, says Lewis, of Mr. Caxton's printing this manuscript English Chronicle, and the continuation of it to his own time, many reflections have been made on him. John Major, the Scottish historian, observed, that "he has coined not only improbabilities, but great inconsistencies; and that, in particular, the invective against Robert and David Bruce has as many lies in it as words." But he should have known that Mr. Caxton was only the printer, not the author of these Chronicles. The same consideration somewhat abates the reflection of the learned Gerard John Vossius—viz. "that there are not a few things in this Chronicle which shew a want of judgment." (*De Hist. Latin.*) It has been observed of Major, (Mackenzie's *Scottish Writers*, vol. ii. 315) that as he all along mixes the Chronicles or History of England and Scotland, he takes the greatest part of what concerns his own nation from the English writers, among whom the principal authors are Bede, CAXTON, and Froissard. That he owns himself, he often literally

that they owe their origin to one DOUGLAS,* a monk of Glastonbury, who, in the earlier parts, has copied the ingenious fictions and emendations of Geoffrey of Monmouth, grafted upon the common stock

translated Caxton, though he takes occasion to quarrel with his history, and especially for its asserting the dependence of the crown of Scotland upon that of England."

Life of Caxton, p. 29. 30.

Whoever wishes to read the castigation of Caxton by Major, may consult the 13th chapter of the 4th book of the latter's history *De Gestis Scotorum*, edit. 1740, 4to. And yet it is surprising that Major could honour Caxton by quoting him as an authority, when he gravely says in the chapter just referred to, "Deliris igitur commentis CAXTONI relictis, Scotorum historiam vero similem prosequar." There was, no doubt, a manifest absurdity in sitting solemnly on judgment upon these Chronicles, as if they had been the deliberate production of a careful inquirer into the history and antiquities of his country; whereas they contain perhaps as great a portion of fiction as of truth. And yet, in what estimation Caxton's edition appears to have been held during the latter part of the 15th, and beginning of the 16th, century, is evident from the pains which Leland took to copy a copious extract from it [*"Finishid and endid after the copy of Caxton then yn Westmystre."*] by one who was "sumetime Master of Peter College." See Lelandi *Collectanea*, tom. i. pars II. p. 471 to 499, edit. 1774—where a number of amusing memoranda are given; inter alia, the following: which shew with what little judgment and consistency events were strung together—

"This Yere dyed Queen Cataryne, King Henry's moder, the 2. day of January, and was buried in our Lady Chapel at Westminster."

"The xiiii of January fel downe the Gate with a Toure on London bridge, with 2 arches stonding toward Southwark."

"Quene Jane, sumtyme wife to Henry the 4. dyed the 2 day of July, and was caryed from Bermundesey to Cantorbyri, and buried ther with her Husbande."

"All the Lions yn the Toure dyed this Yere." *Idem*. p. 492.

* On the authority of Mr. Douce's *Illustrations of Shakspeare and of Ancient Manners*, vol. i. 423. Mr. Burnett, according to Lewis's note in his *Life of Caxton*, p. 39, says the translation from which Caxton translated and printed, was a French one, written in the beginning of the reign of Edward III. [Harl. MSS. 200.] Mr. Douce is inclined to think that there was an edition *anterior* to Caxton's, "printed by William Machlinia, without date." I have very strong doubts of this, notwithstanding the weight of his authority. The rudeness of the type alone would not afford substantial evidence of its priority; as may be ascertained from some of Machlinia's books professedly printed after the period of the present one. Ames, in his note to this book, mentions a similar rude copy as having been in the possession of Brian Fairfax, Esq.: and Herbert says, "The like at present in the possession of Mr. Tutet and myself." It is a pity that Herbert had not enlarged his account

of Nennius's history; which latter was composed about the middle of the ninth century, and which, says Mr. Ellis, "might still, from the antiquity of its materials, be valuable to an inquisitive historian, if we possessed a perfect and pure copy of his work."* Our printer was only the *continuator* of this Chronicle down to the 20th year of Edward the 4th's reign; in which, says Bishop Nicholson, "his fancy seems to have led him into an undertaking above his strength."† This remark would have commanded greater attention if the author of it, in his account of these Chronicles, had been less confused and im-

of the "*Chronicles*," for he seems to have only copied Ames. In his ADDITIONS, however, he says, with Mr. Douce, that "the types are very like those of the *Speculum Christiani*, by Machlinia." On referring to Tutet's Catalogue, n°. 485, it appears that no other than *Caxton's* edition is specified.

From the latter part of Mr. Douce's observation "of there being a prior edition spoken of in the Prologue to Caxton," it would seem that he had been led into a mistake by the inaccuracy of Ames's quotation—which refers to *Julian Notary's* Prologue, and not to Caxton's. We know of no books printed at Westminster before the year 1480, except those of Caxton; and I have little doubt but that the St. Alban's Chronicle, or the *Fructus Temporum* (1483) has been mistaken for a work anterior to Caxton's.

It may be worth while here noticing a foreign English edition of the *Chronicles* (most probably a reimpression of Caxton's, as the printer of it, Gerard de Leeu, had before executed the "*Jason*—" vide p. 58. 9. ante.) under the following title:

"THE CHRONYCLES of the Reame of Englonde, with their apperteignaunces. *Enprêttyd in the Duchye of Brabant in the towne of Andewarpe. In the yere of our Lord M cccc xciii. By Maistir Gerard de Leew: a man of grete wysedom in all maner of Rūnyng: whych nowe is come from lyfe unto the deth (which is grete harme for many a poure man) on whos soule God almyghty for hys hygh grace have mercy. AMEN.*" The printer's device of the castle gate of Antwerp is beneath. This curious work, of which I never saw nor heard of a copy in this country, has been described in the foregoing manner, by Maittaire, *Annal. Typog.* vol. i. 562; from whom Panzer, vol. i. 12, (with an additional reference to Viss. p. 37,) seems to have taken his description. Santander tells us that the book is very rare. *Dict. Bibliog. Choisi.* vol. ii. n°. 421.

* *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*, vol. i. 45. William of Malmesbury held this work of Nennius in considerable respect—and yet, says Mr. Ellis, "It is remarkable that, in the very same sentence he adopts from Nennius the story of Arthur's having slain, in one battle, 900 Saxons with his own hand. So capricious was the incredulity of our early critics! The story here quoted is in the 63d chapter of Nennius."

† *English Historical Library*, p. 69. fol. edit. 1736.

perfect; in this instance the learned bishop has not shewn his usual candour and discernment. Indeed it seems evident, from almost all the early writers who have noticed this our first printed British history, that the author and the printer of it have been erroneously considered as the same person.

The title of the first chapter is, "*The names of this londe*;" and it begins thus. "In the noble land of Surrey there was a noble king and mighty." The title of the last chapter is the very same with that in the *Chronicles* printed by Julian Notary in 1515; namely, "Of the deposition of King Henry VI, and how King Edward IV took possession of the realm; and of the battle on Palm Sunday; and how he was wounded."

MANUSCRIPTS of the original work are common in the public libraries of this country;* and indeed the reprints of this, and of the

* In the Lambeth library, among the MSS. n^o. 264. there is "*Caxton's Chronicle of England, from Brute to the beginning of K. Edw. IVth's reign.*" Imperfect at the beginning, viz. from cap. i. to cap. xxxiiij. At the end is this note: "Thus endeth this present booke of *Chronicles of England* wryten by me Thims Rudyng ye iiij day of Novembre ye yere of our lord M cccc x." "This transcriber," says Mr. Todd, "has thought proper to make many alterations in Caxton's history." There is another MS. of Caxton's *Chronicles*, of an earlier date, (*Sec. xv.*) in the same collection, n^o. 84, "from Brute to the beginning of the reign of Henry the Sixth;" which differs greatly from the *Chronicle of England*, and is much more diffuse. It is imperfect at the close, concluding with these words: "And after that ther bred a raven at Charyng Crosse at londen. And never was seen noon brede there before. And after that came a gret derthe of pestilence that lasted iij yer. And peple dyed myhtely in every place man woman and chylde. On whos soulys God have mercy. Amen." The date, immediately preceding this passage, is 1460. At the beginning is a mutilated drawing of K. Henry VI.

In the library of Bennet College, Cambridge, there is a MS. which concludes with the end of Edw. III.'s reign—a part of the last sentence being—"the which kynge Edward when he had reigned li yere and more—he deide at Shene, on whos soule god have mercy Amen." This is quoted by Lewis in his *Life of Caxton*, note r, p. 39:

Mr. Lewis, in his APPENDIX, "compared what is commonly called Caxton's *Chronicle of England*, with one of the MS. *English Chronicles* which he printed, and with the editions of it printed by De Worde, 1497 and 1520; and by Julian Notary, 1515. From this Collation it appears that they are the same, without any interpolations; only the old and obsolete language is sometimes altered to make it more intelligible. Of this the

subsequent editions of Wynkyn De Worde, were frequent, till a more

following specimen is given by way of proof—where the history of the monk's poisoning King John in the MS. is compared with the print.

English Chronicle, MS.

THE lordes of Englonde had so miche helpe and strengeth of Lowys the kinge's sone of Fraunce, so that he [K. John] ¹ nyste whider to turne. And so hit came in his thought for to have gon to Nichole, and so he come by the Abbay of Swyneshede, and there he duellede too dayes ¶ And as he sate at his mete bred was set bifer him upon the table. the king toke a lof in his hande & axede what such a lof were worth? Sire, quoth the monk, an halpenye. O god, quoth the king, here ys grete chepe of brede, but yf that I may leue and haue myn hele or this half yer suche a loof sal ben worth xs. And whenne the king had so sayde he sate stille and ofte sichede and toke and ete of the brede. Now, by god, quoth he, the worde that I haue sayde sal be halde. ¶ the monke that stode bifer him was sory in hert and thoughte ordeyne therfore sum remedye though he sulde suffre deth therfore. ¶ the monke anon wente to his Abbot and tolde al that the king hadde seyde and confessed him to his Abbot, and ² bade him for to assoille him for he wolde geve the kinge suche a drynke that al Englonde sulde be glad therof & merye. ¶ the monke anon wente into a gardyn and fonde a grete tode & toke her up and putte hir in a cup, and ³ nome a prik and smote hir thorough in menye ⁴ stedes so that the venyme com out in meny places. the monke toke a sup and fillede hit with gode ale and broughte before the king and sette him on his knees, & saide Sir, ⁵ Watsaille: for

¹ Wist not.

² Prayed.

³ Tooke.

⁴ Places.

⁵ Your health, q. wish-hele.

Caxton's Print.

THE barons had so huge parte & helpe thorough lowys the Kynge's sonne of Fraunce that kyng John wist not to torne ne go. And so it befell that he wolde have gone to Nycholl. And as he went thyderwarde he came by the abbaye of Swyneshede and there he abode two dayes. And as he sate at mete he axed a monke of the hous how moche that a loofe was worth that was sette before hym upon the table. And the monke sayd that the loof was worth but an half peny. O¹, sayd the kynge, tho, here is grete ² chepe of brede. Now, sayde he tho, and I may leue ony whyle suche a loofe shal be worth xx shelynges or halfe a yere be gone. And so when he sayd this worde, moche he thought, and often he syghed, and toke & ete of the brede, and sayd, by god the worde that I have spoken it shall be sothe.

¶ The monke that stode before the kyng was for this worde full sory in hys herte, and thought rather he wolde hymself suffre ³ deth, and thought yf he myght ordeyne therfore some maner remedye. And anone the monke wente unto hys abbot and was shryuen of him, and tolde the abbot all that the kynge had sayd, and prayed hys abbot for to assoyle hym, for he wolde yeue the kynge suche a ⁴ drynke that all England shold be glad therof and joyfull. ⁵ Tho yede the monke into a gardeine, and founde a grete tode therin,

¹ Quoth Bodlei.

² Chear.

³ Piteous deth. ⁴ Wassaile. ⁵ Tho' went.

regular and less romantic series of Chronicles appeared from the

English Chronicle, MS.

neuere dayes of ghoure lyf ne dronke ghe
suche ale. zbegyn, quoth the king, the monke
toke the cuppe & dranke a grete draught, and
toke the cuppe tho to the king [who] dranke
a grete draughte and set adoune the cuppe.
¶ And anon the monke wente into ¹ fermerye
and anon deide of whas soul god haue mercye.
And fyf monkes sullet synge for him specy-
ally whiles that the Abbay stant. ¶ the king
anon aros him op al euel at ese and com-
maunded to remeue the table, and anon he
axed aftir the monke, and men tolde the king
that he was ded & hys bely also brosten and
his bowelles fallen out. ¶ And when the
kyng herde this he commaunded anon trusse
and al hit was for nought, for he began to
² bolne that mighte not helpe be so that with-
inne too dayes he deide, and was on the mo-
rowe oppon sent lucas ³ daye.—— he died
in the castel of Newewerke and his body was
enterede at ⁴ Wynchestre.

¹ The infirmary, or room appointed for
sick persons.

² Blow, swell. ³ October 19, 1216.

⁴ Wyrcestre.

Caxton's Print.

and toke her up and put her in a cuppe
and prycked the tode thorough with a
broche many tymes tyll that the venym
came out of euery syde in the cuppe.
And tho tooke ¹ the cuppe and fyllyed it
with good ale, and brought it before the
kyng knelynge ² sayenge, Syr ³, sayd he
wassayll for ⁴ euer the dayes so all lyf
dronke ye of ⁵ so good a cuppe. ¶ Be-
gyne monke, ⁶ sayd the kyng. ¶ And
the monke drank a grete draught, and
toke the kyng the cuppe, and the kyng
dranke also a grete draught, and sette
downe the cuppe. The monke anon right
wente into ⁷ farmere and there deyed
anone, on whoos soule god haue mercy.
Amen. And five monkes synge for his
soule specyally, and shall ⁸ whyle that the
abbaye standeth. The Kyng ⁹ rose up
anone full euyl at ease and commaunded
to remeue the table and axed after the
monke, And men tolde hym that he was
deed for his wombe was broken in sondre.
Whan the kyng horde this he cōmaund-
ed ¹⁰ for to trusse ¹¹, but it was for nought
for is belly began ¹² to swelle for the
drynke that ¹³ he had dronke, ¹⁴ and within
two dayes he deyed on the morrowe after
Saynt Lukys daye—— he deyed in the
castell of newerke, and his body was
buryed at wynchestre.

¹ He the.

² Sayd.

³ Quoth.

⁴ Never.

⁵ Such.

⁶ Quoth.

⁷ The fermorie.

⁸ While

the Abbey stand.

⁹ Arose anone.

¹⁰ To truss.

¹¹ But all it.

¹² So to.

¹³ He drank.

¹⁴ That he died within two
daies the——

pens of Fabian, Hardyng, Hall, and Holinshed. So popular however, in former times, was the subject of these volumes, that a Metrical

"En l'abbeye de Swynheued home l'enpusonayt. Il gist a Wyrcestre, il memesle volait Anno Domini 1216." Peter de Langtoft, in French.

"*Ex Historia Anglicana, a Bartholomæo de Cotton Monacho Norwicensi anno gratiæ 1292 scripta. MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.*

Anno 1216. Die S. Lucæ Evangelistæ Johannes Rex obiit, veneno extinctus apud Swinesheived a quodam hospitali dictæ domus, et sepultus est apud Wigorniam."

"*E Chronico Johannis Abbatis S. Petri de Burgo.*

Rex [Joannes] vero cædibus et incendiis vacans, de Northfolk versus Lyndsey per abbathiam Swyneshevede venit; ubi, secundum quosdam, potionatus transiit Slafford, ubi supra modum dissenteria vexatus, in lectica ad castellum de Newerk portatus obiit; cujus viscera apud Crokeston condita sunt, corpus vero Wygornia delatum, ac in ecclesia cathedrali sepultum est." This Chronicle ends A.D. 1259.

"*A Petegreu fro William Conqueror of the Crowne of Englonde, &c. MS. in the Herald's Office. Printed 1724.*

In ¹ his tyme was gret deorthe:
xii^d an half peny loof was worthe.
Then he made a Parlement
And swore in angre verament,
That he wold make such a ² scante,
To fede alle Englonde with a ³ spande
And eke with a whitè looff,
Therefore he was to God ⁴ ylothe.
A monke ⁵ anone therof herde,
And for Engelond was sore aferde.
A poysoner then he ordenyd anone,
So was he poysoned and deied ryght sone."

"*Peter Langtoft's Chronicle.*

& Jon regned in this estre kyng auhten ghere,
At the abbay of Suynesheued ther he drank poyson,
At Hauche his lif he leued, so say men of that toun."

LEWIS'S *Life of Caxton*, p. xi. Appendix, p. 133.

¹ K. John's.

² Scarcity.

³ A Spon: a chip.

⁴ Hateful, loathsome.

⁵ Presently.

Romance was composed in the reign of Edward the Second, under the title of a "CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND"—which, with similar

Next follows, in Lewis, what appears to have no connection with the subject, a set of Latin verses relating to the discovery of the art of printing, and taken, according to his authority, from the Nuremberg Chronicle of 1493, by Hartman. I find nothing of the kind in my copy of Hartman's work—fol. cclii rev.: where the art of printing is first mentioned in it; and to which I was referred on reading the curious account of this Chronicle in Masters's *Life of Baker*, p. 123-5. edit. 1784. 8vo. In another publication, which will shortly follow the present one, I shall lay before the reader some interesting particulars relating to this Chronicle; about which Marchand (*Dict. Hist.*) has committed a few blunders. But to return to Caxton.

In the body of Lewis's *Life* of our printer appear these further observations.

"In these Chronicles King John is reported to be poisoned at the Abby of Swineshed near Lincolne, by a Monk of that house. This account of that prince's death, together with the different relations of it by others, the learned and industrious Mr. Fox inserted in the first edition of his 'Acts and Monuments,' &c. to which was added, in some of the after editions, particularly in the seventh, printed 1632, a cut, describing the poisoning of King John by a Monk of Swinstead Abby, in Lincolnshire. In this description the monk is represented as being first absolved by the Abbot, then presenting King John, setting at a table in his robes, with his crown on his head, with a cup of poison, drinking himself of it to the king, and saying, 'Wassail, my lord,'—the king and the monk both lying dead, and the perpetual mass sung daily for the monk. This account, given by Mr. Fox, of this matter, varies from that given by the Author of the Chronicle which Mr. Caxton printed in these two particulars.¹ 1. The occasion of the monk's being so incensed against the king; which, according to Fox, was 'certaine talke that the king had at his table concerning Ludouike the French King's son whiche then had entered and usurped upon him:' whereas Caxton's Chronicle ascribes it to the king's speech of the monk's too large provision, and swearing, That if he lived but half a year longer, he would make a halfpenny loaf worth twenty shillings. 2. The place of the king's burial, which Mr. Fox, with the generality of our historians, says, was at Worster, and the Chronicle printed by Caxton, at Wynchester; which difference, perhaps, might be occasioned by the old spelling the names of these two places, thus, Wyrcestre and Wyncestre, and the one being mistaken for the other."

"However this be, father Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, charged Mr. Caxton with being

¹ This must be an impropriety, if, as our historians tell us, the King lost his crown in the washes or River Wellstream, before he came to the Abby.

² I wish your health.

³ Coll. n°. III.

Chronicles; “ were composed for the purpose of being sung in public

the first author of this story: and a later writer of notes on ‘*Rapin’s History of England*, as the *first* that mentions it in English; withal adding, that it is not mentioned by any historian that lived within sixty years of King John’s death, or before A. D. 1276; when his being poisoned is mentioned in a Latin Chronicle wrote by John,² Abbot of Peterburgh, which ends 1259. But to obviate these mistakes and reflections, it will be sufficient to transcribe what the learned and judicious Dr. John Barcham, Dean of Bocking, A. D. 1623, has said of them in his *Life of this unhappy Prince*, printed by J. Speed.

“ This,” says he, “ being the catastrophe of his tragical reign, might also have been the close of his story, had not the suddenness of his death exacted some search into the cause of his sickness. Such authors as touch the matter but in general, content themselves with saying, he died of ³ grief, or of a ⁴ fever, or a ⁵ flux, or a ⁶ surfeit. But those who have entered into particulars, insist on such a surfeit as whereof both grief, fever and flux were most probable effects and symptoms. For, coming, say⁷ they, from the Washes to Swinshed Abbey (being of the Cisteaux Order which of old he had much incensed) he added new matter of offence as he sat at meat, when, in speech ⁸ of his enemies too large provision, he swore, if he lived but half a year longer, he would make one halfpenny loaf as dear as ⁹ twelve: which to prevent, a monk that had holy habit, whether in love to Lewis, or hate to the king, or pity to the land, presenting him with an envenomed cup, whereof the king commanded him to be his taster, became the diabolical instrument of his own and his sovereign’s destruction. This relation, delivered by monks, and men of monkish humour, as a thing so undeniable, that they avow, at what time they wrote this, ¹⁰ five ‘ monks in that Abbey did sing for this their brother’s soul specially, and so should whilst the Abbey stood,’ which, if it had been forged, every child might easily have refuted; and the rehearsal of all circumstances thereof, (of the king’s speeches, of the monk’s conference with the abbot, of his preparing the drink with the toad in the garden, of his dying in the infirmary) might deserve credit with the greatest

¹ *English edit.* 8vo. vol. iii. p. 242.

² Rex—cædibus et incendiis vacans de Northfolk versus Lyndesey per abbatiam Swyneshevede venit; ubi, secundum quosdam, potionatus transiit Slafford.

³ *Jo. de Wallingford.* ⁴ *Polydore Virgil.* ⁵ *Tho. Otterburne.* ⁶ *Mat. West.*

⁷ *Chronicle of St. Albans MS. Sundry English Chronicles MS. Caxton’s Chronicle.*

⁸ *English Chron. MS. Eulogium MS.*

⁹ As dear as twelve halfpenny loaves, *Leicestrensis.* As 12 pence, *Otterburne.* As 20d. *Polychron.* As 20s. *Caxton’s MS.* 1 pound of bread, 1 pound of silver, *Eulogium MS.*

¹⁰ *Chron. of St. Albans, MS. Caxton et alii.* *Eulogium* saith, ‘ Tres Monachos ex consensu capituli generalis.’

to the harp." See Ritson's *Metrical Romances*, vol. iii. 337. This

patrons of monkery: yet ¹ one of them (as if by acquitting Simon of Swinshed, all other of such Orders were cleared from assassinating of princes, though James Clement did kill Henry III of France) striveth eagerly to asperse some late ² relaters hereof with the blots of both malice and forgery. Wherein is the malice? in adding to the narrations 'Pictures also of the fact, so to move hatred to monks and their religion.' Whereas, of truth, either monks, or men of that religion, were the very first who not only so depicted, but also lively and richly depainted in their goodliest manuscripts, particularly the MS. of St. Alban's, in the library of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a manuscript written in the time of King Edward I, in Mr. Selden's library; where the king is limmed with his crown and rich robes sitting at a banquet, and four monks in their habits coming to him, whereof one presents him with the poisoned cup. Wherein then the forgery? In Fox's adding to Caxton³, that 'his abbot gave him absolution for the same before-hand, there being no such matter at all, nor mention thereof in the story.' No! let the very story speak⁴: 'The monk went to the abbot, and was *shriven* of him, and told the abbot all the king had said; and prayed his abbot to *assoyle* him, for he would give the king such a drink that all England should be glad thereof and joyful. *Tho yode-the-monke* into the garden,' &c. Yea one monk, *Lecestrensis*, allegeth an inducement for the abbot's assent thereto, for that the king had sent for the abbot's sister, a fair prioress, with purpose to have defloured her. Yea, but the story itself is charged with 'Novelty, the ⁵ first author thereof being but anno 1483, and all other former writers making no mention of it.' This, if true, were somewhat; and doubtless it is as true as the former. For how could he, Caxton, be the *first author*, *sith* the Latin History, entituled ⁶ *Eulogium*, whose author died about 1366, hath all particulars more exactly set down than that English one hath, and expressly, that 'the monk conferred with his abbot of his whole purpose, and *shrived* [or confessed] himself how he would suffer this voluntary martyrdom, as Caiaphas said of Christ, better one perish than a nation. At which constancy of the martyr the abbot wept for joy, and praised God: so the monk being absolved by the abbot, was undaunted, and took the cup,' &c. And not only Ranulph, the monk of Chester, author of the *Polycronicon*, who was born in the reign of Henry III, the very next reign to that of King John, John of Tynmouth, who flourished 1336, and Thomas Otterbaurne the Franciscan Friar, who ended his story Anno. 1420, recorded it as '*Fama vulgata*,' a fame generally received: but sundry other ancient stories, as John of Litchfield, the Monk of Leicester, and *Scala Mundi*, to omit other nameless authors before Anno 1483, as *Hist. de gestis Reg. Joh.* MS. and English Chronicles MS. before

¹ F. Parsons's *Warn word* Enc. 2. c. 15.

² J. Fox, *Sir Fran. Hastings*.

³ F. Parsons's *Warn word*.

⁴ Caxton's *Chronicle*.

⁵ F. Parsons, *ibid*.

⁶ MS. in *biblio. D. Rob. Cotton*.

Metrical Chronicle, of upwards of 1000 verses, has been printed by Mr. Ritson; and below* is a specimen of the opening of it. The reader may compare it with the prose extract by Mr. Burnett [Specimens of English Prose Writers, vol. i. 182, &c.] from Caxton.

Edward III, so confidently avouch his poisoning at Swinshead, that impartial after ¹ writers, though friends to monkery, make no scruple to believe it. And why should they not? *sith* an author more ancient and unexceptionable than all the rest, even King John's son and successor in his kingdom, averred it, when the Prior of Clerkenwell saucily telling him, being in that house, that 'as soon as he ceased to do justice towards his prelates, he should cease to be a king:' the king enraged with his traitorous threat, replied,² 'What? mean you to turn me out of my kingdom, and afterward to murder me, as my father was dealt with?'

"By all this it sufficiently appears, that, whether this story be true or not, it was not a story of Mr. Caxton's making, and that *he* was not the *first* who mentioned it in English. He only copied it from an English Chronicle in manuscript; and the most that can be said of him is, that he was the first who printed it. As for F. Parsons, he seems not to have known of this edition of the Chronicles of Edward, A. D. 1480; that to which *he* refers being the edition of *St. Albans* three years after. However this be, if we may credit Mr. Fox, of the writers concerning the death of this prince, the most agree in this, that he was poisoned by the monk above named."

LEWIS'S *Life of Caxton*, p. 33-39.

* HERKNETH hideward, lordynges,
Ye that wolleth here of kynges:
Ant ye mowen heren anon
Hou Engelonde furst bigon;
This filosofres as doth to-wyte,
Ase we findeth ywryte.
This lond was cleped ALBYON
Er then Bruyt from Troye com,
A thousent ant tuo hondred yer
Erthen Marie Crist ber.
A muche mon com from Troye, y wis,
Wes icleped Bruyt Sylvius,
A much mon com with him also
Corineus yclepud wes tho.

¹ William Caxton, John Major, Geo. Lilius et alii.

² O quid sibi vult istud, vos Anglici, vultisne me, sicut quondam patrem meum, a regno precipitare, atque necare precipitatum? *Mat. Paris Histor. Major. p. 854.*

A few words remain to be said respecting the treatise of the "DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND," which was added by Caxton from the diligent pen of Trevisa, the translator of Higden's Polychronicon [of this latter, hereafter]. Both Herbert and Ames have mistaken Julian Notary's Preface to his edition of this work printed in 1515, for the preface prefixed by Caxton. The preface and colophon of Caxton's book clearly shew that he printed the "Description of England" *subsequently* to the Chronicles—and that he referred to his *own* edition of them when he said they were "late imprinted at Westminster." "It is not at all unlikely," as Herbert justly says, "that as they were printed separately, they were sold so, and consequently some editions of the Chronicles might be bound with it, some without it." *

In thilke time, in al this londe,
On aker-londe ther nes yfonde
Ne toun ne houses never on
Erthen Bruyt from Troye com;
Ah al wes wode ant wildernesse,
Nes ther no tilthe, more ne lesse.

Ritson's *Metrical Romances*, vol. ii. 270.

* Herbert has erroneously assigned to the following book, "THE MIRROR OF THE WORLD," the date of 1480. The very mention of the 21st year of the reign of Edward IV, would affix to it a different period. Ames and Herbert do not give the *same* punctuation to the colophon. However Caxton might have stopped it, the sense is clearly with Ames's punctuation; and accordingly I have adopted it.

Lewis, in his *Life of Caxton*, p. 31 to 33, employs a good deal of desultory argument about the chronology adopted by our printer. The best authorities, Hall, Stow, and Speed, adopt the date of 1461, as the year when Edward the Fourth was crowned; and if Caxton himself, in the Preface to his Chronicles and Description of England, calls the year 1480 the 20th of Edward's reign, it will appear to follow that the 21st year of his reign should be in the year of our Lord 1481: yet it must be remembered that the same dominical year may be both the 20th and 21st year of a monarch's reign. Edward began to reign on the 4th of March 1461; now if we add twenty-one years to this date, it follows that *from* March the 4th 1481, *to* March the 5th 1482 is a period equally in the 21st year of Edward's reign. If Caxton finished translating the book on the vij March 1480, it was in the 20th, and not 21st, year of the reign. Upon the whole, although our worthy typographer is not very cautious in his dates, yet, as the year of the reign is so particularly specified, I have affixed to the "Mirror" the date of 1481: perhaps it should have been 148½.

13. THYMAGE, OR MYRROUR OF THE WORLDE. *Emprysed and Fynysshed in the xxi yere of the regne of the moste crysten kyng, kynge Edward the fourth.* (1481.) Folio. With Cuts. (Type No. 3.)

“ Here beginneth the table of the rubrics of this present volume, named the Mirroure of the World or the Image of the same.

The prologue declareth to whom this volume appertaineth, and at whose request it was translated out of French into English.

After followeth the prologue of the translator, declaring the substance of this present volume.

After followeth the book called the Mirror of the World, and	Capo.
speaketh first, of the power and puissance of God.	j.
Wherefore God made and created the world.	ij.
Wherefore God formed man to his resemblance.	iiij.
Wherefore God made not man in such wise as he might not sin.	iiij.
Wherefore and how the vij Arts liberal were found, and of their order.	v.
Of three manner of people, and how clergy came first into France.	vj.
And first it speaketh of grammar.	vij.
After of logic.	viiij.
And after of rhetoric.	ix.
And after of <i>ars metrike</i> , and whereof it proceedeth.	x.
After of geometry.	xj.
After of music.	xij.
And then of astronomy.	xiiij.
And after it speaketh of nature, how she worketh, and what she is.	xiiij.
Of the form of the firmament.	xv.
How the four elements be set.	xvj.
How the earth holdeth him right in the middle of the world.	xvij.

What the roundness of the earth is.	Cap ^o . xvij.
Wherefore God made the world round.	xix.
Of the moving of the heaven and of the vij planets, and of the littleness of the earth unto regard of heaven.	xx.
Here endeth the first part of the rubrics of this present book.	
Here beginneth the second part of the rubrics of this present book, and declareth how the earth is divided.	j.
What part of the earth may be inhabited.	ij.
After it speaketh of Paradise Terrestre, and his four floods.	iiij.
Of the regions of Ind, and of things found there.	iiij.
Of the diversities being in the land of Ind.	v.
Of the serpents and of the beasts of Ind.	vj.
Of the precious stones, and of the great virtue which grow in the <i>royame</i> of Ind.	vij.
Of the lands and countries of Ind.	vij.
Of the fishes that be found in Ind.	ix.
Of the trees that be in Ind, and of their fruit.	x.
Of Europe, and of his countries.	xj.
Of Africa, and his regions and countries.	xij.
Of divers isles of the sea.	xiiij.
Of the diversities that be in Europe and Africa.	xiiij.
Of the manner and condition of beasts of the same countries.	xv.
Of the manner of birds of the same countries.	xvj.
Of the diversities of some common things.	xvij.
To know where hell is set, and what it is.	xvij.
How the water runneth by the earth.	xix.
How the fresh water and salt, hot and poisoned, sourd.*	xx.
Of divers fountains that sourd in the earth.	xxj.
Wherefore and why the earth cleaveth and openeth.	xxij.
How the water of the sea becometh salt.	xxij.

*-Spring : proceed. Chaucer. *Tyrrel's edit.* 4to. vol. ii. 318. lin. 5.

Of the air, and his nature.	Cap. xxiiij.
How clouds, hails, tempests, thunders, lightnings, and light come commonly.	xxv.
Of the frosts and snows.	xxvj.
Of hail and tempests.	xxvij.
Of light, lightning and thunder.	xxviiij.
For to know how the winds grow.	xxix.
Of the fire and the stars which seem to fall.	xxx.
Of the pure air, and how the vij planets be set.	xxxj.
How the vij planets give names to the seven days.	xxxij.
Of the turning of the firmament, and of the stars.	xxxiiij.
Here endeth the second part of the table of the rubrics of this present book.	

Here beginneth the third part of the table of the rubrics
of this volume.

Here is declared how the day and night come.	j.
Wherefore men see no stars by daylight.	ij.
Why men see not the sun by night.	iiij.
Why the moon receiveth diversely her light and clearness.	iiiij.
How the eclipses of the moon come.	v.
Of the eclipses of the sun.	vj.
Of the eclipse that came at the death of Jesus Christ.	vij.
Of the virtue of the heaven and of the stars.	viiij.
Wherefore and why the world was measured.	ix.
Of King Tholomeus [Ptolemy] and other philosophers.	x.
How the scriptures and sciences were saved against the flood.	xj.
Of them that found the science and clergy after the flood.	xij.
Hereafter is said in substance of the marvels that Virgil made by astronomy in his time by his wit.	xiiij.
Here is declared why money was made.	xiiiij.
Of the philosophers that went through the world.	xv.
What thing is philosophy, and of the answer of Plato.	xvi.

How much the earth hath of height, how much of circuit, and how thick in the middle.	Cap. xvij.
How much the moon and the sun have each of them in their proper height.	xviij.
Of the height and greatness of the stars.	xix.
Of the number of the stars.	xx.
Of the greatness of the firmament, and of heaven that is above.	xxj.
Of heaven crystalline and heaven empyreal.	xxij.
Of celestial Paradise.	xxiij.
After this followeth the recapitulation of the things aforesaid.	xxiiij.
Here endeth the table of the rubrics of this present book.	

“ PROLOGUE declaring to whom this book appertaineth.

“ Considering that words be perishing, vain, and forgetful, and writings dwell and abide permanent, as I read, ‘Vox audita perit littera scripta manet—these things have caused that the feats and deeds of ancient men be set by declaration in fair and adorned volumes, to the end that science, and arts learned and founden, of things passed, might be had in perpetual memory and remembrance; for the hearts of nobles, in eschewing of idleness at such time as they have none other virtuous occupations on hand, ought to exercise them in reading, studying, and visiting the noble feats and deeds of the sage and wise men, sometime travelling in profitable virtues; of whom it happeneth oft that some be inclined to visit the books treating of sciences particular; and other to read and visit books speaking of feats of arms, of love, or of other marvellous histories; and among all other, this present book, which is called the IMAGE OR MIRROR OF THE WORLD, ought to be visited, read, and known, by cause it treateth of the world, and of the wonderful division thereof. In which book a man reasonable, may see and understand more clearer by the visiting and seeing of it, and the figures therein, the situation and moving of the firmament; and how the universal earth hangeth

in the middle of the same ; as the chapters here following shall more clearly shew and declare to you. Which said book was translated out of Latin into French, by the ordinance of the noble Duke, John of Berry and Auvergne, the year of our Lord m.cc.xlv : and now at this time, rudely translated out of French into English, by me simple person Wyllm Caxton, at the request, desire, cost and dispense of the honourable and worshipful man Hugh Bryce,* alderman and citizen of London, intending to present the same unto the virtuous noble and puissant Lord William Lord Hastings Lord Chamberlain unto the most christian King, King Edward the Fourth, King of England and of France, &c. and Lieutenant for the same, of the town of Calais, and marches there ; whom he humbly beseecheth to receive in *gree* and thank, which book containeth in all xxvij † chapters, and xxvij figures, without which it may not lightly be understand, and for to declare more openly, it is ordained in three parts, of which the first containeth xx chapters and viij figures : the second part xxxij chapters and ix figures : and the third containeth xxiiij chapters and x figures, which was engrossed, and in all points ordained by chapters and figures in French, in the town of Bruges, the year of the incarnation of our Lord m.cccc.lxiiij. in the month of June, and emprised by me right unable and of little cunning, to translate and bring it into our maternal tongue, the second day of the month of January, the year of our said Lord m.cccc.lxxx, in the Abbey of Westminster by London : humbly requiring all them that shall find fault, to correct and amend where as they shall any find : and of such so founden, that they repute not the blame on me, but on my copy, which I am charged to follow as nigh as God will give me grace ; whom I most humbly beseech to give me science, cunning, and life to accomplish and well to finish it, &c.

* " He was a Goldsmith, Sheriff of London in 1475, and Lord Mayor of the said city in 1485." *Biog. Britann.* vol. iii. 362, marginal note 81.

† It is thus in the original ; but evidently should be lxxvij, according to the foregoing table, and what follows. HERBERT.

“Then who so will comprise and understand the substance of this present volume, for to learn and know specially the creation of this world, the greatness of the firmament, and littleness of the earth in regard of heaven; how the vij sciences were founden, and what they be, by which he may the better avail in knowledge all the days of his life; then let him read this said volume treatably, advisedly, and ordinately, that in such thing as he shall read, he suffer nothing to pass, but that he understand it right well; and so may he know and understand veritably the declaration of this said volume: and he then that so will obey this commandment, may by the contents of the same, learn great part of the form and condition of this world; and how by the will of our Lord, it was by him created, made and accomplished; and the cause wherefore it was established; whereof the *debonair* Lord hath done to us so great grace, that we ever be bounden to give him laud and worship, or else we had not been of any value, nor worth any thing, no more than unreasonable beasts. Then let us pray the Maker and Creator of all creatures, God Almighty, that at the beginning of this book, it list him of his most bounteous grace to depart with us of the same that we may learn; and that learned, to retain; and that retained, to teach; that we may have so perfect science and knowledge of God, that we may get thereby the health of our souls, and to be partners of his glory, permanent, and without end in heaven. Amen.

“Thus finisheth the book called the Image or Mirror of the World, &c.

“And where it is so, that I have presumed and emprised this fore-said translation into our English and maternal tongue, in which I am not well perfect, and yet less in French; yet I have endeavoured me therein, at the request and desire, cost and dispense, of the honourable and worshipful man Hugh Bryce, citizen and alderman of London, which hath said to me, that he intendeth to present it unto the puissant noble and virtuous lord my Lord Hastings, chamberlain unto our sovereign lord the King, and his Lieutenant of the town of

Calais and marches there. In which translation I acknowledge myself simple, rude, and ignorant. Wherefore I humbly beseech my said Lord Chamberlain, to pardon me of this rude and simple translation; howbeit, I lay for mine excuse, that I have to my power followed my copy as nigh as to me is possible, I have made it so plain, that evêry man reasonable may understand it, if he advisedly and attentively read or hear it. And if there be fault in measuring of the firmament, sun, moon, or of the earth, or in any other marvels herein contained, I beseech you not to *arette* the fault in me, but in him that made my copy.

“ Which book I began first to translate the second day of January the year of our lord, m.cccc.lxxx; and finished the viij day of March the same year, and the xxj year of the reign of the most christian king, King Edward the fourth. Under the shadow of whose noble protection I have *emprised* and finished this said little work and book. Beseeching Almighty God to be his protector and defender against all his enemies, and give him grace to subdue them. And inespécial them that have late enterprised against right and reason to make war within his *royame*. And also to preserve and maintain him in long life and prosperous health. And after this short and transitory life he bring him and us into his celestial bliss in heaven. Amen.

Carton me fieri fecit.”

There are two editions of this work; both of which I have inspected among Bishop More's books in the public library of the University of Cambridge. On comparing these with the description of them given by Mr. Baker *, and inserted by Oldys in his Life of

* The life of this eminent antiquary and bibliographer, REV. THOMAS BAKER, B. D. was published by Robert Masters, B. D. and F. A. S. “ From the papers of Dr. Zachary Grey,” with a catalogue of his MS. collections. Cambridge, 1784, 8vo. A life of him

Caxton, in the *Biographia Britannica* (vol. iii. 362, note κ.) I find, as might have been expected, that the description is perfectly accurate; and shall therefore, with a few trifling additions of my own, and from Herbert's text, present it to the reader. The *first* edition is printed upon a thicker and better paper than the other, with spaces left for the introduction of capital initials; it contains 100 leaves, or to signature n iij, in octaves; and has 29 lines in a page. "In some copies, (says Oldys) the pages at top are numbered, and the figures of the celestial and terrestrial spheres are explained in writing by *Caxton himself*." The latter part of this remark is a mere conjecture, and has no sort of authority to support it, as the handwriting of Caxton is not certainly known. The *second* edition is printed with the same type, which has, what printers call, "a fatter look." It has also printed capital initials, contains 84 leaves, or signatures eighteen, has 31 lines in a page, and concludes with the addition "Caxton me fieri fecit." His large device is on a separate leaf at the end. This work has been said to be the first of those printed by Caxton to which signatures are affixed; but the reader has already observed that the second edition of the "Dictes and Sayings," [p. 71. 2. ante.] contains them.

Mr. Bryant, in the memoranda before alluded to [vide p. 2. ante] supposed that by being "engrossed" at Bruges, Caxton meant "*copied* only;" otherwise, says he, "we should have another specimen of his art, and in the same year that is prefixed to the *Recueil*—but I think he would have made use of the expression "*ordained in print*"

also appeared in the *Biographia Britannica*, and his character is justly appreciated in the preface of it. Mr. Baker was among the earliest men in this country, who united a knowledge of books with that of general literature and antiquities; nor can we think slightly of those abilities which have received the warm commendations of Middleton and Warburton. That he did not put forth his "*Athenæ Cantabrigienses*" is for ever to be lamented; and that his, and Mr. Cole's (multifarious) collections on this subject, (the latter deposited in the British Museum) are not brought to light, in the shape of a *printed book*, is a circumstance which with difficulty can be accounted for—when the enterprising spirit of modern booksellers, and the triumph of Oxford men on their favorite *Wood*, are considered.

had it come from his press." It is probable that the first edition, without capital initials, was printed at the latter end of the year in which the translation was finished. The second edition might have been executed towards the end of the subsequent year, or the beginning of 1482. Herbert says that he can find no book with a date annexed, that exhibits capital initials printed before the year 1484: although I do not immediately recollect one, yet I have no doubt that capital letters were thus introduced earlier, and probably by Ratdolt, an ingenious Venetian printer. Santander, in his disquisition upon "Signatures, Numerals, Registers, and Catchwords,"* has unluckily omitted to notice capital initials.

This work, as Caxton's prologue intimates, contains "xxvij figures" or wood cuts; but from what ancient edition they are taken, I have not been able to discover—as neither Maittaire, De Bure, nor Panzer, notice any impression of the "*Speculum Mundi*." To whatever source these figures are to be traced, they are interesting to an English antiquary, inasmuch as they present us with the earliest known Engravings, with a date, published in this country, and contradict the assertion of Heineken † that the first engravings executed in England were those used in the "*Golden Legend*" of 1483. The following are fac-similes of some of these cuts, which were drawn by me from the originals in a copy belonging to the late Dr. W. Hunter, and now in his Museum at Glasgow.

It may be worth adding, that the English original of Caxton's work is in the British Museum, among the MSS. marked Bibl. Reg. 9 A. ix: including even the Prologue. But this was, most probably, a translation from the original Latin work, said by Warton [vol ii. 109] to have been composed in 1245.

* *Supplement au Catalogue de ses Livres*, &c. p. 7, Brussels, 1803, 8vo.

† *Idée générale d'une Collection complète d'Estampes*, p. 207, Leipsic et Vienne, 1717, 8vo. A book of equal interest and rarity.



Grammayre.



Togpke.



Arsmetrique.



Geometrie.



Musyke.



Astronomie.

Herbert's quære, whether or not Caxton's large Device or Cypher was printed before the publication of the present volume, and Lewis's remark, that it was not used till six years after the first edition of the Game of Chess, A. D. 1474, are both satisfactorily answered by a reference to the edition of the "Dictes and Sayings," at p. 72, ante: where we find that the earliest known instance of an impression of this cypher is of the date of 1477.

A copy of the *first* edition of this work is in the Bodleian library; and copies of both editions are in the public library at Cambridge, [A. B. 10: 53. 54.] The British Museum also contains a copy. His Majesty is in possession of the one which belonged to Ames. There is a copy in the Roxburgh Collection, which is perhaps the most beautiful specimen of Caxton's printing, and of the paper which he used, that has yet been discovered: it was procured from the library of the Jesuits' college at Louvain. The Marquis of Bute and Earl Spencer each possess a copy. In Isaac Herbert's catalogue of 1796 n^{os}. 64-5, imperfect copies of both editions were marked at 15 and 10 guineas: and stated to contain "some of the earliest wooden cuts done in England." See too Bibl. R. Smith, p. 275, n^o. 85: Ratcliffe, n^o. 1017; and Farmer, n^o. 6223.

Mr. T. Baker, of whom some account has been given in a note at p. 107, had made the following memorandum in one of the blank leaves of his copy of this work.—"*This book was formerly valued for the matter it contains, is now valuable for the print, and is yet a present for a Lord!*" Biogr. Britann. vol. iii. 362. note κ.*

* The following account of the contents of some part of this "wondrous work" is too amusing to be withheld from the reader. "There are some marvellous reports in this book, which would persuade us, there have been performed, through great knowledge in some of the sciences, no less surprising miracles by the ancients, than have been ascribed, through religion, to some of the legendary saints. But of VIRGIL in particular there are such extraordinary performances here specified, as surpass any thing of his own heroes, and would send the most profound magician to school. The *Artificial Dove* of old, or the more modern *Iron Fly*, were nothing to compare with Virgil's *Copper Fly* in this book, which could chase all other flies for a certain space from his presence. And Virgil's *Brazen Horse* is here such a doctor among the species, that the most diseased of those

14. THE HYSTORYE OF REYNART THE FOXE &c. *Which was in dutche, and by me willm Caxton translated in to this rude and symple englyssh in thabbey of Westmestre fynysshed the vj day of Juyn the yere of our lord M.cccc.lxxxj and the xxi yere of the regne of kynge Edward the iiijth. Folio. (Type 3.)*

This curious and exceedingly scarce volume is called a quarto by Lewis, but it is properly classed among the folios in the Ratcliffe collection, n°. 1223; from which it was purchased by Mr. G. Nicol for his Majesty's library. I believe there is no other copy of it known in this country. The table begins on signature a 2; which led Herbert to suppose that "there was doubtless a leaf before it, with a title, and probably a cut"—but there is not the least foundation for this supposition. The second leaf's commencing with signature a ij, or even a iij (as I have seen it), is no conclusive evidence of its being preceded by a printed leaf, or title, &c. Lewis says that in the first page of it there is Caxton's device of W C—his Majesty's copy has no such mark. The table, with which the work opens, is as follows:

animals was presently cured by only looking upon it. These rarities, with the spacious city he built upon an egg, were to be seen, as precious or profitable reliques at Naples, when this book was first written; and doubtless that great lady's tinder-box, at which he obliged all the citizens of Rome to light their candles, who would rekindle the fires he had extinguished throughout that city, would have been as great a curiosity had it been repositied among the rest. But such an artist he was, in building the wonderful bridge here described; which how performed, no man knew, but all men could pass safely over, as might make us wish him to be alive at the present day; and Friar Bacon's *Brazen Head* seems to have been but a loggerhead in comparison of that here affirmed to be of Virgil's making—which was endowed with so much brains, as to answer all questions, and foretel all events; and those with such true oracular amphibology, that it proved too hard for its maker; who, unable rightly to interpret one of its responses, fell a sacrifice to his own art." See part iii. chap. xiii. Extracted by Oldys in his *Life of Caxton: Biograph. Britan.* vol. iii. 362, note κ.

“ This is the table of the History of Reynard the Fox.

In the first, how the king of all beasts, the Lion, held his court.	Cap. j.
How Isegrym the wolf complained first on the fox.	ij.
The complaint of Curtoys the hound and of the cat Tybert.	iiij.
How Grymbert the ass, the fox's sister's son, answered for the fox to the king.	iiij.
How Chanticleer the cock complained on the fox.	v.
How the king said touching the complaint.	vj.
How Bruin the bear sped with the fox.	vij.
How the bear eat the honey.	viiij.
The complaint of the bear upon the fox.	ix.
How the king sent Tybert the cat for the fox.	x.
How Grymbert brought the fox to the law.	xj.
How the fox was shriven to Grymbert.	xij.
How the fox came to the court and excused him.	xiiij.
How the fox was arrested and judged to death.	xiiij.
How the fox was led to the gallows.	xv.
How the fox made open confession to fore the king and to fore all them that would hear it.	xvj.
How the fox brought them in danger that would have brought him to death; and how he gat the grace of the king.	xvij.
How the wolf and the bear were arrested by the labour of the fox.	xviiij.
How the wolf and his wife suffered her shoes to be plucked off; and how the fox did them on his feet for to go to Rome.	xix.
How Kywart the hare was slain by the fox.	xx.
How the fox sent the hare's head to the king, by Bellin the ram.	xxj.
How Bellin the ram and all his lineage were judged to be given to the wolf and to the bear.	xxij.
How the king held his feast, and Lapreel the cony complained to him of the fox.	xxiiij.

	Cap ^o .
How Corbant the rook complained on the fox for the death of his wife.	xxiiij.
How the king was angry with these complaints.	xxv.
How Grymbert warned the fox that the king was wroth and would slay him.	xxvj.
How the fox came again to the court, and of his shrift.	xxvij.
How the fox excused him before the king.	xxviiij.
How dame Rukenaw the she-ape answered for the fox.	xxix.
A parable of a man which delivered a serpent from death.	xxx.
Of them that were friends and kin to the fox.	xxxj.
How the fox subtilly excused him of the death of the hare, and of other matters, and how he gat his peace.	xxxij.
How the wolf complained on the fox.	xxxiiij.
A parable of the fox and the wolf.	xxxiv.
How the wolf cast his glove to fight with the fox.	xxxv.
How the fox took up the glove ; and the king set them day and field for to fight.	xxxvj.
How dame Rukenaw, the she-ape, counselled the fox how he should do in the fold against the wolf.	xxxvij.
How the fox came into the field.	xxxviiij.
How the fox and the wolf fought together.	xxxix.
How the fox being under the wolf, with glossing and flattering words came to [be] his above.	xl.
How Isegrym the wolf was overcome, and the battle finished ; and how the fox had the worship.	xlij.
An example that the fox told to the king when he had won the field.	xliij.
How the fox, with his friends, departed nobly from the king, and went to his castle, Maleperduys.	xliij.

“ Here beginneth the story of Reynard the fox.

“ In this history be written the parables, good learning, and divers points to be marked, by which points men may learn to come to the

subtle knowledge of such things as daily be used and had in the councils of lords and prelates, ghostly and worldly, and also among merchants and other common people; and this book is made for need and profit of all good folk, as far as they, in reading or hearing of it, shall more understand and feel the foresaid subtle deceits that daily be used in the world; not to the intent that men should use them, but that every man should eschew and keep him from the subtle, false shrews, that they be not deceived. Then, who that will have the very understanding of this matter, he must oft and many times read in this book, and earnestly and diligently mark well that he readeth; for it is set subtilely, like as ye shall see in reading of it; and not once to read it, for a man shall not, with once over reading, find the right understanding, nor comprise it well; but oftentimes to read it, shall cause it well to be understood. And for them that understand it, it shall be right joyous, pleasant and profitable, &c."

"How the Lion, king of all beasts, sent out his commandments that all beasts should come to his feast and court.* *Capitulo primo.*

"It was about the time of Pentecost or Whitsuntide, that the woods commonly be lusty and gladsome, and the trees clad with leaves and blossoms, and the ground with herbs and flowers, sweet smelling; and also the fowls and birds sing melodiously in their harmony: that the Lion, the noble king of all beasts, would in the holy days of this feast, hold an open court at Stade, which he did to know over all in his land; and commanded by strait commissions and commandments, that every beast should come thither; in such wise that all the beasts, great and small, came to the court, save Reynard the fox, for he knew himself faulty and guilty in many things against many beasts that thither should come, that he durst not venture to go thither. When the king of all beasts had assembled all his court, there was none of them all, but that he had complained sore of Reynard the fox."

* For this short extract I am indebted to the Rev. Mr. Gerard, sub-librarian at Buckingham House.

The book ends on the 83d leaf, thus: "There is no good man blamed herein; it is spoken generally; let every man take his own part as it belongeth and behoveth; and he that findeth him guilty in any deal or part thereof, let him better and amend him; and he that is verily good, I pray God keep him therein; and if any thing be said or written herein that may grieve or displease man, blame not me, but the fox; for they be his words and not mine. Praying all them that shall see this little treatise, to correct and amend where they shall find fault; for I have not added, ne minished, but have followed, as nigh as I can, my copy, which was in Dutch; and by me, William Caxton, translated in to this rude and simple English, in thabbey of Westmestre. Finished the vi day of June, the year of our Lord M cccc lxxxj, and the xxi year of the reign of King Edward the iiijth.

Here endeth the history of Reynard the fox."

The account of this book which Ames has given, has been copied verbatim by Herbert; who, however, has occasionally made a few literal corrections. Lewis is remarkably barren in his description of it; and Oldys has implicitly followed Lewis, without making any reference to Ames. Hearne called this work "an admirable thing, and the design very good; viz. to represent a wise and politic government." Lewis's *Life of Caxton*, p. 51. The name of the original Dutch author has not been mentioned: Denis and Panzer refer us only to Herbert. Mr. Douce thinks this "celebrated and interesting romance" was composed long before the twelfth century. See his *Illustrations of Shakspeare, &c.* vol. ii. 347. Whether it has, in any part, a resemblance to the "*Maistre Reynard et Dame Hersant sa femme*," composed by Tenessay, and first printed at Paris in 1516, 4to. I am not able to ascertain. See Barbier's *Dict. des Ouvrages Anonymes, &c.* vol. i. n°. 3923. A copy of this latter work occurs in the catalogue of Gaignat and of La Valliere.

The collector of curious books is, no doubt, well acquainted with "The most delectable History of Reynard the Fox, and the shifts of

Reynardine the Son of Reynard the Fox," printed in two parts, 1701: 1684, 4to.—with wood cuts, which appear to be copied from some ancient edition. I should add that Caxton's edition does not contain a single cut.

15. THE BOKE OF TULLE OF OLDE AGE &c. *Emprynted by me symple persone William Caxton into Englysshe at the playsir solace and reverence of men growyng into olde age the xij day of August the yere of our lord M.cccc.lxxxj.*

To which are added: "TULLIUS HIS BOOK OF FRIENDSHIP; and the Declaracyon, shewing wherein HONORE shold reste." *Printed by the same: in the same year. Folio. (Type No. 3.)*

"This threefold work," says Oldys, [British Librarian, p. 255] is so sufficiently explained in the prefaces and conclusions of its several parts, that the reader cannot have a better account thereof than by a recital of them: we shall therefore begin with his PROHEME, or Preface to the first part."

"Here beginneth the proheme upon the reducing, both out of Latin as of French in to our English tongue, of the politic book named TULLIUS de SENECTUTE; which that Tullius wrote upon the disputations and communications made to the puissant Duke Cato, Senator of Rome, by Scipio and Lelius, then being young noble knights and also senators of the said Rome: of the worship, recommendation, and magnificence that should be given to men of old age, for their deserts and experience in wisdom of politic governance, and blamed them that reprove and loath old age; and how Cato exhorteth and counselleth old men to be joyful, and bear patiently old age when it cometh to them: and how Tullius at reverence of Cato declareth, by way of example, how Ennius, the ancient philosopher, purposeth and writeth in three verses, compendiously unto

his friend Atticus, also a Senator of Rome, how he took great thought and charge for the governance of the common profit, for which he deserved great laud and honour in preferring the same—named in Latin “*Res Publica*—” keeping the Romans prosperous, and defending them from their adversaries and rebels. Which book was translated, and the histories openly declared, by the ordinance and desire of the noble ancient knight Sir John Fastolf,* of the county of Norfolk, banneret, living the age of four score year, exercising the wars in the *royamé* of France and other countries, for the defence and universal welfare of both *royames* of England and France; by forty years enduring the fate of armies haunting, and in administering justice and politic governance under three kings; that is to wit, Henry the Fourth, Henry the Fifth, Henry the Sixth: and was Governor of the Duchy of Anjou, and the county of Maine; Captain of many towns, castles, and fortresses in the said *royame* of France; having the charge and safeguard of them divers years, occupying and ruling three hundred spears and the bows accustomed then: and yielding good account of the foresaid towns, castles, and fortresses

* “In 1459, this great man was seized with an hectic fever and asthma, under which he laboured for 148 days, till St. Leonard’s feast, November 6, when he died, and was buried in the abbey of St. Bennet, of Hulme, in or near Ludham, where large ruins are remaining.” *Anstis’s Order of the Garter*, vol. ii. p. 140: cited by Lewis and Herbert.

In “Sir Thomas Wriothesley’s Collections” this “Sir John Fastolf” is designated as “a riche knyghte, a grete bilder, who bilded Caster Hall in Northfolk, and a royal palace in Southwark, another in Yarmouth; a specialle goode Maister to the Officers of Armes; and was most triumphantly brought in Erthe that I have hard (says our author) of a man of his degre. His armes are, Or and Azure quarterly, three Scollops Argent in a Bend Verd. The crest, a Plume of Ostridge Feathers, &c. &c.” Oldys’s *British Librarian*, 327; but see Blomefield’s *History of Norfolk*.

“In some imperfect Memorandums printed by T. Hearne, and called by him ‘William Wyrcestre’s Annals of English Affairs,’ are only these two concerning Sir John Fastolf. That in the sixth and seventh years of Henry IV, when Thomas, the king’s second son, who was afterward Duke of Clarence, was made Lieutenant of Ireland, John Fastolf, who was then only an esquire, was continually with him: and that in 1459, the king kept his Christmas at Leycester, and James Ormund, Earl of Wilts, was, during the said festival, at John Fastolf’s house in Southwerk.”

LEWIS’S *Life of Caxton*, p. 53.

to the said kings, and to their lieutenants, princes of noble recommendation, as John, Regent of France, Duke of Bedford, Thomas Duke of Exeter, Thomas Duke of Clarence, and other lieutenants. Praying to take this reducing patiently, and submitting me to the amending and correction of the reader and understander, that is disposed to read or have any contemplation in the histories of this book, which were drawn and compiled out of the books of the ancient philosophers of Greece, as in the original text of Tullius de Senectute in Latin is specified compendiously, which is in manner hard the text. But this book reduced in English tongue, is more amply expounded and more sweeter to the reader keeping the just sentence of the Latin.

“ Then forasmuch as this book thus reduced in to our English is with great instance, labour, and cost, come in to mine hand which I advisedly have seen over, read, and considered the noble, honest, and virtuous matter necessarily requisite unto men stept in age, and to young men for to learn, how they ought to come to the same, to which every man naturally desireth to attain : And the matter and communication of this said book between that wise and noble man Cato, on that one part, and Scipio and Lelius, two young knights, on that other part, is much behoveful to be known to every man, virtuous, and well disposed, of what somever age reasonable that he be. Then because I have not seen any of the same heretofore, I have endeavoured me to get it with great difficulty ; and so gotten, have put it in enprint, and diligently after my little understanding corrected it ; to the intent, that, noble, virtuous, and well disposed men might have it to look on and to understand it. And this book is not requisite nor eke convenient for every rude and simple man, which understandeth not of science nor cunning, and for such as have not heard of the noble policy and prudence of the Romans ; but for noble, wise, and great lords, gentlemen, and merchants, that have seen and daily been occupied in matters touching the public weal : and in especial unto them that been passed their green youth, and eke their middle age, called virility, and been approached unto *senec-*

tute, called old and ancient age. Wherein they may see how to suffer and bear the same patiently; and what surety and virtue been in the same; and have also cause to be joyous and glad that they have escaped and passed the manifold perils and doubteous adventures that been in *juvente* and youth, as in this said book here following ye may more plainly see. Which book indited and wrote in Latin by the noble philosopher and prince of eloquence, Tullius Consul Roman, within the breast of whom, Philosophy, natural and moral, had chosen her domicile; out of which it hath been translated into French, and after into our English tongue, as hereafter all along ye may see."

"Also when the said Tullius had made his book *de Senectute*, he after made another book called *De Amicitia*, that is to say, of Friendship: in which he rehearseth of two young knights of Rome, that one named Scævola, and that other Faunus, both sons-in-law unto Lelius, a noble Senator of Rome, and fellow and allied in friendship with Scipio African, which, within few days to fore, was dead.—How they desired to know of the friendship that was between the said Scipio whilst he lived, and Lelius their said father-in-law; and of the disputation in friendship, as all plainly it appeareth in the same. Which book was translated by the virtuous and noble Earl, the Earl of Worcester, into our English tongue, and by cause it is according and requisite to have friendship joined to old age, I have enprinted the said BOOK OF FRIENDSHIP, and annexed to it THE BOOK OF AGE; which book of Friendship is full necessary and behoveful unto every estate and degree. And after, I have set in this said book following them both, a noble treatise of the declamation of two noble knights Romans, in making of two orations to fore the senate to know wherein NOBLESSE resteth. And thus this volume is divided in to three particular works, which be of great wisdom—in old age, very love in friendship, and the question wherein *noblesse* resteth. Which little volume I have emprised to imprint under the *umbre* and shadow of the noble protection of our most dread sovereign and na-

tural liege lord, and most christian king, King Edward the Fourth ; to whom I most humbly beseech, to receive the said book of me William Caxton, his most humble subject and little servant ; and not to disdain to take it of me so poor, ignorant, and simple a person ; and of his most bounteous grace to pardon me so presuming : beseeching Almighty God to keep, maintain, and grant to him long life and prosperous, and the accomplishment of his high and noble desires, and after this short and transitory life, everlasting life and joy in heaven. Amen."

After this general Preface, follows a table of the contents to the book of Old Age, in eight leaves. The book itself ends thus :

" Thus endeth the book of Tully of Old Age, translated out of Latin into French, by LAURENCE DE PRIMO-FACTO,* at the commandment of the noble prince Louis, Duke of Bourbon ; and enprinted by me simple person William Caxton, into English, at the pleasure, solace, and reverence of men growing into old age, the xii day of August, the year of our Lord m.cccc.lxxxj."

Caxton does not mention who was the translator of the book *De Senectute* into English. Leland conjectures it to have been translated by Tiptoft, as well as the annexed treatises : but we gather from Mr. Anstis's Register of the Order of the Garter, that it was done by one Wyllyam de Wyrcestre, alias Botaner, and presented by him to Wyllyam Waynflate, Bishop of Winchester. This probably took place in the year 1473, from a Latin memorandum in the MS. library of Bennet College [thus entitled—" Itinerarium Will Worcester de Bristoll ad Montem S. Michaelis in An Christi 1478"] " The 20th day of August I presented to Wyllyam Waynflete, Bi-

* His proper name was LAURENT DE PREMIER-FAICT ou DU PREMIER-FAICT. He is called by De La Croix du Maine " fort grand orateur pour son temps." Seneca, Cicero, and Boccaccio were authors whom his industry had converted into his own language. See De La Monnoye's interesting note in the *Bibliothèque Francoise*, vol. ii. 33. In the 4th volume of this latter work, Laurent is said to have translated the *Offices* of Cicero, as well as the Treatise on Old Age, p. 576.

shop of Winchester, the ‘boke of Tully of Old Age,’ translated by me into English.”*

This William Wyrcestre, says Lewis, was an antiquary and physician, and perhaps on that account had the name of *Botaner*, or herbalist; and an astronomer of great abilities for the age he lived in.† He was born in the city of Bristol, in the year 1415, and “sometyme seruaunte and soget withe his reuerent master John Fastolf chevalier, and exercised in the werres above 44 yeres,” and in so great favour with Sir John, that he left him one of the executors of his last will. He wrote a particular treatise of Sir John’s Life, but whether in Latin or English is altogether uncertain. But however, this English translation, by whomsoever made, is not from the original Latin, but, as Mr. Caxton has acquainted us, from the French, &c.” See LEWIS’s Life of Caxton, p. 53. 4.

The second Treatise is joined with it thus:

“Here followeth the said TULLIUS DE AMICITIA, translated into our maternal English tongue by the noble famous Earl, the Earl of Worcester, son and heir to the Lord Tiptoft; which in his time flowered in virtue and cunning: to whom I knew none like among the lords of the temporalty in science and moral virtue. I beseech Almighty God to have mercy on his soul; and pray all them that shall hear or read this little Treatise, much virtuous of friendship, in likewise of your charity to remember his soul among your prayers. And because this work was made by the prince of eloquence, Tullius, in-

* Godwin takes no notice of this. *De Præsul. Angliæ*, p. 233. The bishop died in 1486.

† “Our literary historians,” says Dr. Henry, “who copy one another, tell us that Bottoner was a good mathematician, an expert physician, a great cosmographer, and a famous historian. If he deserved the other characters no better than the last, they were bestowed upon him very improperly. He wrote meagre *Annals of England* from A. D. 1324 to A. D. 1468, in a most barbarous style; but as they contain some things that are not to be found in any other work, they are of some value, and must be consulted.” *History of Great Britain*, vol. x. 133.

tituled *De Amicitia*, after he had achieved his book *De Senectute*, as heretofore ye may more plainly see at large, then me seemeth it requisite and necessary that I set in following the said book, this book *De Amicitia*, which, by God's grace, shall plainly follow."

This Treatise is marked with signatures, in the same manner as the former; that is to say, an alphabetical letter repeated on every leaf, with a numerical figure as far as four; then four leaves blank without any signature: so that this Treatise beginning at a 1 and ending at d 4 has 28 leaves in it, and concludes in this manner:

"Thus endeth this book named *Tullius de Amicitia*, which treateth of friendship, uttered and declared by a noble Senator of Rome, named Lelius, unto his two sons-in-law, also noble men of Rome, named Faunus and Scaevola, in which they desired him to inform them of the friendship that was between the said Lelius and the noble Prince Scipio African, wherein he hath answered and told to them the noble virtues that be in friendship; and without virtue very friendship may not be, as he proveth by many ensamples and notable conclusions, as heretofore is much plainly expressed and said all along. Which work was translated by the virtuous and noble lord and earl, the Earl of Worcester, on whose soul I beseech Almighty God to have mercy: and all ye that shall read or hear this said work, of your charity I beseech you to pray for him. And because this said book *De Amicitia*, is full necessary and requisite to be had and known, I have put it in imprint, to the intent, that *veray* amity and friendship may be had, as it ought to be, in every estate and degree; and virtue, without which friendship may not be had, may be increased, and vices eschewed. Then when I had imprinted the book of OLD AGE, which the said Tullius made, me seemed it according that this said book of FRIENDSHIP should follow; because, there cannot be annexed to Old Age a better thing than good and *veray* friendship: which two said books, heretofore written, be of great wisdom and authority, and full necessary, behoveful, and requisite

unto every age, estate, and degree. And that they profit in increasing of virtue, I beseech the blessed Trinity to give and grant unto all them that shall read and hear these books, and so to flee and eschew vices and sins, that by the merits of virtuous, honest, and good works, we may attain, after this short transitory life, the eternal blessed life in heaven, where is joy and glory without end. Amen."

Lastly follow the two declarations made by Publius Cornelius Scipio, and Caius Flaminius, competitors for the love of *Lucesse*, shewing wherein true HONOUR and nobleness consists: the former placing it in blood, riches, and the worshipful deeds of his ancestors, without urging any thing of his own life or manners; the latter insisting, that nobleness cannot be derived from the glory or merits of another man, or from the flattering goods of fortune, but must rest in a man's own proper virtue and glory.* After these orations, which, with the argument or introduction, take up 19 leaves, the whole book is concluded by our editor in these words:

"And here I make an end of this matter for this time, praying and requiring all them that in this said work shall have any pleasure, that ye will remember him that translated it into our maternal and English tongue; and not only this said work, but the book of *Tullius De Amicitia*, heretofore imprinted, which treateth so well of Friendship and Amity, I mean the right virtuous and noble Earl, THE EARL OF WORCESTER, which late piteously lost his life,†

* These two very elegant orations, we are told by Leland, were written by Banatusius Magnomontanus, as supposed to be spoken by Scipio and Flaminius. Concerning the translation of them, the same writer observes, that it was so terse, neat, and significant, that it might well be doubted whether the author of them wrote, or he translated, with greater grace. *Leland de Script. Brit.* p. 480.

† "This John Lord Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, was born at Everton in Cambridgeshire, educated in Baliol college, Oxon, travelled into the Holy Land, and, after his pilgrimage, was three years in Italy, where Pope Pius II. shed tears of joy at his eloquent oration. He was twice Lord-High-Treasurer of England, and in 1467, deputy to George,

whose soul I recommend unto your spécial prayers—and also in his time made many other virtuous works, which I have heard of. O good blessed Lord God, what great loss was it of that noble, virtuous, and well-disposed Lord ! When I remember and advertise his life, his

Duke of Clarence, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Being attainted by Parliament, he was beheaded anno 1470," &c. See *British Libr.* p. 260. Also LEWIS'S *Life of Caxton*, p. 55.

HERBERT.

Herbert has given rather a meagre abridgment of Oldys's compressed account of this celebrated nobleman. As his name and character cannot fail to be ever dear to his countrymen, I refer the reader to the animated eulogy of him by Lord Orford, [*Royal and Noble Authors*, vol. i. 200-207, Park's edit.] and to the *Bibliotheca Britannica* of Bishop Tanner, p. 714; the latter of which accounts is wholly taken from Leland's invaluable pages. Meanwhile the following extract from Dr. Henry may not be unacceptable :

"JOHN TIPTOFT, Earl of Worcester, who flourished in the reigns of Hen. VI and Edward IV, was greatly distinguished among the nobility of his time, by his genius and love of learning. He succeeded to the great estates of his family, by the death of his father, John Lord Tiptoft, 21 Hen. VI. when he was about sixteen years of age; and, six years after, was honoured by that monarch with the higher title of Earl of Worcester. [Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. ii. 41.] This accomplished nobleman was, by the same prince, constituted Lord High Treasurer of England, when he was only twenty-five years of age [Leland *De Script. Britan.* p. 475]. The Earl of Worcester very early discovered a taste for learning, and, at a proper age, prosecuted his studies at Baliol College in Oxford; where, as his contemporary and fellow, John Rous of Warwick, tells us, he was much admired for his rapid progress in literature. [J. Rosii *Hist.* p. 5.] In the 27th year of his age, he was commissioned, with some other noblemen, to guard the narrow seas, and performed that service with honour to himself, and advantage to his country. [Dugdale *Idem.* 11. 41.] But, in the midst of all these honourable toils and offices, his love of learning continued unabated; and he resolved to travel for his improvement. Having visited the Holy Land, he returned to Italy, and settled at Padua, where Ludovicus Carbo, Guarinus, and John Phrea, an Englishman, were then very famous for their learning, and attracted great crowds of students. Our illustrious stranger was treated with great respect at Padua, and much admired by all the men of letters, for the knowledge he already possessed, and his ardour in adding to his stores. His countryman, John Phrea, dedicated two books which he then published to the Earl of Worcester; and in these dedications he bestowed the highest praises on his patron, for his genius, learning, and many virtues; and, among other things, says "Those superior beings, whose office it is to be guardians of our Isle of BRITAIN, knowing you to be a wise and a good man, an enemy to faction, and a friend to peace, warned you to abandon a country which they had abandoned, that you might not be stained by mixing with impious and factious men."

science, and his virtue me thinketh God not displeased over great loss of such a man, considering his estate and cunning ; and also the exercise of the same, with the great labours in going on pilgrimage unto Jerusalem ; visiting there the holy places that our blessed Lord

[*Leland De Script. Britan.* 477] While he resided at Padua, which was about three years, during the heat of the civil wars in England, he visited Rome, and delivered an oration before Pope Pius II. (Æneas Silvius) and his Cardinals, which drew tears of joy from his holiness, and made him say aloud, " Behold the only prince of our times, who, for virtue and eloquence, may be justly compared to the most excellent emperors of Greece and Rome." Such a compliment from an Italian to an Englishman must have been extorted by the force of truth."

"The Earl of Worcester was a great collector of books ; and, while he resided in Italy, he expended much money in literary purposes. " The Earl of Worcester (says Laurentius Carbo) captivated by the charms of the Muses, hath remained three years in Italy, and now resides at Padua, for the sake of study, and detained by the civilities of the Venetians ; who, being exceedingly fond of books, hath plundered, if I may so speak, our Italian libraries to enrich England." After his return home, he made a present of books to the University Library of Oxford, which had cost him 500 marks : [*Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. ii. 41.] a great sum in those times, &c. But this prosperity was not of long duration. A new revolution took place. Edward IV. was obliged to abandon his kingdom with great precipitation to save his life. The Earl of Worcester was not so fortunate as to escape ; but after he had concealed himself a few days, he was discovered on a high tree in the forest of Waybrig, conducted to London, condemned at Westminster, and beheaded on Tower Hill, October 15, A.D. 1470 in the 42d year of his age. He was accused of cruelty in the government of Ireland ; but his greatest crime, and that for which he suffered was, his steady loyalty to his rightful sovereign, and generous benefactor, Edw. IV. " The axe," says Fuller, in his usually pithy way, " then did at one blow cut off more learning than was in the heads of all the surviving nobility." [*Worthies* in Cambridgeshire, p. 155] See Dr. Henry's *Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. x. 143, &c.

It remains only to give a list of the works attributed to him, exclusively of the above. *Cæsar's Commentaries, as touching British Affairs*: (printed without place, date, or printer's name, but supposed by John Rastall.)

Orders for the placing of the Nobility in all Proceedings.

Orders and Statutes for Justs and Triumphs. See Cotton MSS. Tiber. E. viii. 40.

Ordinances Statutes and Rules, &c. to be observed in all manner of Justes of Peirs within the Realm of England. Ashmolean Coll. MSS. 763.

(These Ordinances were revived by the 4th of Eliz. and are printed in Mr. Park's edition of the *Nugæ Antiquæ*, edit. 1804. vol. i. p. 1.)

He is also said to have written

Jesu Christ hallowed with his blessed presence ; and shedding there his precious blood for our redemption, and from thence ascended unto his Father in heaven, and what worship had he at Rome in the presence of our holy father the Pope ; and so in all other places unto his death. At which death every man that was there, might learn to die and take his death patiently, wherein I hope and doubt not, but that God received his soul into his everlasting bliss ; for as I am informed he right advisedly ordained all his things as well for his last will of worldly goods, as for his soul's health, and patiently, and holily, without grudging, in charity, to fore that he departed out of this world ; which is gladsome and joyous to hear. Then I here recommend his soul unto your prayers, and also that we at our departing may depart in such wise, that it may please our Lord God to receive us into his everlasting bliss. Amen.

Explicit per Caxton."

Caxton afterwards adds (what has been overlooked by Herbert): "This little Volume, a thin 4° I have emprised t'imprint under the *Umbre* and shadow of the noble protection of our most dread sovereign, and most christian king, Edward the fourth ; whom I most humbly besought to receive the said book of me, William Caxton, his most humble subject and little servant, and not to disdain to take it of me, so poor, ignorant, and simple a person."

This volume of three tracts, which is rather elegantly printed, contains 120 leaves. Copies of it were in the collections of Rawlinson (Bibl. Rawlins. n°. 3131) Askew (Bibl. Askev. n°. 172.)

A Petition against the Lollards. (Fuller's *Church Hist.* iv. 162.)

An Oration to the Citizens of Padua. (Leland.)

In the MSS. of the cathedral of Lincoln is a volume of epistles, of which four are said to be written by the Earl of Worcester, and the rest are addressed to him. Mr. Gough, (says Mr. Park) made a careful search in the library for these epistles, but owing to the then shamefully neglected and disordered state of the MSS. he could not discover them.

Royal and Noble Authors, vol. i. 206.

Ratcliffe [n°. 1018] and Mason. [p^t. iv. n°. 330.] His Majesty, Earl Spencer, and the Marquis of Blandford, each possess a copy. A copy will also be found in the library of the Tabarders at Queen's College, Oxford; of St. John's College, Cambridge; and in the British Museum.

16. GODEFROY OF BOLOYNE; or the last Siege and Conqueste of Jherusalem. Fynysshyd the vii day of Juyn, the yere of our lorde M cccc lxxxi, and the xxi yere of the regne of our sayd Souerayn kyng Edward the fourth. And in this maner sette in forme and *Enprynted the xx day of Novembre the yere aforsayd, in thabbay of Westmester by the sayd Wylham Caxton.* Folio. (Type 4.)

The proheme begins thus:

“The high courageous feats and valiant acts of noble, illustrious, and virtuous persons be *digne* to be recounted, put in memory, and written, to the end that there may be given to them name immortal by sovereign laud and praising; and also for to move and to enflame the hearts of the readers and hearers, for to eschew and flee works vicious, dishonest, and vituperable; and for to emprise and accomplish enterprizes honest, and works of glorious merit, to live in remembrance perpetual; for as it is so that the historiographes have written many a noble history, as well in metre as in prose; by which the acts and noble feats of the ancient conquerors be had in remembrance, and remain in great, large, and adorned volumes, and so shall abide in perpetual memory, to the intent that glorious princes, and high men of noble and virtuous courage, should take ensample to emprise works lawful and honest: first for God's quarrel, in maintaining our faith and the liberties of holy church, for the recuperation of the Holy Land, which our blessed Lord Jesus Christ hath

hallowed by his blessed presence human, and by shedding therein for our redemption his precious blood, for the relief of such christian men as there dwell in great misery and thralldom; and also for the defence of their *royames*, lands, inheritages, and subjects, and for these causes to endeavour them in their noble persons, with all their puissances and power, to address and remise them in their ancient franchises and liberty; according to that we find written in holy scripture of many noble histories, which were here over long to rehearse; but in especial of three noble and most worthy of all other; that is to wit, first, of Duke Joshua, that noble prince, which led and conducted the children of Israel, the chosen people of God, out of [the] desert in to the Land of Promise, the land flowing milk and honey. Secondly, of David the king and holy prophet, whom God chose after his heart, and achieved many great battles, governing the said chosen people of God by the space of forty years. And the third, of the noble Judas Maccabeus, how he defended the said people in fighting many and marvellous battles, for *veray* zeal and love of his law, and maintaining of the same unto the death. For which causes aforesaid, the names of these three abide perpetual for three of the most best and noblest of the Jews, and in the number of the most *digne* and most worthy.

“ And by cause valiance and prowess is remembered among the Gentiles and Paynims, as among the Hebrews, I find written of the incredible, chivalrous prowess of the noble and valiant Hector of Troy, whose excellent acts, writen [they write] Ovid, Homer, Virgil, Dares, Dictys, and other diverse; and each better than other rehearsing his noble virtues, strength, and humanity. Secondly, of Alexander the great King of Macedon, which domined and had to him obeisant the universal world. And the third, the noble Julius Cæsar, Emperor of Rome, whose noble acts be written by poets, as Lucan, Statius, and other; and daily remembered as new and fresh as he yet lived; which three be set as for the most worthy among the Gentiles and Paynims.

“ Now let us then remember what histories be written of christian

men, of whom there be many written : but in especial, as for the best and worthiest, I find first, the glorious, most excellent in his time, and first founder of the Round Table, King Arthur, King of the Britons, that time reigning in this *royame*, of whose retinue were many noble kings, princes, lords, and knights, of which the noblest were Knights of the Round Table, of whose acts and histories there be large volumes and books great plenty and many. O blessed Lord ! when I remember the great and many volumes of Saint Graal, Ghalehot, and Lanceolot du Lac, Gawain, Perceval, Lionel, and Tristram, and many other, of whom were over long to rehearse, and also to me unknown ; but the history of the said Arthur is so glorious and shining, that he is stalled in the first place of the most noble, best, and worthiest of the christian men. Secondly of Charlemagne, the great Emperor of Allemagne, and King of France, whose noble acts and conquests be written in large volumes, with the noble feats and acts of his *douze* peers ; that is to say, Rowland and Oliver, with the other, whose name and renown abideth also perpetual, and is stalled in the second place among the most worthy of christian men. Of all these histories afore rehearsed, the books and volumes be had in Latin, French, and English, and other language.

“ Then, as for the third of the christian princes, taken reputed and renowned for to be equal among these worthy and best that ever were, I mean the noble GODFREY OF BOULOGNE, which now but late, not yet four C. years since, he flowered and was stalled in the third stall of the most worthy of christian men ; whose history is made and written in Latin and French, in large and great volumes, and is not known among us here, which be adjacent and neighbours to the place of his nativity ; whose noble history I late found in a book of French all along of his noble acts, valiances, prowesses, and accomplishment of his emprises. In which I find very cases, as me seemeth, much resemble and like unto such as we have now daily to fore us, by the miscreants and Turks, emprised against Christendom ; and yet much more now than were in his days ; for in his days, the Turks had conquered upon Christendom but unto the *braas* of Saint George by

Constantinople, and had no foot on this side the said *braas*; but at this day, it is so that, they have come over and gotten that imperial city Constantinople aforesaid, and many *royame* and country, to the great damage and hurt of all Christendom; to the resistance of whom as yet few christian princes have put them in *devoir*. Then I return again unto the conquest at such time as they were come to the said *braas*, that by the diligent solicitude of a poor hermit, the said Godfrey of Boulogne, and other divers princes, lords and common people, avowed the *croising* and emprise to war again^[st] the miscreants, and to recover the holy city of Jerusalem: which afterwards they achieved and conquered from the said *braas* unto the Holy Land, and recovered the holy city of Jerusalem, as in this said book all along and plainly shall appear. In which city the said Godfrey was elect and chosen for his virtue, prowess, and blessed disposition, to be king of the said Jerusalem and the land thereabout.

“Then I thus visiting this noble history, which is no fable nor feigned thing, but all that is therein true; considering also the great puissance of the Turk, great enemy of our christian faith, destroyer of christian blood, and usurper of certain empires and many christian *royames* and countries, and now late this said year hath assailed the city and castle in the Isle of Rhodes, where valiantly he hath been resisted; but yet notwithstanding, he hath approached more near, and hath taken the city of *Idronte* in *Puille*, [*Otranto* in *Apulia*] by which he hath gotten an entrance to enter into the *royame* of Naples; and from thence, without he be resisted, unto Rome and Italy, to whose resistance I beseech Almighty God to provide, if it be his will. Then me seemeth it necessary and expedient for all christian princes to make peace, amity, and alliance each with other, and provide, by their wisdoms, the resistance again him, for the defence of our faith and mother, holy church, and also for the recuperation of the Holy Land and holy city of Jerusalem, in which our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ redeemed us with his precious blood; and to do as this noble prince Godfrey of Boulogne did, with other noble and high princes

in his company. Then, for the exhortation of all christian princes, lords, barons, knights, gentlemen, merchants, and all the common people of this noble *royame*, Wales, and Ireland, I have emprised to translate this book of the Conquest of Jerusalem, out of French into our maternal tongue; to the intent to encourage them by the reading and hearing of the marvellous histories herein comprised, and of the holy miracles shewed, that every man in his part endeavor them unto the resistance aforesaid, and recuperation of the said Holy Land. And forasmuch as I know no christian king better proved in arms, and for whom God hath shewed more grace, and in all his emprises glorious vanquisher, happy and *eurous*, than is our natural, lawful, and sovereign lord and most christian King, Edward, by the grace of God, King of England and of France and Lord of Ireland; under the shadow of whose noble protection, I have achieved this simple translation; that he, of his most noble grace, would address, stir, or command some noble captain of his subjects, to emprise this war against the said Turk and heathen people; to which I can think that every man will put hand to, in their proper persons, and in their moveable goods. Then to him, my most dread natural and sovereign lord, I address this simple and rude book; beseeching his most bounteous and abundant grace, to receive it of me his *indigne* and humble subject, William Caxton; and to pardon me so presuming. Beseeching Almighty God that this said book may encourage, move, and enflame the hearts of some noble men, that, by the same, the miscreants may be resisted and put to rebuke; christian faith increased and enhanced; and the Holy Land, with the blessed city of Jerusalem, recovered, and may come again into christian men's hands. Then I exhort all noble men of high courage to see this book, and hear it read; by which ye shall see what ways were taken, what noble prowesses and valiances were achieved by the noble companies, and especial by the said noble Prince Godfrey of Boulogne, Duke of Lorraine; by which he deserved the name of one of the most worthy that ever were, and is stalled in the third stall of the christian con-

querors, and in the ninth of the most worthy ; where his name and renown shall remain and abide perpetual. And for to deserve the tenth place, I beseech Almighty God to grant and *ottroye* to our sovereign lord, or to one of his noble progeny, I mean my lord Prince, and my Lord Richard, Duke of York and Norfolk ; to whom I humbly beseech, at their leisure and pleasure to see and hear read this simple book, by which they may be encouraged to deserve laud and honour ; and that their name and renown may increase and remain perpetual, and after this life, short and transitory, all we may attain to come to the everlasting life in heaven, where is joy and rest without end. Amen."

Then follows the table, at the end of which, " Here endeth the table of the content and chapters numbered (ccxij) of this present book, entitled the Siege and Conquest of Jerusalem by Christian Men."

This table is introduced with a short prologue, " Here beginneth the book intituled Eracles, and also of Godfrey of Boulogne, the which speaketh of the Conquest of the holy land of Jerusalem, &c." The work concludes with the following epilogue by the translator :

" Thus endeth this book, entitled the last Siege and Conquest of Jerusalem, with many other histories therein comprised : first, of Eracles, and of the meazes [wanderings] of the christian men in the Holy Land ; and of their relief and conquest of Jerusalem ; and how Godfrey of Boulogne was first king of the Latins in that *royame*, and of his death. Translated and reduced out of French in to English, by me, simple person, William Caxton ; to the end that every christian man may be better encouraged to enterprise war for the defence of Christendom, and to recover the said city of Jerusalem, in which our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ suffered death for all mankind, and rose from death to life, and from the same Holy Land ascended into Heaven. And also that christian people, once united in a very peace, might emprise to go thither in pilgrimage with strong hand for to expel the Saracens and Turks out of the same, that our Lord might be there served and

worshipped of his chosen christian people, in that holy and blessed land in which he was incarnate, and blessed it with the presence of his blessed body, whilst he was here in earth among us; by which conquest we might deserve, after this present, short, and transitory life, the celestial life to dwell in heaven eternally, in joy without end. Amen. Which book I present unto the most christian king, King Edward the Fourth, humbly beseeching his highness to take no displeasure at me so presuming. Which book I began in March the xii day, and finished the vii day of June, the year of our Lord m.cccc lxxxvi, and the xxi year of the reign of our said sovereign lord King Edward the fourth. And in this manner set in form, and enprinted the xx day of November, the year aforesaid, in the Abbey of Westminster, by the said William Caxton."

This volume, in Herbert's description of which little or nothing has been added to that of Ames, contains 146 leaves. (Ames says 144; yet numbered at the bottom in his copy 173—not regularly). The pages are unnumbered, but the collation is rendered easy on account of the peculiarity of the signatures. Herbert, who was always fond of the conjecture that a leaf, with a cut, or map, might have preceded the text, supposed that something of this sort had been the case with his own copy; as the first leaf of it had not the signature of 1; but, for the invalidity of this conjecture, see the remarks at page one hundred and fourteen, ante. The preface begins at signature a 8, and the table, at b 4. The history on signature 1, 2; and proceeds to 1, 3—1, 4; followed by four leaves without signatures. The second sheet has signature 2, 1—2, 2, &c. having eight leaves to each signature, until the last, which is marked 17, and has only six leaves to succeed it.

The original of this work was probably, as may be inferred from Warton,* the *Solymarium* of one GUNTHER, a German, and a Cistercian monk of the diocese of Basil; which, although not printed in its

* Dissertation II. p. cxli v-v: vol. i. of *Hist. Engl. Poetry*.

original Latin form, found its way into a French translation* [Idem. vol. ii. 116, note t.] and after receiving its English dress by Caxton, was popular, in the shape of an interlude, even as late as the close of the 16th century.† Although it is not ranked among the popular romances in the preface of Colonna's Troy book, nor in the prologue of Richard Cœur de Lion, it was written to celebrate an important expedition planned by Pope Gregory VII. in order to rescue Jerusalem from the Saracens and Turks; and, from the generally credited testimony, it would appear that not fewer than 200,000 Christians of all ages, ranks, and conditions, voluntarily joined the crusade. "This book," says the Harleian Catalogue, (vol. iii. n°. 2781) "is not so over-run with romance, as some other histories of this age and subject are; although some *merveylous workes* do occur in it." How far "matter of fact appears to have been the chief pursuit of the author" will be with difficulty determined. "It was much read by our old warriors." The Harleian copy, "*very fair, bound in morocco and adorned with gold*," had been in the martial family of the Norreys. The very presentation copy of Caxton to his sovereign was sold among Richard Smith's books in 1682: see Bibl. Smith. p. 275. n°. 94. Panzer refers only to Maittaire, vol. i. 417; where the colophon is given in a note.

There are two copies [one imperfect—wanting the proheme—but otherwise very fine] of this rare book in the public library of Cambridge [A. B. 10. 27: 33]. His Majesty has also a copy. Consult Bibl. West, n°. 4093: Ratcliffe, n°. 1224. Isaac Herbert's Catalogue, 1796, n°. 36; and Mr. White's Catalogue of 1780, n°. 1150; where was "a fair and perfect copy."

* There are two French Manuscripts in the British Museum. 15 E. i: 17 F. v: *Bibl. Reg.*

† "An interlude entituled Godfrey of Bolloigne with the Conquest of Jherusalem." Entered for John Danter, Jun. 19. *Regist. Station.* fol. 309. b. *Idem.* vol. iii. 485-6.

17. THE POLYCRONYCON ; conteynyng the Berynges and Dedes of many Tymes, in eyght Books. &c. *Imprinted by William Caxton*, after having somewhat chaunged the rude and old Englysshe, that is to wete, certayn Wordes which in these Dayes be neither vsyd ne understanden. *Ended the second Day of Juyll, the xxij Yere of the Regne of Kyng Edward the fourth, and of the Incarnacion of oure Lord a Thousand four Hundred four Score and tweyne.* 1482. Folio. (Type No. 4.)

This celebrated Chronicle, or History, was compiled in Latin by RANULPH HIGDEN, a Benedictine of St. Werberg's Monastery, now the cathedral in Chester; who died about the year 1360, at the advanced age of between eighty and ninety. It was the text book of a number of subsequent similar productions, and from a comparison of some old MS. copies of it with the *Polycratica Temporum* of ROGER CESTRENSIS, (also a Benedictine monk of St. Werberg) a suspicion has arisen that Higden borrowed, without acknowledgment, the greater part of his chronicle from this latter work. This suspicion is strengthened by a discovery of Bishop Nicholson; [Historical Library, p. 65. edit. 1736] namely, that "If you spell the first letters of the several chapters that begin it, you read—PRESENTEM CHRONICAM FRATER COMPILAVIT RANULPHUS MONACHUS CESTRENSIS—a proof of his knavish forgery (as Bale and Pits would infer)." It is most probable that both Roger and Ranulph were compilers from the same ancient materials: at any rate, we are indebted to the one or the other for the preservation of "many remains out of ancient Chronicles now wholly lost or mislaid."*

Along with a great deal that may be true, and therefore valuable, this compilation exhibits a mixture of the marvellous and fabulous, to a degree which might awaken the scepticism of the most cre-

* Dr. Gale's *Quindecim Scriptores Britan. Saxon.* &c. p. 178-287. Oxon. 1691. fol.

dulous. The stories of Aristotle and Pliny, relating to Natural History, have been freely incorporated; and the ages of monsters and giants described with a minuteness and gravity that give quite a ridiculous air to the narrative. The note and illustration below * may afford a curious specimen of this species of composition.

"The *Polychronicon* is thus stiled," says Mr. Burnett, "as the author himself informs us, from its comprehending the transactions of *many ages*; and it is divided into seven books, from the same example of Him who wrought all his works in six days, and rested on the seventh. The first book describes all countries in general, particularly Britain. The other six comprise a concise account of

* "Of brodes that be wonderfully shapen, men axeth yf they come of Adam and Noe. Som of them hete Cyclopes, and have but one eye in the forhede; some have bothie the shape of man and woman, and gendreth togyder, and geteth and cōceyve and berē childer as the cours cometh about. For ones he shall gete chylde, and he shall eftsones conceyve and go with childe in his tyme as it goth about. Some women conceyue at v yere old, and lyve not over viii yere: some have thyes wōut hāmes, and be wōderly swyfte, and hete Cyclopodes; for *they lye neuelynge and downe ryght in the somer tyme, and defende themselves with the shadowe of theyr fete from the hete of the sonne,*" &c.

Lib. sec. Cap. secund.

The reading of this passage recalled to mind a similar one in the Nuremberg Chronicle of 1493; where, at folio xii, I found the subject illustrated by the following wood cut, too curious to be withheld from the reader. Indeed the margin of the page is surrounded with cuts representing an *unique* set of like "brodes that be wonderly shapen."



civil history, from the creation down to the author's own time; that is, the reign of Edward III, terminating in the year 1357.* That part which relates to the Britons and Saxons was published by Dr. Gale in 1691, at Oxford, among his "*Quindecim Scriptores Britannicæ Saxonicæ Anglo-Danicæ.*"† This may suffice for an account of the original *Latin* production. It remains to give a more particular one of the immediate original of Caxton's book; which was an *English Translation* of Higden by JOHN DE TREVISA.

Trevisa is among our earliest English prose writers, and has deservedly occupied the second place in Mr. Burnett's *Specimens* of the same. The most complete collection of his writings will be found in a ponderous folio volume among the Harleian MSS. n°. 1900, of which some account is given below.‡ He himself was born

* "The time when these seven books were finished," says Herbert, "has been a knot which has puzzled some very learned men to untie; owing to the discordancy and inaccuracy of the MS. copies, compared with the following conclusion of the seventh book: "God be thanked of al his dedes, This translacion is ended on a thursdaye the eyghtenthe daye of Apryll the yere of our lord a thousand thre hondred and, lvii, The xxxj yere of kyng Edward the thyrd after the Conquest of Englonde, the yere of my lordes age Syr thomas lorde of berkley that made me make this translation fyue and thyrtty."

"The year 1357, indeed, is the last date expressly mentioned in this *Polycronicon*, but the history is continued for some years after, viz. to the peace between England and France; but without any date. It is evident that the dates there given are not concordant; for the 18th of April, 1357, was not on Thursday but Tuesday: also, the year of Lord Berkeley's age, does not agree with that given in the colophon to Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum, printed by W. de Worde, in which we are informed that it was translated by Trevisa, and finished 26 Feb. 1398, the year of Lord Berkley's age, xlvij. So that the true reading, or time when Trevisa finished the translation of the *Polycronicon* will be according to the Cottonian MS. 'thys translacyon ys yended in a thorsday the eyzetuthe day of Aueryl. the yer of vr lord a thousand thre hondred vour score & seue the tnethe (tenthe) zer of kyng Rychard the second," &c. Herewith the MS. sometime Dr. Tenison's, made use of by Mr. Wharton in his *Auctar.* p. 439, harmonizes in every particular: as also does that quoted by Mr. Lewis in his *Life of Caxton*, p. 64." See also *Catal. of Harl. MS.* n°. 1900. That Trevisa was living and wrote 9 Ric. 2. See *Polycron.* lib. i. cap. lix." HERBERT. Text. p. 40.

† *Specimens of English Prose Writers*, vol. i. 28.

‡ This volume, written upon vellum, contains 8 tracts; of which it may be necessary to notice only the following—preserving its antiquated phraseology.

in Cornwall, and was afterwards chaplain to the Earl of Berkeley, at Berkeley Castle, in Gloucestershire; where there is every reason to believe he was a sedulous cultivator of his native language,* and a

1. *A Dialogue between a Soldier and a Clergyman*. [viz. Lord Berkeley and the author Trevisa.] beginning thus;

Clericus. I wonder, Sir noble knight, that, in few days, times *beth* changed, right is *yburied*, laws *beth* overturned and statutes *beth ytrode* under feet.

Miles. I am a lewd [ignorant] man, and may not understand foul and dark speech: therefore thou must take more plain manner of speaking.

Cleric. In my time, I have seen kings and princes made holy church a great worship, &c. &c. The Dialogue thus concludes. "In Abiathy's time, prince of priests, David eat and gave them that were with him to eat, in time of need, loaves that were cleped *thaves* [*shew bread*] that were ordained only for priests, and none other leave thereof for to eat. Also in the Gospel it is written, 'The holy day is made for man, and nought [not] man for the holy day.'" The object of this tract, which occupies 10 pages, is to oppose papal interference in temporal matters. It is omitted by Bale and Pits.

2. *A translation of a Latin Sermon of Radulf or Fitz Rauf Archbishop of Armaugh*, Nov. 8th, 1357.—against Mendicant Friars.

This learned tract, which has also escaped Bale and Pits, but has been noticed by subsequent Antiquaries, affords us the following curious piece of intelligence—from which we learn the state of the university of Oxford, and the number of its students, previous to and about the period of 1357. The Archbishop says, "So that yet in my tyme in the universite of Oxenford were thritty thousand scolers at ones, and now beth unnethe sixe thousand"—but good books were scarcer there proportionably than now—for it presently follows—"these ordres of Beggars, for endeless wynnynge that thei geteth by beggynge of the forseide privileges of Schriftes and Sepultures and othere, thei beth now so multiplyed in coventes and in persons, that many men tellith that in General Studies, vnne the is y-founde to sillying a profitable booke of the faculte of art, of Dyvynyte, of Lawe-Canon, of Phisik, other of Lawe-Civil, but alle bookes beth y-bouyt of Freres; so that in euerech Couent is a noble Librarie and a grete: and so that everech Frere that hath state in scole siche as thei beth now, hath an huge Librarye." Fol. ii. b.

3. *The book of Methodius Patarensis* "of the begynnyng of the world and the Rewmes bitwixte, of Folkis, and the end of worldes—which the noble man Syent Ierom ī his werkes pryed." (5 pages.)

4. 5. *Two Alphabetical Indexes to the Polychronicon*.

6. *Trevisa's Dialogue on Translations*, as noticed above.

Besides the preceding, Trevisa translated Vegetius *de re Militari*, and Ægidius *De Regimine Principum*.

* It has been a received opinion by some learned English Antiquaries, which, however,

deserved favorite of his patron. Not a vestige of a monument is now seen to mark the spot of his interment.

The translation of Higden by Trevisa was completed in the year 1387. It commences with a prefatory dialogue between him-

has been strenuously combated by others, that Trevisa *translated the Bible*, at the particular entreaty of his patron. This opinion was first taken up by Bale and Pits, from a loose assertion of Caxton, in the proeme of the above work; but upon what authority our printer asserted it, or, if he *saw* such a translation, why he did not think it at least as deserving of publication as the *Polychronicon*, are questions which may be thought to press hard upon the probability of its existence. The learned Wanley, the compiler of the Catalogue of the Harleian MSS. has the following pithy observations upon it. "As to the Bible's being wholly translated by our author Trevisa, I perceive it mentioned by Caxton, and from him by Bale and Pits, who give the beginning of the preface thereunto; from Bale, Primate Usher takes the notion; and at length Mr. Wharton believes it may still be extant. I shall say no more but this: I shall be very glad to see one of them." *Harl. Cat. MS.* n°. 1900. An ingenious correspondent in the *Athenæum*, vol. iv. p. 314, supposes that "Trevisa translated no more of the Bible than certain sentences painted on the chapel walls of his patron in Berkeley Castle." A passage in Trevisa's book on Translations, is quoted by him in confirmation of this supposition.

It happened that, in the second course of Lectures on Ancient English Literature, which I delivered at the Royal Institution, having occasion to examine the literary character of Trevisa, and being very solicitous to obtain the minutest information relating to *this Bible*, I wrote to my friend the Rev. Mr. Hughes, who was resident in the Earl of Berkeley's family, at Berkeley Castle. His reply to my quæres, with his permission, I lay before the reader; from a conviction that it may afford him some satisfaction on so interesting a subject.

Berkeley Castle,
Nov. 7, 1805.

"I take the earliest opportunity of answering yours, having been here but a few days. I have made every inquiry and search respecting the information you want, and am sorry to say it is not in my power to remove the uncertainty you labour under respecting Trevisa's translation of the Bible; notwithstanding, I have the strongest reason to suppose, from circumstances I have met with, that such a translation was made, and was even made in the English language, and that it existed in this family so late as the time of James 2d. The book translated by Trevisa, was given, *as a very precious gift* by the Lord of Berkeley, to the prince (I suppose) of Wales, and the prince's letter thanking the Lord of B. for his gift, I have read: he does not say *positively* that it was the Bible, but as he hopes (as far as I recollect) to be able to make good use of so valuable a gift, there is reason to suspect that he meant the Bible. The letter is still extant among the archives of the Castle.—

self and his patron, on the *Utility of Translations* in general, and on that of the *Polychronicon* in particular. In one place of this Dialogue (which has escaped Dr. Hickes), it may be observed that, in enumerating the various translations which have been made in *foreign* tongues, the Lord (Berkeley) argueth that "King Alfred translated the best laws into English tongue, a great deal of the Psalter out of Latin into English; and made Wirefrith, Bishop of Worcester, translate St. Gregory's works of Dialogues out of Latin into Saxon. Also Caedmon of Whitby was inspired of the Holy Ghost, and made *wonder poises* in English. Also Bede translated St. John's Gospel into English—also the Apocalypse was written in the walls and roof of a chapel both in Latin and in French." Fragments of these translations are yet visible, according to the authority mentioned in the last note.

After this "*Dialogue*," comes Trevisa's "*Epistle*" to Lord Berke-

Lord Berkeley (of whom I have made enquiries in order to ascertain what you wanted if possible) has informed me that the book, given by his ancestor, is at present, as he has reason to believe, in the Vatican at Rome: when he was there, several persons had mentioned their seeing such a book written by Trevisa, but he had not an opportunity to go and examine it himself, therefore *cannot ascertain that it was the Bible*. The only vestige of Trevisa remaining here now, are a few fragments of board, with nearly obliterated words of Latin, not sufficient to make out what was meant: the roof of the chapel was said by him to have had the Apocalypse written upon it, and I suspect these fragments to be the remains of it. The beams and wall-plates of the chapel are still remaining, and after removing several coats of lampblack, &c. four lines were discovered upon each, written in the old English character, which are alternately Norman French and Latin. By removing also several coats of whitewash from a part of the chapel wall, a great deal of writing in the old English character was discovered; it was in a great state of decay, but I could make out that part was in Norman French and part in Latin: this is also thought to be of Trevisa's day: but not one certain vestige of him remains here, nor is even his grave in the church known, though he is said to have been buried in the chancel. I suspect all his translations, both from French and Latin, were into English; but suspicions won't do for you. I wish it were in my power to give you more certain information.

Yours very sincerely,

INO. HUGHES."

ley, which has been thought by Mr. Burnett "sufficiently curious for extraction." These introductory pieces, with Caxton's prohemies, and a Table of Contents, &c. occupy 17 leaves, down to signature C 4. In Caxton's proheme, alluding to his alteration of the orthography, he says, "And now at this time simply imprinted and set in form by me William Caxton and a little embellished from the old making:" again he observes—"For I knowledge mine ignorance and also simpleness, and if there be thing that may please or profit any man, I am glad that I have achieved it."

"The Proheme" affords no bad specimen of Caxton's composition: it is in praise of History. After beginning with telling us that "Great thankings laud and honour we meritoriously be bound to yield and offer unto writers of history," he thus goes on (in the third column) to expatiate on its advantages and properties. "Truly many high and courageous men of great *emprise*, desiring their fame to be perpetually *conserved* by liberal monuments, which be the permanent records of every virtuous and noble act, have builded and edified royal and noble cities. And for the conservation of the weal-public have ministered and established discreet and profitable laws. And thus the principal laud and cause of delectable and amiable things, in which man's felicity standeth and resteth ought, and may well be attributed to histories; which word "HISTORY" may be described thus. History is a perpetual *conservatrice* of those things, that have been before this present time, and also a *cotydyan* [quotidian] witness of benefits, of *malefaits*, great acts, and triumphal victories of all manner of people. And also, if the terrible feigned fables of poets have much stirred and moved men to right and conserving of justice, how much more is [it] to be supposed that history, *assertrice* of virtue, and a mother of all philosophy, moving our manners to virtue, reformeth and reconcileth near hand all those men, which, through the infirmity of our mortal nature, hath led the most part of their life in *Ociosite* [Idleness] and mispended their time, passed right soon out of remembrance: of which, *life and death is equal oblivion*."

“The fruits of virtue be immortal ; especially when they be wrapped in the *benefice* of histories. Then it must follow that it is most fair to men mortal to suffer labors and pain for glory and fame immortal. Hercules, when he lived, suffered great labors and perils, wilfully putting himself in many terrible and fearful jeopardies, to obtain of all people the benefits of immortal laud and renown. We read of other noble men, some lords, and some other of lower estates, reported as gods in divers regions : whose famous acts and excellent virtues only history hath preserved from perishing in eternal memory. Other monuments, distributed in divers changes, endure but for a short time or season : but the virtue of history, diffused and spread by the universal world, hath time, which consumeth all other things, as *conservatrice* and keeper of her work. &c.”

Herbert supposed that as the proheme began on sign. a ii, “it had a title page of some sort, although it contained the word “*Polychronicon*” only : but, for the reasons before advanced, [vide p. 114] there is no ground for such a supposition.

From that part of the Chronicle which relates to the Manners and Customs of our Ancestors (and which seems to have been borrowed from Girald Barry’s celebrated work *) I present the reader with a poetical specimen relating to the Welch—which I have copied from Caxton’s own edition, and which has been partially introduced by Dr. Leyden in his “*Complaynt of Scotland*,” p. 128.† Another equally

* The last, most copious, and accurate edition of Giraldus’s curious book of ancient English Topography and History, was translated and edited by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. in two magnificent quarto volumes, 1805. Published by Mr. Miller of Albemarle Street. A third volume of the Itinerary, in its original Latin form, makes the work complete.

† Dr. Leyden says, inaccurately, that the edition was “*enlarged by Wynkyn De Worde, in 1482*”—mistaking Caxton’s edition, of this date, for De Worde’s—which was not published till 13 years after. Another poetical extract from the *Polychronicon* is given by Dr. L. at p. 194-5 ; and a curious prose one at p. 199. Perhaps one of the most curious and interesting passages to an Englishman, is the one which Warton has extracted in the *Hist. Engl. Poetry*, vol. i. 5—relating to the ancient system of education adopted in our schools. “Children in school,” says the Chronicler, “against the usage and manner of all other nations, be compelled for to leave their own language, and for to construe their

curious specimen *in prose*, relating to the Irish, has been extracted by Mr. Burnett, in his *Specimens of English Prose Writers*, vol. i. p. 32, &c.

Caxton thus apologizes for his adding an eighth book, or continuing the Chronicle from 1357 to 1460 :

lessons and their things in French ; and so they have since Normans first came into England. Also gentlemen be taught for to speak French, from the time that they be rocked in their cradle, and can speak and play with a child's broche : and *uplandish men* will liken themselves to gentlemen, and *fondeth* (delight) with great business for to speak French to be told of." &c. &c. We are then informed that one John Cornewaile (for Cornwallis, I suppose) and Richard Pencriche changed this custom. The extract from Caxton's edition, alluded to in the text of the last page, is as follows :

Of MANER and RITES OF THE WALLSMEN.

The maner lyvyng of þ̃ londe
 As wel dyverse from england
 In mete and drynk and clothyng
 And many other doynge
 They be clothed wonder wel
 In a shirt and in a mantel
 A crisp bredre wel fayn
 Bothe in wynde and in rayne
 In this clothyng they be holde
 Though the weder be ryght colde
 Without shetes alway
 Evermore in this aray
 They goo fighte pleye and lepe
 Stonde sitte lye and slepe
 Without surcot gown cote and kirtell
 Without iopē tabard cloc or bel
 Without lace and chaplet þ̃ her lap
 Without hode hatte or cappes
 Thus araid go on þ̃ segges
 And alway with bare legges
 They kepe none other goynge
 Though they mete with þ̃ kyng
 With arrowes and short speres
 They fight with them þ̃ hē deres
 They fight better if they neden
 Whan they go thā whā they ridē

“ Thus endeth the book named Polychronicon, made and compiled by Ranulph, Monk of Chester, which ordained it in Latin, and at request of the right worshipful lord, Thomas, Lord of Berkeley, it was translated into English by one Trevisa, then vicar of the parish

In stede of castel and tour
They take wode and mareis for socour
Whan they see it is to doo
In fyghtyng they wol be a go
Gildas seyth they ben waryable
In pees and not stable &c. &c.

They can ete and ben mury
Withoute grete cury
They ete breed cold and hoot
Of barley and of ote
Brode cakes round and thynne
As wel semeth so grete kynne
Selde they ete breed of wheet
And selde they done ones ete
They have gruel to potage
And lekes kynde to companage
Also butter mylke and chese
Sharpe en long and corner wese
Suche messes they ete snel
And that maketh hē drynk wel
Methe and ale that hath myght
Thereon they spende day and nyght
Ever the redder is the Wye
They holde it the more fye
Whan they drynke atte ale
They telle many a lewd tale
Or whan drink is an hōdling
They ben ful of jangling
Atte mete and after eke
Her solace is salt and leke
The husbond in his wise
Telleth that a grete prise, &c. &c.

They have in grete mangery
Harp tabour and pipe for mīstralcie

of Berkeley: and forasmuch as *sith* the accomplishment of this said book made by the said Ranulph ended the year of our Lord a m. ccc.lviij, many things have fallen which be requisite to be added to this work, by cause men's wits in this time be oblivious and lightly forgetting many things *digne* to be put in memory; and also there can not be found in these days but few that write in their registers such things as daily happen and fall:—therefore I, William Caxton, a simple person, have endeavoured me to write first over all the said book of *Polychronicon*; and somewhat have changed the rude and old English, that is to wit, certain words, which in these days be neither used nor understood; and furthermore have put it in emprint, to the end that it may be had, and the matters therein comprised to be known; for the book is general, touching shortly many notable matters; and also am advised to make another book after this said work, which shall be set hereafter the same, and shall have his chapters and his table apart. For I dare not presume to set my book, nor join it to his, for divers causes; one is, forasmuch as I have not, nor can get, no books of authority treating of such Chronicles, except a little book named *Fasciculus Temporum*, and another called *Aureus de Vniuerso*,* in which books I find right little matter *sith* the said

They bere corps with sorow gret
And blowe lowde hornes of gheet
They prayse fast troyan blode
For therof come al her brode.

* "These two little books," says Lewis, "which Mr. Caxton mentions, are not, so far as I can find, in any of the catalogues of our manuscript libraries. Joceline mentions one entitled *Manipulus Chronicorum*, which he said was in Aula Gunwilli: and Maittaire has given us notice of the following book—*Fasciculus Temporum*, per Johannem Pryss, anno dñi 1487. Argentine Fol." *Life of Caxton*, p. 63. note f. Mr. Lewis's want of knowledge of the early editions of these books, and especially of the *Fasciculus Temporum*, will be easily accounted for from the comparatively infantine state of bibliography at the period when he wrote; but how the editor of Mr. Oldys's *Life of Caxton*, (*Biog. Britan.*) could have contented himself with a meagre transcript from Lewis, is matter of surprise and reprehension—when it is considered that the works of Clement, Schoepflin, and De Bure had been published. Even now, with the advantage of Panzer's unrivalled work, some

time. And another cause is, forasmuch as my rude simpleness and ignorant making, ought not to be compared, set, nor joined to his book, then I shall, by the grace of God, set my work after apart, for to accomplish the years *sith* that he finished his book, unto the year of our Lord M cccc lx, and the first year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth, which amount to a hundred and three year."

This complaint of Caxton, as Oldys and Mr. Burnett have justly remarked, obviously arose from the scarcity of books before the in-

confusion may be thought to attend the investigation of the early editions of the *Fasciculus Temporum*.

The original author of it was WERNER ROLEWINCK De Laer, a Carthusian Monk; who first brought the work down to the year 1470, and afterwards continued it to 1484. The earliest edition extant is that of Cologne, 1474; the colophon of which is expressly stated by Clement, *Dict. Curieuse*, &c. vol. viii. 250, and by Panzer, vol. i. 277. Laire supposed a dateless edition, printed at Cologne, (to which however he assigned the preceding date) to have been the "Editio Originalis." See his *Index*. vol. i. 176. Schoepflin, *Vindic. Typog.* p. 89, mentions a Latin edition of the date of 1474, printed at Louvain, with wood cuts—on the authority of Scrivener; but I suspect this to be the Louvain edition of 1476, which has cuts; and for which the reader will consult Clement and Panzer. Exclusively of these editions, there were ten Latin ones printed abroad before the publication of Caxton's *Polychronicon*; some of which have escaped Meuselius in his account of Rolewinck's Chronicle. *Bibl. Hist. Struv-Buder*. vol. i. 91. edit. 1782. Meuselius says, however, that they are all rare, and the earliest of them exceedingly so.

A fine *Dutch* edition, with wood cuts, was printed in 1480; and a similar *French* edition appeared in 1495, about which Clement, as usual, is copious and interesting: vol. viii. 258-261. Panzer very properly rejects the authority of Beughem in supposing that the French edition was first published at Lyons in 1490.

In regard to the other book, called by Caxton *Aureus de Universo*, our worthy typographer alluded to the "Breviarum Scripturæ, seu Epitome Universæ Sacræ Scripturæ—published by PETRUS AUREOLUS under the title of "*Compendium literalis sensus totius Bible seu divine Scripture*, &c." for an account of which work, the reader will consult Seemiller *Incunab. Typog.* pars. 1. 110, to more advantage than either Laire's *Index*, vol. i. 89. or Denis *Suppl.* 502. Denis and Seemiller seem to have examined the same edition, which was published without date, place, or printer's name; but most probably by Valdarfer towards the year 1475. It is a work of excessive rarity. The author, who is not to be found in Meuselius's copious index, flourished at the end of the 13th, and beginning of the 14th, century.

vention of printing. The 15th century has not been accounted a very fruitful one in historical writers ; and it has been observed by Lewis, (in his *Life of Caxton*, p. 63) “ particularly of the reign of Edw. IV. that even the favorers of justice and his cause, have not known what account to give of the times, or how to form a regular history from such a heap of confusion.” Yet, even in that age, there were authors in MS. (such as Froissart, R. Avesbury, Rosse, Knyghton, Walsingham, Otterborne, &c.) from whom, if Caxton had been fortunate enough to know of their existence, or to get access to them, he might have obtained far more ample and accurate documents for his history. As to the liberty he took, says Herbert, in changing the obsolete language, for which he was afterwards censured, see his preface to Virgil’s *Æneid*, 1490,* post. He next introduces his own performance with a short prologue, at fol. ccclxxxxi.

Incipit liber ultimus, which differs considerably from the English Chronicle he had printed in 1480.

“ Then following this fore written book of Polychronicon I have emprised to ordain this new book, by the suffrance of Almighty God, to continue the said work briefly, and to set in historial things, such as I have, can get, from the time that he left, that was in the year of our Lord a thousand three hundred and seven and fifty, unto

* “ One cannot well help observing here,” says Lewis, “ the great modesty and humility of Mr. Caxton, how mean an opinion he had of himself and his works, and with what deference and respect he treated others and their learned labours. It is likewise obvious to remark what Mr. Caxton says of the alteration of the English language in his time ; which was so great, that there were many words in Trevisa’s translation of the Polychronicon, which, in his days, were neither used nor understood. Now it was but 124 years since that translation was made ; whereas Archbishop Parker noted it as very strange, that our language should be so changed in 400 years from his time, that the MS. book of the Lives of the Saints written about A.D. 1200, in old English verse, now in Bennet College library, was so written that people could not understand it.” *Life of Caxton*, 60. Mr. Lewis then gives a specimen of the fluctuation of our language, from the preface to Caxton’s Virgil of 1490, (of which hereafter) which Mr. Burnett has inserted in his *Specimens of Early English Prose Writers*, without observing from what authority it is taken.

the year of our said Lord a thousand four hundred and sixty, and to the first year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth." This additional book by Caxton consists of 33 chapters, and concludes thus ;

" And here I make an end of this little work, as nigh as I can find, after the form of the work to fore made by Ranulph, Monk of Chester. And where as there is fault, I beseech them that shall read it to correct it ; for if I could have found more stories, I would have set in it more ; but the substance that I can find and know, I have shortly set them in this book, to the intent that such things as have been done *sith* the death or end of the said book of Polychronicon should be had in remembrance, and not put in oblivion nor forgetting, praying all them that shall see this simple work, to pardon me of my simple and rude writing.

Ended second of July, xxii Edward IV. a thousand four hundred and fourscore and twain."

Imprynted by Caxton."

Ames observes that in his copy the dates were written with red ink : " and so perhaps they are, adds Herbert, in the margin of all those copies that have been illuminated, or had the initials and paragraph marks added after the printing." The fact is, that " Higden charged his margins with chronological tables, in double and treble columns : these were either omitted in the copy which Caxton followed, or at least were left unprinted by him ; wherefore in some of the printed copies those tables are written throughout with red ink." but whether " with his own hand" is extremely doubtful." Oldys. Biog. Britan. iii. 369.

The whole volume contains cccc xxviiij folios. The signatures in Arabic figures, with eight leaves to a sheet, [like those to Godfrey De Boulogne,] extend to 54-4 : besides the prohome and table C 4. In Mr. Tutet's copy of this book (See Bibl. Tutet, n°. 479) there was " written on the last leaf of the index, in an old hand "*Presens liber p̄tinet ad Willm Purde, emp̄t a Willmo Caxton, Reḡ Imp̄ssor, vicessimo Novembris, anno regni R̄ḡ Edwardi quarti vicessimo*

secundo. "This," says Mr. Tutet, "is the only notice I have met with of Caxton's being called 'King's printer.' A copy of the *Polychronicon* is in the Bodleian library and in the British Museum, and copies are in the collections of his Majesty, Earl Spencer, and Mr. Heber. Lord Spencer's copy is the most magnificent one I ever saw. See *Bibl. Harl.* vol. iii. n°. 369: Mead. p. 138—n°. 1312: West. n°. 4091: Ratcliffe, n°. 1023. (probably West's copy.) From the specimens given of this work, it will be obvious that it is one of the most curious and interesting of those printed by Caxton.*

18. THE PYLGREMAGE OF THE SOWLE; translated out of Frensche into Englisshe, with somewhat of additions, the yere of our Lorde M.CCCC and thyrteen, and endeth in the vigyle of Seynt Bartholomew. *Emprynted at Westmestre by William Caxton, and fynyshed the sixth day of Juyn, in the yere of our lord M.CCCC.lxxxiii. and the fyrste yere of the regne of kynge Edward the fyfth.* Folio. (Type No. 4.)

"This book is entitled the PILGRIMAGE OF THE SOUL, translated

* What here follows, in Herbert, for obvious reasons should be thrown out of the text.

" THE CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND.

Another edition of the *Chronicles of England*, in folio, ends thus:

"Thus endeth this present book of the *Cronicles of England*, enprynted by me, William Caxton, in thabbey of Westmestre, by London, fynysshyd and accomplisshyd the viiiij. day of Octobre, the yere of the incarnacyon of our Lord God M.CCCC.LXXXII. and in the xxii yere of the regne of kyng Edward the fourth."

"I have not seen this edition, nor met with any other account of it. Palmer mentions that there were two editions of this book, but only gives the date of that in 1480, which he has confounded with the description of Great Britain and Ireland. As I have not seen a perfect edition of that with rude types, mentioned at note x. p. 26. query, whether it be not the same with this." There is no doubt that the superficial manner in which Palmer mentions this work, p. 337, rests entirely on his own assertion. The "rude typed" edition which Herbert himself was inclined to admit as Caxton's, is only a St. Albans reprint of it. I have seen it in the Osterley library.



RICHARD MEAD.M.D.

Born 1673: Died 1754.

out of French into English, which book is full of devout matters touching the soul, and many questions *assoiled* to cause a man to live the better in this world; and it containeth five books as it appeareth hereafter by chapters," &c. The first book treateth of the soul from its departure out of the body, to its being sentenced to purgatory. The second, of the soul being brought to purgatory. These two first books contain 65 chapters in regular progression. The third, of an angel shewing the soul Hell, and describing the pains thereof by the causes, in 10 chapters. The fourth, of the green tree and the dry, and by the other wonderful sights; 38 chapters. The fifth, of the soul taken out of purgatory, and led up through the heavenly spheres; with a description thereof, and of the calendar of heaven, &c. 14 chapters." Thus far Herbert.

As Lewis, Ames, Oldys, and Herbert, have given rather a superficial account of this extraordinary production, which, perhaps, rather than Bernard's "*Isle of Man*,"* laid the foundation of John Bunyan's "*Pilgrim's Progress*," I shall make no apology to the reader for the following specimens of its poetry and prose. The first chapter which treats "How the soul departeth from the body," and "how the foul fiend assaileth the soul," opens thus:

"As I lay in a Saint Lawrence night sleeping in my bed, me befel a full marvellous dream; which I shall rehearse. Methought that I had long time travelled toward the holy city of Jerusalem, and that I had made an end and fully finished my fleshly pilgrimage, so that I might no further travel upon my foot, but needs must leave behind my fleshly *careyne*. Then come cruel death, and smote me with his venomous dart; through which stroke body and soul were parted asunder. And so anon I felt myself lift up into the air, seeing myself departed from my foul body: which when I beheld lying all

* Consult Mr. Todd's edition of Spenser, vol. ii. cxxv. for an account of this curious book, which has recently (1803) been reprinted at Bristol in a small duodecimo volume, with a portrait of the author.

dead without any moving, seemed me so foul and horrible, that had I not right late there before issued therefrom, I would nought have supposed that ever it had been mine. Then come there to this body the noble worthy lady the *Dame Misericorde*, and kevered [covered] it, lapping [it] in a clean linen cloth, and so full honestly laid it in the earth. I saw also the *Auterer* that cleped is *Dame Prayer*; how that she sped her to heaven-ward, wonder[fully] hastily before me: for no doubt I had full *mestier* thereof. For why? the foul horrible Sathanas [Satan] I saw coming toward me, full cruelly menacing me, and saying in this wise, 'I have here long time abiden thee, and privily for thee lain in a wait; so it is now befallen that I have not failed of my purpose, for now art thou taken with me, and now must thou *wenden* in to mine habitation, condemned by right wise judgment of the sovereign judge. For now hast thou lost that lady that was thine helper and thine counsellor, *Dame Grace de Dieu*—it availleth thee nought for to look after her.'"

The pyteous compleynt of the sowle. Cap. xv.

O Blysful lord on hye, what shal I doo
Or in what place may I my selve hyde
Refuge ne wote I none to drawe unto
No doute I mote my jugement abyde
My foo is alwey redy by my syde
Me shappyng to appele and acuse
I ne can no word my selve to excuse

I am arryved to a perylous port
Ne wote I nought to whome I maye retourne
I am arest now can I no comfort
Maugre my self right here I mote soiourne
Wherefor now I may sorowfully morne
For in my scryp now fynd I no vytayle
Ne my burdon ne doth me none avayle

Burdon ne scrip may I no lenger bere
Myn enemy so sore assettyth me
I hald it best to cast away this gere
And shape my selve pryvely to fle
O blysful lord ywys it wol nought be
And wel thou wost who that me hath abused
Myn enemy that hath me now accused.

Fol. viii-ix.

The following specimen has somewhat better pretensions to melody of metre.

Ye Confessours and other holy sayntes
And vyrgynes that ben to Criste ful dere
Entendyth to my pyteous compleyntes
Be moved now with routhe upon my chere
For woman none the whiche that is ful nere
To child beryng soo of hyr peynes dredyth
As I what that my judgement procedeth

And yf that ye of your merytes grete
Somwhat depart to soo poure a wyght
Wold vouchesauf, and suche a grace me gete
This fowle ghoost to put oute of my syght
Yet wol I hope to Jhesu ful of myght
Of malyce whiche he hath ageyne me spoke
He shold be atteynt, and al his barres broke

Fol. xiii. rev.

The opening of the 34th chapter, or the introduction to the poem, which is sufficiently curious, is as follows :

“ But then heard I how humbly *Dame Misericorde* gan to pray for me, and said in this wise : ‘ Now dear Michael, quoth she, will ye vouchsafe awhile for to tarry in your judgment ? I have a little

thing to do above in heaven: I think there to purchase a grace, that nothing shall be to your prejudice.' Then said the Provost, 'It liketh me right well at your request for to abide: till that ye be returned, I pray you tarry nought. So then was the judgment suspended in to the time that mercy had been in heaven; and smartly, without tarrying, she had done her *devoir*, and was descended down upon the scaffold. And *sothely* so saw I well she was that self fair sweet, that bare her breast always ready out of her bosom, which had me before hand in my fleshly life full often time comforted. And now she did me much more comfort, what tidings she brought—In her hand she brought a *skypet*, and *neying* towards the balance with the head inclined, she said to the balancer—'how is it, quoth she, in our party? 'Sothely, quoth Justice, had ye nought tarried, in this court full long time passed this pilgrim had been forjudged; witness upon truth and reason.' 'Now then, quoth *Misericorde* shall I tell wherefore I have travelled? And she took forth the Charter and said, 'I have been in presence of our Lord Jesu Christ, and his blessed Mother, and before all the company of saints assembled together for help of this pilgrim. And so have I here our Lord's grant and charter of pardon: which I shall read to fore you: whereof who that will shall have the copy.' Then she took forth a fair charter, assealed with gold, and read it openly word for word: whereof this is the sentence;

The Charter of Mercy."

[Then follows the poem of 14 stanzas—very dull and, in part, incomprehensible.]

Herbert is mistaken in supposing the fourth and fifth chapters of the third book (which were wanting in his copy) to have any connection with the poem of the Life of the Virgin Mary. These chapters are filled with a description of the pains in hell inflicted upon traitors, false judges, and false witnesses.

The third book is devoted to the description of the tortures of the

damned ; and amidst a good deal of burlesque imagery, there are some few passages of terrific sublimity. An angel conducts the author [who trembles with apprehension and wishes to recede, but is peremptorily told by his guide that he must take it all "with pacyence withouten ony grutchynge"] "through the earth, right as birds passen by the air;" and lays open to his view the inmost recesses of hell. They arrive at a dark border which was "enclosed in compass all the hell about—wonder marveyulous blacke and derke ynowe." Here they see a group of *unbaptised innocents* "fast about moving and seeking, without any rest; as if they myght have issue [egress] from that darkness, like to a bird that always continually runneth in a cage for to seek an hole where he might escape, and many hundred times essayeth the same place and never is the wiser." The author very naturally expresses his surprise at this mode of punishment, but is told by his guide that it must ever continue so till "God may relieve them—for in them is no malice for to closen his mercy as is in them that be damned for their evil deeds." They then continue their journey till they come to "a darker place, the most wretched and desolate that ever man may come in; which were the walls enclosing of that unthrifty wretched place about." Here the author sees "the cursed multitude of fiends running about without any rest: some blew the fire; some with iron forks righted the brands; some with sharp hooks did their business for to draw and dress the wretched souls into divers pains: some came, and some went" to present "the sinful caitiffs to their master Lucifer."

Then follows a singular dialogue between *LUCIFER* and *DAME PRIDE*; the latter being described as the daughter of the former. There is something throughout this which reminds us of Milton's allegory of Satan, Sin, and Death. Lucifer is described as "sitting in a burning chair, bound hands and feet, about the neck, and about the middle fastened with fiery chains that were full huge and of despiteous weight." Pride thus addresses him: "Thou father, quoth she, that begat me and formerly was called Lucifer, but now *Tenebre* by reason of thy cursedness, I defy thee as thylke—whom most

reason have I to hate when thou broughtest me forth to inhabit this wretched painful place—and hither thou hastest thyself as soon as thou wert formed. And hither art thou come in an evil time ; for since thou art thus fallen in my trap, thou shalt not escape me. And as thou art called King of Cursedness, thou sittest now in thine estate as a Lord in thine chair. So have I been cleped of long time passed PRIDE Queen of hell-pain. For I am the eldest of all thy careful issue, and many a one have I purchased unto thy [al]legiance.” “Accursed be thou, quoth he, and evil come to thee wretched old caitiff! and cursed be the time that I thee begat—for hadst thou not been, I had not come here, but I had for ever abode in my first joy. As soon as thou wert born, thou madest me be cast down here into this mischief, and all my subjects with me,” &c. Fol. xlix. The remainder of this speech is filled chiefly with imprecations against Heaven, and with uttering oaths to be revenged, and to pull down the Almighty from his seat. It is concluded by calling on the fiends to wreak their vengeance on *Dame Pride*. Their treatment of her is too shocking to be described.

We have next a minute account of the punishments for the several sins committed by the human race ; and under that of “Lechery” there is the following description : “Huge multitude was there of much divers people in great pain and torment ; some hanged by hooks, and some by ropes ; some were brained with beetles, and some beaten with staves, and many other instruments with which they were tormented.”

In another place there is the following piece of imagery.

“Then I saw a wonderful engine of a great wheel turning about ; of which wheel one part was above earth, and the other beneath : so that it rose out of a little door, and turned down at another : the compass of this wheel was fitched full of hooks, or iron : these hooks to rent and aracid.” (root’up). Sign. l ij.

The work from which Caxton’s is a translation, was a prose composition of GALLÔPES, from the original French rhythm of GUILLAUME DE GUILLEVILLE or DEGUILLEVILLE, [formed perhaps

on the basis of Dante's *Inferno*] which was published in the character of a romance, called "Le Romant des trois Pélerinaiges;"* or, "Le Pélerinage de la vie humaine;" or, "Le Pélerinage de l'Ame"—and which, says Warton, "was highly esteemed by those visionaries who preferred religious allegory to romance." The catalogues of Gaignat (vol. i. 453) and La Valiere (vol. ii. 259) present us with many French editions of this work, but with none so early as that of 1480—said by Maittaire, on a careless observation of La Caille, p. 62, to have been printed by Ant. Gerard or Verard, at Paris. It is extraordinary that Lewis, Ames, Oldys, and Herbert, should have quoted the authority of Maittaire (vol. i. 405) for the work having been *composed* by Gerard—whereas Maittaire only says that "Gerard and Verard are one and the same name—written in-

* From Laire's *Index*, vol. ii. 151. 2, I subjoin the poetical colophon of one of the early French editions about 1500.

*Cy finit des Pelerinaiges
L'utile et notable romant,
En sentences et en langaiges
Tout gay, mignot et tout plaisant ;
Et toutefois devotement
Traictant tout ce qu'est nécessaire
A chacun pour son sauvement
Acquéirir et pour à Dieu plaire.
A Dieu graces.
Clerecaux.*

Does the last word stand for the printer's name? inquires Laire.

Barbier, in his *Dict. Des Ouvrages Anonymes et Pseudonymes*, vol. ii. 181, notices the edition of 1499 by Verard, as a continuation of the "Pélerinage de l'Homme." There is a fine copy of this edition ON VELLUM in the British Museum. It contains 84 leaves, exclusively of the table; has no poetry, and is composed in the form of a Dialogue. From the opening of the prologue it would appear, as Barbier says, to belong to a preceding work: "Maintenant (says the author) en ce present livre veuil desclairer la vision de mon songe et du pelerinage de lame laquelle me advīt puis *que ie fus esueille et que ie eus pense a la matiere du premier songe et que en ce pensant et me tournant de lautre coste m'endormis.*"

differently either way." That there was any edition in French, before Caxton's, except the doubtful one noticed by La Caille, I have not been able, after a diligent investigation, to discover. Panzer (vol. ii. 282) rests solely on the authority of Maittaire. De La Monnoye notices a Lyons edition of 1485. Du Verdier, none earlier than Verard's of 1511. See his *Bibliothèque*, vol. i. 529. edit. 1772.

Who the translator of Caxton's edition was, does not appear upon the face of the book: "but among the additions made to it, some, if not all, of the poetry, seems to be a part; and much of that written in the style and stanzas of John Lydgate. This is remarkable that the 34th chap. of that poet's *Life of the Virgin Mary*, which is a digression in praise of Chaucer, lamenting the loss of him, who used to correct his works, he being then newly dead, is the same with the poem in the 34th chap. of the second book of this *Pilgrimage*; which being unsuitable for any one to repeat to whom Chaucer had not done such services, offers some likelihood that this translation was made by Lydgate." Harl. Cat. vol. iii. n°. 1565. "The former reference, says Herbert, in the *Life of the Virgin*, is right; but the latter must be a mistake; the numbers of the chapters in the second book being continued from those of the first, and begin at xl."

Caxton's colophon begins thus: "Here endeth the dreme of pylegremage of the Soule," &c. (as in title). The volume contains 110 leaves numbered; with running titles as "*Liber primus*," "*Liber secundus*," &c: and, as Herbert justly says, has poems or songs on the following subjects—all in seven line stanzas. 1. "The Epystel that grace sendeth to the syke sowle." 2. "The Charter of Mercy." 3. "The Pilgrim's Song, with the answer by the guardian angels." 4. "The Angel's Song in heaven." 5. "The Guardian Angel's Song." 6. "The Green Tree's complaint of the Dry, for spoiling her sweet Apple." 7. "Of the Nativity of our Lady;" but different from that in chapter the first of the *Life of the Virgin*. 8. "Of the Purification." 9. "The Song on Twelfth Day." 10. "The Song of the Angels on the Easter Day." 11. "The Song of Adam," &c. and lastly

12. "The Saint's Song of Praise for the Holy Apostles." Most of these poetical pieces, of which Lydgate is the reputed author, are invincibly dull. See Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 68.

The copy of this book in the British Museum once belonged to Thoresby the antiquary, and seems to have been carefully corrected by him from inaccuracies of grammar. It was given to him by Mr. John Tennant, and is embellished (probably the work of some of his ancestors) with scrolls or labels upon the margin, with the "*Dramatis Personæ*" inscribed upon them in a large German text hand. It formerly belonged to a Mrs. Estey, as appears from the following pious couplet on the fly leaf:

"To you my nowne Dame Elizabeth Estey
I give you this boke for me to prey."

There is a copy of this work in the library of St. John's College, Oxford, which ends after signature n iiij, and contains 106 numbered leaves. Mr. Heber has an imperfect copy. See *Bibl. R. Smith*. 275. n°. 90: *West*. n°. 1874: *Ratcliffe*. 1220: *Edwards's Catalogue*, 1790, n°. 1324: and *Bibl. Monro*. n°. 3394, which latter was a folio MS. of it "by William de Stanton, A. D. 1416, with drawings in water colours."

19. *LIBER FESTIVALIS*; or Directions for Keeping Feasts all the Yere. *Explicit: Enprynted at Westmynster by William Caxton the laste Day of Junyn Anno Domini M cccc lxxxiiij.* Folio. (Type No. 3.)

To which is usually added :

20. *QUATUOR SERMONES, &c. Emprynted by wyllyam Caxton at Westmestre.* Without Date. Folio. (Type 4.)

As these books are frequently bound together, (although there were several editions of the latter) and as the subject matter of both is

pretty nearly the same, I purpose giving an account of them under one head ; and shall not scruple to borrow all the materials of Lewis, who has been particularly copious and interesting on the latter article. A few additional observations will, however, be introduced, as I have carefully examined copies of both works. Of the *first* Hearne observes that, "it consists of a course of Homilies, in which are many odd stories : that it goes by no other name than that of FESTIVALL, among curious men, who are very inquisitive after copies of it." Robert Gloc. Chron. vol. ii. p. 739. Oldys adds that, "some of these *odd stories* are such, that the Papists are now ashamed of them." Biog. Brit. iii. 369. note O. The fact is, whatever be the nature of these stories, all "curious" theological scholars may be well "inquisitive after" the "*Liber Festivalis*," as it is the origin, or substratum, of the "English COMMON PRAYER BOOK." The prologue tells us, that, "For the help of such Clerks, this book was drawn to excuse them for default of books and for simpleness of cunning, and to shew unto the people what the Holy Saints suffered and did for God's sake, and for his love ; so that they should have the more devotion in God's saints, and with the better will come to Church to serve God, and pray his Saints of their help."

Herbert thinks that the FESTIVAL might have been taken (probably in some measure it was) from the "*LEGENDA AUREA*,"* as the prologue of an ancient edition of it thus informed him :

"By mine own simple understanding, I feel well how it fareth by other that be in the same degree, and have charge of souls, and be holden to teach their *parishynges* of all the principal feasts that come in the year : but many excuse them for default of books, and also by simpleness of cunning ; therefore in help of such clerks this treatise is drawn out of '*Legenda aurea*,' that he that list to study

* Panzer, vol. iv. 40, specifies an edition of 1486, in which he expressly says it is taken from this work ; but on consulting his authority, Denis *Suppl.* 213, I find that both Denis and himself rest upon Herbert—who is erroneously quoted, as well in regard to the date of the book, as to the page of the Typographical Antiquities.

therein, he shall find ready therein of all the principal feasts of the year on every one a short sermon, needful for him to teach, and for them to learn; and for that this treatise speaketh of all the feasts of the year, I will and pray that it be called FESTIVAL——”

“ Then follow (says Lewis) Sermons. on nineteen Sundays and Feriāls, beginning with the first Sunday in Advent, and ending with Corpus Christi day. Next are Discourses or Sermons on 43 holy days, viz.

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. St. Andrew | 23. Visitation of St. Mary |
| 2. St. Nicholas | 24. Translat. of St. Tho. Cant. |
| 3. Conception of the B. Virgin | 25. St. Mary Magdalen |
| 4. St. Thomas | 26. St. James |
| 5. Nativity of our Lord | 27. St. Ann |
| 6. St. Stephen | 28. Transfiguration of the Lord |
| 7. St. John Evangelist | 29. Name of Jesus |
| 8. St. Innocents | 30. St. Laurence the Martyr |
| 9. St. Thomas of Canterbury | 31. Assumption of the V. Mary |
| 10. Circumcision of our Lord | 32. St. Bartholomew Apostle |
| 11. Epiphany | 33. Nativity of B. Virgin |
| 12. Conversion of St. Paul | 34. Exaltation of Holy Cross |
| 13. Purification of St. Mary | 35. <i>Jejunia quatuor temporum</i> |
| 14. St. Matthias | 36. St. Matthew Apostle |
| 15. Annunciation of St. Mary | 37. St. Michael |
| 16. St. George the Martyr | 38. St. Luke Evangelist |
| 17. St. Mark Evangelist | 39. St. Simon and Jude |
| 18. Philip and Jacob | 40. All Saints |
| 19. Invention of Holy Cross | 41. All Souls |
| 20. St. John <i>ante Portam</i> Latine | 42. St. Martin Archbishop |
| 21. St. John Baptist | 43. St. Katharine the Virgin |
| 22. St. Peter and Paul | |

“ Then follows a sermon ‘ *De dedicatione Ecclesie*, or, on the Church Holiday; at the end of which is ‘ Explicit, Enprynted at

Westmynster by William Caxton the laste daye of Juyn Anno domini 1483.*

The following is from Mr. Lewis's Appendix in his *Life of Caxton*, p. 139.

The Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments, according
to the Festival

“THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Father our that art in heavens, hallowed be thy name : thy kingdom come to us ; thy will be done in earth as is in heaven : our every day's bread give us to day ; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us ; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evil sin, amen.”

“THE XII ARTICLES OF THE FAITH.

1. I believe in God Father Almighty, maker of heaven and of earth ; 2. I believe in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord ; 3. I believe that he was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary. 4. I believe that he suffered pain under Pontius Pilate done on the cross, dead and buried : 5. I believe that he went down to hell : the third day arose from death to life : 6. I believe that he stied up into heaven and set him there on his Father's right hand : 7. I believe that he is come to redeem the quick and the dead : 8. I believe in the Holy Ghost : the third person of the Trinity. 9. I believe in holy church and communion of saints. 10. I believe remission of sins. 11. I believe rising of body. 12. I believe in everlasting life.”

* Here in the Rouen Edition of 1499, follows, “A short exortacion oft to be shewed to the People, &c.” entitled, “*Hamus caritatis*.” *Life of Caxton*, p. 68.

“THE X COMMANDMENTS OF GOD.

The first he commandeth, that thou have no God but him. The second is, that thou take not in vain the holy name of God. The third is, have in mind to hallow thy holy days: that is to say, Sundays, and other that be boden. The fourth is, worship thy father and mother. The fifth is, thou shalt not slee. The sixth is, thou shalt do no lechery. The seventh commandment is, thou shalt not steal. The eighth is, thou shalt bear no false witness. The ninth is, thou shalt not desire thy neighbour's wife. The tenth commandment and the last is, thou shalt not desire thy neighbour's thing, house, land, ox, ass, neither nothing that is his.”

I subjoin a further specimen* from the “Festival of Saint Michael:”

“DE FESTO SCTI MICHAELIS.

Good friends, such a day ye shall have Saint Michael's day the archangel: that day all holy church maketh mind and mention of all angels for the great succour, comfort, and help that mankind had of angels, and especially of Saint Michael. And for iij prerogatives he be had: for he is wonderful in appearing, marvellous in miracles working, and victorious in fighting. He is wonderful in appearing; for, as Saint Gregory saith, when Almighty God will work any wonderful deed, then he sendeth for Michael his servant, as for his bannerer: for he beareth a shield a sign of his arms—wherefore he was sent with Moses and Aaron to Egypt to work marvels: for though the sign was in Moses, the working was done by Michael: for he departed the red sea, and kept the waters in ii parts, while the people

* According to Mr. Todd's observation, it does not seem improbable that Spenser had his eye upon a passage in this work (sign. i. 8) when he described the pregnancy of the beautiful Chrysogone. *Faerie Queen*, book iii. cant. vii. Todd's edit. vol. iv. 447-8.

of Israel went through, and so passed; and led them forth from Jordan and kept the water like an hill of each side of them, while they passed safe and sound to the land of behest. Also Michael is keeper of paradise, and taketh the souls that be sent thither."

Many more passages equally curious and entertaining might have been extracted from the biographical sketches of the Saints inserted in this extraordinary work, but it is necessary to put some limits to curiosity; at least in an editor, who may indulge it at the expense of his reader's patience.

"It does not appear," says Herbert, on the face of this, or any subsequent edition, who was the author of this book. A MS. note prefixed to an edition printed by R. Pynson, 1499, mentions that 'among the MSS. of Tho. Ward of Longbridge, in Warwickshire, Esq. was one bearing this title, Plymton's English Festial.' Of this Plymton, see Leland, cap. 285. Bale, Cent. 4. n°. 99. Pits, pag. 480. n°. 466. But neither of them ascribe the Festival to him. The two latter make him the author of 'Sermones Dominicales;' but such were also frequent by various authors. Among the MSS. of Eaton College is 'Liber festivalis ab Alexandro priore S. Essebiæ compositus. fol.' of which place Fuller makes a query, where is it? Dugdale informs us that it is also called Ashby cannon, in Northamptonshire. See Catal. MSS. Angliæ, tom. 2. n°. 1670. Fuller's Worthies. Somers. p. 27. Bale, Cent. 4. n°. 29. Dugdali Monast. vol. 2. p. 291. In the Bodleian Library are the two following MSS. 'Alexandri Essebiensis de miraculis sanctorum libri duo, carmine; n°. 1841.' Also, 'Alexandri Essebiensis Gesta et Passiones sanctorum, versibus expressa; n°. 2219,4.' Whether the Eaton MS. was compiled from these, I cannot say."

"When this began to be read in the church," continues Herbert, "or whether ever appointed canonically, I have not leisure to inquire: but it is somewhat remarkable that, although it has passed many editions in print, at home and abroad, scarcely any copies of

it are to be found in MS. in our public libraries. I find it by this name only among the Cottonian MSS. Claudius, A II : having this title ; ‘ Liber Fistialis, continens sermones sive homilias super præcipuis anni festis (incipit autem a prima Dominica Aventus) compositus per Fratrem Joannem Mirkus canonicum regularem monasterii de Lulshul, Anglice.’ But perhaps it may be found under other names of a similar kind ; as Pits calls it ‘ Enchiridion, sive Manuale sacerdotis,’ naming him Joan. Miræus. Bale calls him Joannes Lylleshull, and his work, ‘ Enchiridion.’ Vide Bibl. Tanneri, p. 436. The Abbey of Lilleshull was a very ancient foundation, in Shropshire. Dug. Mon. vol. 2. p. 144.”

Of this work two editions were printed by Caxton ; one of which does not appear to have been known to Lewis, Oldys, or Herbert, although the latter seems to intimate something of the kind in his account of the various editions of the Golden Legend, at p. 96. 97. One edition is printed in long lines, the other in double columns : of both of which there are copies in the Bodleian Library. The latter has no date, and ends on the reverse of the second leaf after sign. s iij, with “ *Caxton me fieri fecit* ;” it has also his large device. The Duke of Roxburgh has a fine copy of this latter edition,* which is exceedingly rare. For the first, consult Bibl. Ratcliffe, n°. 1020 : Farmer, n°. 6222 : and Allen, n°. 603. Copies of it are in the libraries of his Majesty, the Marquises of Stafford and Blandford, and Earl Spencer.

* Mr. Nicol of Pall Mall told me a whimsical anecdote connected with the purchase of this copy. His Grace [who, it is well known, was a sedulous inquirer after rare books,] happening to be at York, stumbled upon a person who styled himself a “ *Dealer in Old Wine, Spanish Pointers, and Old Books*.”—The Duke—who in his younger days had been attached to the pleasures of the table and the sports of the field, and to his latest years had been distinguished for his knowledge and love of books—told him that all these were “ articles much in his way,” and begged to be favoured with a sight of the latter. After a little hesitation, the vender, who was almost too fond of his books to part with them, dragged down from a dusty shelf the above *Festival*—and agreed that Mr. Payne the bookseller should put a price upon it ; to which his Grace, from his personal attachment to Mr. Payne, readily consented.

Of an edition of this work,* *without date*, Palmer thus observes ; “ This edition, though I have given it no higher rank upon account of its having no date, doth yet manifestly appear to me to have been the first book extant of Caxton’s printing. I have seen it at my Lord Pembroke’s library, and compared it with those of the “ Game of Chess,” his three books of the “ History of Troy,” and his “ Polychronicon ;” all which have been severally looked upon as his oldest edition by one annalist or other, and find in it these two unquestionable marks of antiquity above the other three : viz. 1. The types on which it is printed appear to be entirely new, though they be the very same they used in all his other works ; whereas in the others

* The present may be considered a proper place to notice an unique copy of a very singular and rude English edition of *THE FESTIVAL printed in 1486, Folio*. This curious book is in the possession of Mr. Johnes of Hafod ; a gentleman not less distinguished for his kindness and liberality, than for the service he has rendered the cause of literature by his translations of Froissart, Brocquiere, and Joinville. This is the edition which Herbert slightly mentions at p. 63 of his *Typographical Antiquities* ; and which, from his “ Corrections and Additions,” p. 1767, he appears to have afterwards inspected, and determined, very justly, not to belong to the press of Caxton. He says that the copy was perfect ; but as he speaks of Ratcliffe’s copy [Bibl. Ratcliffe, n°. 1430] made perfect by MS. which was afterwards Mr. Alchorne’s, and which now, with the entire Alchorne Collection, is the property of Mr. Johnes, it may be expected that a more particular account should be given of this extraordinary performance.

It begins on the reverse of the first leaf with a Prologue ; “ The help and grace of Almighty God,” &c. Then commences the work itself on the recto of the following leaf—“ Good men and wymen this day is callyd the first Sondag in Advent,” &c. These, and the succeeding five leaves, are supplied by MS : on signature a i it follows “ her on auysyd, &c.” The signatures run regularly as far as y iiii in eights. On the recto of the last leaf “ *Here endith the boke that is callid fescinall. the yere of oure lord m cccc. lxxxvi. the day aftir seint Edward the kyng.*” It is printed with a broad and bold type in double columns ; the heads of the chapters are in a larger and very square type ; the body of the work is in a smaller one : the press work is, in many pages, executed with a rudeness resembling the productions of wooden blocks. It has neither numerals nor catchwords : the paper is good, and the margin ample.

A few very rude wood cuts are interspersed throughout the volume ; and the following *fac-simile* is part of a large one at the head of a chapter about the martyrdom of St. Thomas a Becket—[reverse of fourth leaf after sign. l iiii]. It represents two of the as-

they seem to be more worn. 2. This edition is the only one whose lines are not spaced out to the end; this being an improvement and elegance introduced by him in imitation of foreign printers; whereas all the first editions had the same defect with this." *Hist. of Printing*, p. 340.

sassins; the point of the sword of the left man is buried in the skull of Becket, who is kneeling before him with clasped hands. A priest is behind, turning round to a third assassin, and endeavouring to arrest the thrust of his sword: this third assassin is rushing forward, and has almost pierced the back part of Becket's head: he has a large shield before him, and like his two comrades, is in complete armour. These two men are not devoid of expression; and as the work is so uncommon and curious, I thought the reader would be pleased with a representation of them, as they are taken from an early English book, the printer of which is unknown.



It is to be regretted that Palmer has not more particularly described this dateless edition, which, at any rate, seems to be different from the double columned one. That it was the *first* production of Caxton's press, cannot easily be admitted; although it was probably the first edition of the "Festival"—of which it would appear that at least three editions were executed by our Typographer.

We may now proceed to the account of the second article, [n°. 20] the "QUATUOR SERMONES;" which is a translation from the "Sermones Quatuor* Novissimorum perutiles et necessarii, in devotionis ardorem et Dei timorem inducentes;" and of which many editions appear to have been published abroad. It was most probably the common Roman Catholic Formulary of the day, respecting the religious topics of which it treats; namely, "The Lord's Prayer," "Belief," "Ten Commandments," and "Articles of Faith."† Caxton's

* Consult *Cat. de la Valliere*, vol. i. n°. 709: *Panzer*, vol. i. 345: *Cat. de Santander*, vol. i. n°. 639. The first edition is described as having been printed in the year 1480. The last in Santander's catalogue was printed at Antwerp in 1487. Lewis mentions a Rouen edition of 1499.

† "It appears by Bishop Longland's Register, 1521, almost forty years after, that 'several men and women of the Diocese of Lincoln were detected and uttered for teaching and learning the Pater Noster and Creed in English, and reciting the Ten Commandments in their own houses in English.' And William Tindal observed to Sir Thomas More, that the Bishop of London, Fitz-James, would have made the old, or late, Dean Colet of St. Paul's, an Heretic for translating the Pater Noster into English: though it was no other than what is printed in the Primer of Salisbury Use at Paris, 1532, and entitled, 'The seven Petitions of the Paternoster, by John Colet Dean of Paul's,' and it was not a strict translation, but only a paraphrase. By a Constitution of Archbishop Peccham's, made at Lambeth, A. D. 1281, the Articles of Faith, which are there said to be fourteen, are set down with a summary brevity, that *no one* might excuse himself by pleading ignorance: and every priest who presided over a people, or had a cure of souls, is required *four* times a year, or once a quarter, to expound them to the people in the vulgar tongue. Accordingly Jo. Thoresby, Archbishop of York, A. D. 1352, made an English Exposition of these fourteen Articles or 'Pointes that falles to the truth,' &c. It began as this Sermon does; 'Als that a grete clerk shewes in his bokes, et est in secundo sentenciarum distinctione prima,' &c. and was ordered by the Archbishop to be read to

volume opens thus ; “ The Mayster of the sentence in the second book and the first dystysection sayth that the Soverayn cause why God made al creatures in heven erthe or water, was his own goodness,” &c.

“ In the translation of the Creed, which we have in the first sermon, the fourth article is thus expressed ; “ I byleve, that he suffered payne under Ponce Pilate,” &c. The translator understanding Pontius to be the name of some place where Pilate was either born, or lived, or governed. Accordingly in this book is this silly tale told : ‘ The emperor, by counsel of the Romans, sent Pilate into a country called Pounce, where the people of that country were so cursed that they slew any that come to be their master over them. So when this

the people. By another ¹ Constitution made by Archbishop Arundel, A. D. 1408, it was ordained, that ‘ nobody hereafter should by his own authority translate into English any text of Holy Scripture, by the way of a book, or little book, or treatise, nor that any one should read any such translation, unless it was approved by the Diocesan of the place, or, if need was, by a provincial council, on pain of the greater excommunication, and being punished as a fautor of heresie and error.’ That is, as Lyndwood glosses, ‘ an inquiry might be made against such, and a purgation be indicted at the pleasure of the inquirer, in which if they should fail, they might be condemned as Heretics.’ On this Constitution, I suppose, were the persons mentioned in Bishop Longland’s Register, persecuted and put to death : but this the learned Mr. Collier styles ‘ a severe charge,’ and hopes it is all a mistake and misinformation. But records and public facts are not to be thus discredited. It appears by the Manual, according to the use of Sarum, that godfathers and godmothers of children, were to learn, or see them be learned, the Paternoster, Ave, and Credo, after the ‘ lawe of all holy church ;’ which was that they should be learned in Latin. Dr. John White, who lived at Eccles in Lancashire, has given us a copy of the Creed, as it used to be repeated there by the common people, in Latin : ‘ Crezum zuum patrum onitentem,’ &c. And for this reason it is, that in the office of public baptism of Infants in our Liturgy, godfathers, &c. are required to provide that the child may learn ‘ The Creed, the Lord’s Prayer and Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue.’ According to the principles of some of the modern Catholics, it is much better for the people *not* to understand the common service of the church than to understand it ; or that it should be in Latin and not in English.”

LEWIS’S *Life of Caxton*, p. 69, &c.

¹ This seems occasioned by Dr. Wicliff’s translation of the Bible into English ; ‘ by which means (Knighton said) the Gospel was made vulgar, and trodden under foot of swine.’ See *Wicliff’s Life*.

Pilate come thither he applied him to her manners; so what with wiles and subtilty he overcame them, and had the mastery, and gat his name, and was called Pilate of Pounce, and had great domination and power.' According to this manner of writing, excepting sometimes Ponce for Pounce, was this article of the Creed expressed in English, from the fourteenth century down to A.D. 1532; when in the Primer of Salisbury use, it was altered to Pontius Pilate, which was followed by Archbishop Cranmer in his notes on the king's book, 1538."

"The ninth article is thus rendered; 'I believe *in* holy church,' &c. This seems to have been first introduced to support the new doctrine of the infallibility of the church or clergy, and to be made a test of orthodoxy. On a tombstone in the high chancel of the church of Faversham in Kent, is the following inscription, in a semicirclet of brass, over the head of the effigies of William Thornbury, a vicar of this church, who died A. D. 1408: 'Credo *in* Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, Sanctorum Communionem.' In 1457, Dr. Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, was accused to the Archbishop of Canterbury, holding, among other things, that 'it is not necessary to salvation to believe *in* the holy catholic church,' and forced to abjure, and be deprived of, his Bishopric. And yet St. Austin, as he is quoted by Bishop Bonner, in his 'profitable and necessary doctrine,' &c. A.D. 1555, observed, 'Quod ecclesiam credere, non tamen *in* ecclesiam credere debemus, quia Ecclesia non DEUS, sed DOMUS DEI est.' Erasmus said, that he dreaded to say, 'I believe *in* the holy church;' because St. Cyprian had taught him, that we ought to believe *in* God only, in whom we absolutely place all our confidence. But as to the CHURCH, properly so called, although it consists of the faithful only, yet they are men who, of good men, may become evil ones, who may be deceived themselves and deceive others. 'Nay in this very book it is observed, that to believe *to* God is one thing, and to believe *in* God is another; and that to believe in God is to cleave to God by love fulfilling his will.' But it had been the observation of the noble Lord Cobham, who suffered as an Heretic, A.D. 1417, that 'in

all our Creed is IN but thrice mentioned concerning belief, ‘*in* God the Father, *in* God the Son, and *in* God the Holy Ghost.—That the church hath not any other *in*.’ Whereas in the English translation of the Creed, printed in the Salisbury Primer, 1532, the last articles of it are thus rendered: ‘I believe *in* the holy Church Catholike——*in* the remission of sinnes——*in* the resurrection of the body——*in* everlasting life.”

“In the second of these four Sermons is, 1. An Explanation of the seven Sacraments of the Romish Church. 2. Of the seven Deeds of Mercy bodily, the which every man is bound by the bidding of God to fulfil and do to his power; that is to say, feed the hungry; give drink to the thirsty; clothe the naked; harbour the houseless; visit the sick; deliver prisoners, and bury the poor when they are dead. 3. Of seven other ghostly Deeds of Mercy. 4. Of the seven principal Virtues that every man and woman should use. 5. Of the seven deadly sins. 6. The nine Pains.

“In the other two Sermons are declared the three Parts of Penance, viz. ‘Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction.’

“Then follows, (Sign. d iij) 1. ‘The Generalle Sentence,’* which

* We may observe by the way that this *General Sentence*, or *Excommunication*, as it is called, was first ordered by *Stephen Langton*, Abp. of Canterbury, A.D. 1222, who decreed it should be published by every parish priest in his holy vestments, with bells tolling and candles lighted, before the whole congregation in the mother tongue, four times a year—viz. on Christmas Day, Easter Day, Whitsunday and Allhallows Day. In a volume of Tracts in MS. said to be written by Dr. John Wicliff, about 150 years after, is one entitled, ‘The great Sentence of Curse expounded.’ But the form of the General Sentence in this Eposition, somewhat differs from that in the Constitution. The Exposition informs us, that ‘First, all Heretics against the faith of Holy Writ be cursed solemnly four times in the year, and also maintainers and consenters to heresie and Heretics in their error.’ The second article is the first in the Constitution, and in the General Sentence in English, in the following words; ‘All those be cursed solemnly that spoilen or taken any right of holy church, or defrauden holy church of any due.’ But in the English form of the General Sentence, is this article thus expressed; ‘I denounce and shew for accursed all those that franchise of holy church break or disturb, or are against the peace or the state of holy church, or there to assent with deed or counsel. And also all those that [de]prive holy church of any right, or make of holy church any lay fee that is

begins thus: ' Good men and women I do you to understand, that we that have cure of your souls be commanded of our ordinaries, and by the constitutions and the law of holy church, to shew to you *four* times by the year, in each a quarter of the year once, when the people is most plenary in holy church, the articles of the sentence of

hallowed or sanctified; and all those that withhold the rights of holy church, that is for to say offerings, tithes, rents, or freedom of holy church letten, or distruble, or break, that is to say, if any man flee to church, or churchyard, whoso him lout draweth, and all those that thereto procure or assent: and all those that purchase letters of any lord's court, wherefore letting is made in christian court, that process of right may not be determined nor ended.' On this the Expounder observes, that ' Christian men, taught in God's law, clepen holy church the congregation of just men, for whom Jesus Christ shed his blood, not for stones and timber and earthly muck that Antichrist's clerks magnifien more than God's righteousness and christian souls, and, that then those prelates and curates that withdrawen the rightful preaching of Christ's gospel from christian men that be holy church be open accursed of God and all his saints.' He further observes, that ' when the king and secular lords perceiven well, that clerks wasten their ancestor's alms in pomp and pride, gluttony and other vanities, and they wolden take again the superfluity of temporal goods, and help the land and themselves and their tenants, these worldly clerks crien fastly, that they be cursed for intermiting of holy church goods, as if secular lords and the commons were no part of holy church, but only proud priests full of *covetise*, simony, and extortion, &c.'

" It seems to be after the writing and publishing of this Tract, that Archbishop Courtney, appointed a court of certain select bishops, &c. to be held in the monastery of the Preaching Friars in London, to condemn some conclusions said to be maintained by Dr. Wiclif and his followers. Among these were the following ones:

" 1. That the substance of material bread and wine remains after consecration in the sacrament of the altar.

" 2. That the accidents do not remain without a subject after consecration in the same sacrament.

" 3. That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar identically, verily and really in his proper corporal presence."

To make therefore a stronger impression on the minds of the people, and raise in them a greater abhorrence of these conclusions, the following article was added in this *General Sentence*, which was read to the people in their mother tongue every quarter, viz. denouncing and shewing for accursed—*al hereticks that leve* [believe] not in the sacrament of the autler, that is, goddes oune body in fleshe, and bloude, in forme of brede. LEWIS'S *Life of Caxton*, p. 74, &c.

cursing, so that nought for our default no man nor woman fall therein.

On the last leaf but one is, “¶ *Modus fulminandi sentenciam. Prelatus alba indutus, cum ceteris sacerdotibus in ecclesia existentibus, cruce erecta, candelis accensis, stans in pulpito, pronunciet verba que sequuntur: Ex autoritate Dei Patris omnipotentis, et beate Marie Virginis, et omnium sanctorum excommunicamus et diabolo commendamus omnes supradictos malefactores.*”

The curse, of eleven lines, is in the Latin tongue, with the usual causes of excommunication—that the anathematised are to be cursed, whether eating, drinking, sleeping, or waking.

“¶ *Finita sententia extinguat lumen ad terrorem pulsatis campanis.*” LEWIS'S *Life of Caxton*, p. 71, &c.

After which follows “*The bedes on the Sondag.*”* “Ye shall kneel

* “In the form of *bidding the beads on the Sunday*, or, as it was sometimes called, ‘The Dominical Prayer in the pulpit,’ is the following clause: ‘Also ye shall pray for all true pilgrims and palmers that have taken their way to Rome, to Jerusalem, to Saint Katharine’s, or to Saint James, or to any other holy place, that God of his grace give them time and space well for to go and to come to the profit of their lives and souls.’ By this it appears, that at the time of composing this form, these were the fashionable pilgrimages. In a more ancient form, no particular places or saints are mentioned, but this clause is expressed as follows: ‘Ye shall bids for hem that in good ways¹ beest ywent other wendyt, other² thenkit to wenthe her sins to boot, that our Lord Jesus Christ ward and shield them from all misadventures, and grant them so going and coming, that it be him to³ worship, and them in remission of their sins, for them and for us, and all christian folk.’ This seems to intimate as if, at the time when this ancients form was drawn, the Saints Katharine and James of Compostella, were not in so great request, or had in so much veneration, as they were afterwards.”

“About 709, an odd and surprising opinion of the merit and holiness of pilgrimages to Rome, wonderfully prevailed among the English, insomuch that all ranks and degrees of every sex and age of the people of this nation travelled to Rome, and placed a mighty confidence in visiting the tombs of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and of such other holy men, &c. as had there suffered for the sake of Christ. The consequence of this was, that about the middle of this century, this humour so far increased, that the English nuns ran to Rome; and there were so many lewd women of the English nation abroad in Lom-

¹ been gone or going. ² think to go their sin to make satisfaction for. ³ honour.

down on your knees, and lift up your hearts, making your prayers unto Almighty God for the good state and peace of all holy church, that God maintain, save and keep it." It then goes on something in the strain of our Prayer for the Church Militant—but is rather more minute in the objects for which a benediction is solicited. It ends with a short Latin invocation, beginning "Absolve quesumus domine." Then follows the Colophon, as in the title.

This small volume contains 30 leaves not numbered, and has signatures from a j to d iij. Herbert is right in designating it as a folio. There is an imperfect copy of it in the Bodleian Library, attached to an edition of the Festival; and a perfect copy is in St. John's College, Oxford, at the end of the Canterbury Tales, printed by Caxton, with cuts. This latter copy was bequeathed to the college along with the valuable books of Mr. Crynes, and has an ancient autograph of "William Middleton."

bardy, France, &c. that Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, complained of them to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and recommended to him the suppression of this practice of pilgrimaging as of very bad and scandalous consequence. The practice of going in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, or the Holy Land, was new in the *fourth* century, when, about the latter end of it, Gregory Nyssen wrote a learned letter to dissuade christians from going thither on that errand; and was at last here in England, treated with contempt and ridicule, as only a pretence for sloth and laziness.

"The Saint Katharine here mentioned is, I suppose, the saint of that name, of Sene in Italy, who was born there, A. D. 1347, and canonized by Pope Pius II. A. D. 1461.

"St. James I take to be St. James of Compostella, in Spain: hither, it was said, the bones or relicks of James, the brother of John, who was killed by Herod, were translated. But it does not appear, that much notice was taken of them till Calistus or Calixtus II's time, who was chosen Pope of Rome, A. D. 1119. He not only wrote a tract of the miracles of this Saint done at Compostella, but advised the English pilgrims, in particular, rather to go in pilgrimage to this saint, than to Rome; and promised them, on account of the length of the journey, that if they went twice to Compostella, they should have refunded to them the same advantageous benediction which *they* had who went once to Rome." LEWIS'S *Life of Caxton*, p. 77, &c.

21. CONFESSIO AMANTIS; That is to saye in Englisshe,
THE CONFESSYON OF THE LOUER, maad and compyl-
ed by John Gower, Squyer. &c * *Enprynted at
Westmestre by me Willyam Caxton and fynnysshed the
ij daye of Septembre the fyrst yere of the regne of Kyng
Richard the thyrd the yere of our lord a thousand cccc
lxxxxiij* (By mistake for 1483,† as the designation of
the king's reign clearly testifies.) Folio. (Type No. 4.)

This book, according to Caxton's prohome, "treateth how he

* "*Borne in Walys, in the tyme of Kyng Richard the Second.*" "The very title of this edition," says Oldys, "may serve to correct several errors; and among others, even in so eminent an antiquary as Leland; who says, as Fuller also does, and every body else after him, that Gower was born at *Stitenham* in Yorkshire; whereas he appears, in the very front of this book, to have been a Welchman. [Herbert asserts from Weever that he was of a *Kentish* family—but I find no such inference drawn in the *Funeral Monuments*, p. 68. edit. 1767.] Then again they have made him of the knightly order, and called him Sir John Gower, after Bale, &c. But here we see he is called no more than a Squire. The same author would also make him *Poet Laureat*, from the little band or fillet, with four roses, or white quatre-foyles, that were carved about the head of his monumental effigies in St. Mary Overy's church, as if it had been a wreath of bays; and Fuller, from the same, would think him a judge, though that, with the collar of SS. carved round his breast, and a white swan at the end of it, were no other than the cognizances of Henry, Earl of Derby, afterwards King Henry IV, which his esquires, or some of his officers wore."

Biog. Britan. vol. iii. p. 370.

It must however be observed that the place of his nativity, Wales, is expunged in Berthelet's second edition of 1554: as Herbert informs us. In my account of Berthelet's first edition of the above work the reader will find a short sketch of Gower's Life and Writings.

† "*Maittaire*," says Herbert, "mentions this book with the date thus; a thousand cccc lxxxxiij; which he enters as printed in the year 1483; and accounts for it thus—'Notandum est hic denarios numeros pro vigenariis accipi.' It is true indeed in those days they frequently counted by scores, though not in that manner, by taking every x for a score, which must have occasioned great confusion, having no other numeral for ten; but thus iiijxxij for fourscore and three.

"He inserted it again under the year 1493, and, in his note, quoted the very same colophon, with the date in like manner, without an L; and what is most extraordinary, ac-

(John Gower) was confessed to Genius, Priest of Venus, upon the causes of love in his five wits, and seven deadly sins, as in this said book all along appeareth; and because there *ben* comprised therein divers history and fables touching every matter, I (William Caxton) have ordained a table here following of all such histories and fables, where and in what book and leaf they stand in, as hereafter followeth." The preceding, with the table of contents, beginning on sign. a.ij, occupy the first twelve pages. At fol. 2 commences

The Prologue: how John Gower in the xvi year of King Richard the Second began to make this book; and directed to Harry of Lancaster, then Earl of Derby.

Of the state of the *royames* temporally the said year.

Of the state of the clergy the time of *Robert Gyllbonensis* naming himself Clement then Anti-pope.

Of the estate of the common people.

How he treateth of the image that Nebuchadnezzar saw in his sleep,

counts for it in much the same manner as he had done before, thus: 'Observandum est in hoc annorum computo denarios duplicari oportere.' But this he afterwards rejected, as it appears with a 'dele' among his errata. However he certainly must have had some idea of the date's having an L belonging to it, by placing it in this year. That there is such an edition with the date thus, 'a thousand cccc, lxxxxxiii,' we know; and Mr. Ames rightly supposes the redundancy of an X to have happened through hurry or mistake.

"Supposing there were some copies with, and some without the L, yet there can be no doubt but that they are the same edition, both having the same regal annal, 1. Rich. 3. All that can be inferred from it seems to be this, that the book was printed in great haste; but a mistake being observed in the date before the whole number was worked off, there was an attempt made to correct it; but still, through hurry and inadvertency, one error succeeded another.

"Palmer, or the person who went by the name of George Psalmanaazar, and profess- edly wrote the last book of that history of printing, implicitly followed Maittaire in mak- ing two editions of the same book, notwithstanding he had put a 'dele' to the latter one, as above mentioned; the inconsistency being too glaring, as the date there stood without an L. Mr. Lewis quotes the date without an L; but corrects it with i. e. cccclxxxxiii; changing one X for an L. Life of Caxton, p. 80." HERBERT'S Text.

having an head of gold, a breast of silver, a belly of brass, legs of iron, and feet half iron and half earth.

Of the interpretation of the dream, and how the world was first of gold and after alway worse and worse, &c. &c.

The Prologue concludes thus : " For pees beseketh alle men. Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen.

Explicit Prologus."

This prologue is followed by another ; in which Gower tells that he " determined to write this book in our own tongue, for the general use of his countrymen." The second prologue, however, was printed from such an imperfect MS. that " it wanted in several places not only leaves, but whole columns and pages ; which together with the changing of words, and transposing of sentences, made the author unintelligible, as the next editor Berthelet pretends—who, in his edit. of 1532-54—has restored the prologue in its original shape." Oldys's Biog. Britan. iii. 370. n. The same editor also informs us that the present work was undertaken in consequence of King Richard the Second having met our poet rowing on the Thames, and inviting him into the royal barge, requested him "*to boke some new thing*."*

* In the first prologue [which Herbert describes as beginning on fol. iii or ii, in some copies—but which, in the Lambeth copy, begins on the Arabic number 2] Gower thus states the object of his work—

I wol goo the mydele wey
And wryte a boók bytwene the twey
Somwhat of luste, and somewhat of lore
That of the lasse or of the more
Some man may lyke of that I wryte
And for that fewe men endyte
In oure englysshe for to make
A boók for englonde's sake
The yere xvj of kyng Richard
What shal byfalle here afterward
God wote, for now upon this tyde
Men see the world on every syde

The "*CONFESSIO AMANTIS*," which is planned in the manner of a dialogue between a lover and his confessor, is considered as the masterpiece of Gower. In the course of this elaborate work, which the poet seems to have made a receptacle for almost every popular story of the day, Gower has contrived to exhibit, says Warton, "every evil affection of the human heart, which may intend to impede the progress,

In sondry wyse so dyversed
That it wel nygh stant al reversed
Als for to speke of tyme a goo
The cause why it chaungeth so
It nedeth nought to specyfye
The thyng so open is at the eye
That every man it may behold
And netheles by dayes old
Whan that the bookes weren lever
Wrytyng was byloved ever
Of hem that weren virtuous, &c.

He thus concludes the first part of his prologue—which would induce us to suppose that the circumstance of his stepping into Richard's barge, and being importuned by the monarch to "book some new thing," was a mere poetical fabrication of Berthelet, the printer of the first critical edition of Gower's works—

But for my wyttes ben to smale
To telle every mannys tale
This book upon amendement
To stond al his commaūdement
With whome myn hert is of acorde
I send unto myn owne lord
Whiche of lancastre is henry named
The hyghe god hath hym proclaimed
Ful of knyghthode and al grace
So wold I now this werk embrace
With hoole trust and hoole byleve
God graunte I mote it well acheve.

Now, if any such circumstance as the one above mentioned had occurred, would a poet of a gossiping turn, and fertile genius, like Gower, have neglected to notice it in the first part of his prologue, wherein the origin and object of his poem are clearly developed?

or counteract the success, of love ;” and its fatal effects are exemplified by a variety of apposite stories extracted from classics and chronicles, &c. What Gower wanted in invention, he supplied from his common-place book ; which appears to have been stored with an inexhaustible fund of instructive maxims, pleasant narrations, and philosophical definitions.” Hist. English Poetry, vol. ii. 3-4. The “ Confession” is said to contain not fewer than 30,000 verses. “ There are parts of the work,” says Mr. G. Ellis, “ which might very probably be reprinted with advantage : such are, the tale in fol. 70 (edit. 1532) beginning ‘ *Of Armenye I rede thus ;*’ the tale in folio 85, from which Shakspeare has probably taken his incident of the caskets in the Merchant of Venice : a fable in folio 110, beginning ‘ *To speak of an unkinde man :*’ the story of a Faun and Hercules, folio 122, beginning ‘ *The mightiest of all men :*’ that of Nectanabus and Olympias, folio 137 : and the beautiful romantic tale of Appollynus Prince of Tyre, folio 175 to 185. It is also to be observed that the fourth and seventh books, containing a very good compendium of nearly all the learning of the age, may be worth consulting.” Specimens of Early Engl. Poets, vol. i. 180-200.

I refer the student of ancient english literature to the elegant extracts given from this work by Warton and Mr. G. Ellis : but, as so much has been here said in commendation of it, he may probably not be displeased with the subjoined specimens,* as they are not to be found in either of the preceding authors.

* Ther was a kyng whiche Eolus
Was hote and it befel hym thus
That he two children had fayre
The sone cleped was Machayre
The doughter Canace hyght
By day both and eke by nyght
Whyle they be yong of comon wone
In chambre they to geder come
And as they shold play hem ofte
Tyl they be growen up alofte

It remains only to add that the present volume, which seems to have been more popular than most of the books printed by Caxton, or of which a greater number of copies were struck off, is indifferently printed in Caxton's small and worst type, upon paper suffi-

In the yougthe of lusty age
When kynde assaylleth the courage
With love and doth hym for to vowe
That he no reson can allowe
But halt the lawes of nature
For whome that love hath under cure
And he is blynd hymself ryght so
He maketh his clyent blynde also
In suche maner as I you telle
As they al day to geder duelle, &c. &c.

So that this Machayre with Canace
When they were in a privy place
Cupid had hem fyrst to kysse
And after she whiche is maystryse
In kynde and techeth every lyf
Withoute lawe posytyf

The result of this criminal intercourse between the lovers is, the pregnancy and delivery of Canace. The news reaches the king her father; and the effect of it upon him, as illustrative of the mischief of "melancholy" and "wrath," is thus described:

Now list and herkne a woful cas
The soth which may not ben hyd
Was at the last knowe and kyd
Unto to the kyng how that it stood
And whan that he it understood
Anone in to MELANCHOLY
As though it were a frenesye
He felle as he whiche no thyng couthe
How mayster ful love is yougthe
And for he was to love straunge
He wold not his herte chaunge
To be benigne and favourable
To love, but unmerciabie.

ently stout, but not of a very inviting colour. The leaves, 211 in the whole, are capriciously numbered; and in the copy which I examined, in the Tabarders' Library at Queen's College, Oxford, those, from folio iv to xvii, had no figures marked upon them. On the reverse of the

Thus a prey to conflicting passions, he seeks the chamber of his daughter. What follows, may be considered among the best specimens of Gower's dramatic poetry.

By twene the waiwe of wode and wroth
In to his doughter chambre he goth
And sawe the child was late bore
Wherof he hath his oth swore
That she it shal ful sore aby
And she bygan mercy for to crye
Upon her bare knees; and prayde,
And to her fadre thus she sayde:
" Have mercy fadre, thenke I am
Thy child, and of thy blode I cam
That I mysdede yougthe it made
And in the flodes had me wade
Where that I sawe no peryl tho
But now it hath byfalle so
Mercy my fadre do no wreche"—
And with the word she lost hyr speche.

The father however continues inexorable, and rushes out of the chamber—meditating revenge. He goes into a "wild wood"—calls forth a knight—and tells him to deliver a sword to his daughter—as the instrument of punishment with which she is to take away her own life. The knight obeys—delivers the sword—which the daughter heroically receives—and dismissing him, she sits down to write a farewell letter to her brother—

She wrote and sayd in this manere.
O thou my sorowe and my gladnes
O thou my hele and my sekenesse
O thou my wanhope and my trust
O thou my dysese and al my lust
O thou my wele O thou my woo
O thou my frend O thou my foo
O thou my love O thou my hate
For the mote I be dede algate

last leaf but one, the english poetry, or eighth book, ends ; after which is the following curious monkish Latin verse : “ Explicit iste liber qui transeat obsecro liber, ut sine livore vigeat lectoris in ore, Qui sedet in scannis celi det ut ista Johannis, perpetuis annis stet pagina grata britannis Derby comiti recolunt quem laude periti. Vade liber purus sub eo requiesce futurus.”

Epistola super hujus operis vel opusculi sui complementum Johanni Gower a quodā philosopho transmissa.

Quam cinxere freta gower tua carmina leta, Per loca discreta canit anglia laude repleta, Carminis at leta satirus tibi sive poeta, Sit laus completa quo gloria stat sine meta—

Thylk deth maye I not asterte
And with al myn hole herte
Whyle that me lasteth ony breth
I wol the love in to my deth
But of on thyng I shol the preye
If that my lytel son deye
Lete hym be buryed in my grave
Besyde me so shalt thou have
Upon us both remembraunce
For thus it stondesth of my grevaunce
Now at this tyme as thou shalt wite
With teres and with ynke I wryte
This letter I have in cares cold
In my ryght hond my penne I hold
And in my left my swerd I kepe
And in my barme ther lyeth to wepe
Thy child and myn whiche sobbeth faste
Now am I come unto my laste
Ferewell!—

(She then stabs herself:)

The pomel of the swerd to ground
She set and with the poynt a wound
Through out hyr heart anone she made
And forth with that al pale and fade
She felle doune dede—

Rev. first leaf after sign. g 4.

Then follows about a page, descriptive of the nature of the work. At the end is this pious exhortation :

“*Orate pro anima Johannis Gower Quicunque enim pro anima ipsius Johannis Gower oraverit tociens quociens mill quingentos dies indulgencie ab ecclesia rite concessor misericorditer in domino possidebit.*”^{*} This is succeeded by the colophon, as stated in the title.

The Harleian copy of this book was “an extraordinary fair one.” “Hearne never saw so compleat a book of this edition ; and thought it worth more than *two guineas*” !! See Bibl. Harl. vol. iii. n°. 3539 [The latter part of this remark will excite a smile, when it is considered that *twenty times* two guineas could not *now* procure a perfect copy]. Imperfect copies are in the libraries of All Souls, and Queen’s Colleges, Oxford ; the latter is but slightly defective. Consult Bibl. Mead. p. 235. n°. 1741 : West. n°. 2297 : Ratcliffe, n°. 1225 : Daly, n°. 207. There is a perfect copy in the public library at Cambridge. A. B. 10 : 26. His Majesty and Lord Spencer have each a perfect copy. Perhaps the finest one yet known to be in existence, is that in the Lambeth Library : marked 37 : 4. 9. In Mr. White’s Cat. of 1777, n°. 1079, there is “a fair copy, entirely compleat, bound in morocco.”

In the British Museum there are “The remains of a very fine copy of this work, written on vellum, and illuminated. The size, a large and magnificent folio. It appears to have been mutilated, at some period, for the sake of the illuminations of the initial letters.” Harl. MSS. n°. 7184. vol. iii. p. 520. edit. 1808.

^{*} That is, “Pray for the soul of John Gower ; for whosoever prays for his soul, shall mercifully enjoy in the Lord a thousand and five hundred days of pardon, granted in due form by the Church, for each time that he shall so pray.” Middleton’s *Dissertation on Printing*, p. 26. The work is here placed in the order of time after the *Aeneid* of 1490 ; the dominical date not being considered as erroneous, which it obviously is.

22. THE GOLDEN LEGENDE—*Accomplished at the commaundement and requeste of the noble and puyssaunte erle, and my special good lorde, wyllyam erle of arondel; and fynnysshed at Westmestre the twenty day of Nouembre, the yere of our lorde M,CCCC,LXXXIij, and the fyrst yere of the reygne of Kyng Rychard the thyrd By me wyllyam Caxton. Folio. (Type No. 4.)*

At the head of an interesting proheme or preface, we have this well executed wood cut:



The preface, as it has been extracted by Bishop Tanner, [Bibl. Britan. p. 159] and Herbert, is as follows:

“And forasmuch as this said work was great and overchargeable to me to accomplish, I feared me in the beginning of the translation

to have continued, by cause of the long time of the translation, and also in the imprinting of the same ; and in manner half desperate to have left it, after that I had begun to translate it, and to have laid it a part, nor had it be at the instance and request of the puissant noble and virtuous earl, my Lord William, Earl of Arondel, which desired me to proceed and continue the said work, and promised me to take a reasonable quantity of them, when they were achieved and accomplished, and sent to me a worshipful gentleman, a servant of his, named John Stanney, which solicited me in my lord's name that I should in no wise leave it but accomplish it; promising that my said lord should during my life give and grant to me a yearly fee ; that is to wit, a buck in summer, and a doe in winter ;* with which fee I hold me well content. Then at contemplation and reverence of my said lord, I have endeavoured me to make an end and finish this said translation, and also have enprinted it in the most best wise that I have, could, or might, and present this said book to his good and noble lordship, as chief causer of the achieving of it, praying him to take it in *gree* of me William Caxton, his poor servant, and that it like him to remember my fee. And I shall pray unto Almighty God for his long life and welfare, and after this short and transitory life to come into everlasting joy in heaven, the which he send to him and me, and unto all them that shall read and hear this said book, that for the love and faith of whom all these holysaints bath suffered death and passion. amen."

Then follow two tables : the first, of the stories in the same order as they stand in the book ; the other, alphabetically. Next a cut, three fourths of the page, representing heaven at top, and a large group of saints beneath. After these comes his prologue, reciting several authors who have declaimed against idleness, 'for which cause,' says he, 'when I had performed and accomplished divers works and histories, translated out of French into English at the request of certain lords, ladies, and gentlemen, as the history of the Recueil of Troy, the Book of the Chess, the History of Jason, the His-

* At page 33 ante, I have erroneously said that Warton assigned this remuneration to De Vignay's translation of the Game of Chess. See Warton's H. E. P. vol. ii. 111. note u.

tory of the Mirror of the World, the xv Books of Metamorphoses, in which be contained the Fables of Ovid, and the History of Godfrey of Bologne in the Conquest of Jerusalem, with other divers works and books, I *nyste* what work to begin and put forth after the said works tofore made,—I have *submised* myself to translate into English the Legend of Saints,—against me here might some persons say that this Legend hath been translated tofore, and truth it is, but forasmuch as I had by me a Legend in French, another in Latin, and the third in English, which varied in many and divers places, and also many histories were comprised in the two other books, which were not in the English book, and therefore I have written one out of the said three books, which I have ordered otherwise than the said English Legend is, which was tofore made ; beseeching all them that shall see or hear it read, to pardon me where I have erred," &c.

Because, says Ames, St. George is our English patron, accept the close of his life from folio *clviii* of it : to which I add, accept also his engraved portrait—probably the first in existence.



“ This blessed and holy martyr Saint George, is patron of this *royame* of England, and the cry of men of war; in the worship of whom is founded the noble Order of the Garter, and also a noble college in the castle of Windsor, by Kings of England; in which college is the heart of Saint George, which Sigismund the Emperor of Almayn brought and gave for a great and a precious relic to King Harry the Fifth, and also the said Sigismund was a brother of the said Garter, and also there is a piece of his head; which college is nobly endowed to the honour and worship of Almighty God, and his blessed martyr Saint George. Then let us pray unto him that he be special protector and defender of this *royame*.

Thus endeth the lyf of Saynt George.*

At folio cccclxxxii, “ Thus endeth the Life of Saint Saturnine. This feast is the last feast of the year, for to begin at the feast of Saint Andrew; and hereafter shall follow divers feasts which been added and set in this said book, called the Golden Legend.”

This book begins with the Advent and other commemorations of our Lord; then “ follow the stories of the Bible,” beginning with the Life of Adam. “ After the feasts of our Lord Jesus Christ, tofore set in order, following the Legends of Saints, and first of Saint Andrew,” which begins at the back of folio lxxxiiij. The last life is that of “ Saint Albin.” Then on folio ccccxxxv — “ beginneth the noble History of the Exposition of the Mass;” at the end of which is a short comment on “ The Articles of the Faith.” The whole concludes with this epilogue, “ Thus endeth the Legend, named in Latin *Legenda Aurea*, that is to say, in English, the Golden Legend; for like as gold passeth in value all other metals, so this Legend exceedeth all other books: wherein be contained all the high and great feasts of

* The pure picture here exhibited of this hero and saint, differs greatly from the severe and sarcastic account of him by Gibbon, in his *Decline and Fall*, &c. vol. iii. 203. edit. 1809. See too Heylin's *Life of St. George*, 1633. 4to. The popularity of our hero is supposed to have arisen from the influence of the crusades.

our Lord, the feasts of our blessed Lady, the lives, passions, and miracles of many other Saints, and other histories and acts, as all along here afore is made mention. Which work I have accomplished [as is set out in the title,] at the commandment and request of the noble and puissant earl, and my special good Lord William, Earl of Arundel, and have finished it at Westminster, the twenty day of November, the year of our Lord M,CCCC,LXXXIij, and the first year of the reign of King Richard the Third. By me William Caxton."

Having thus far extracted from Herbert, I may be allowed to add a word or two respecting the author, and the nature, of the work. The author was Jacobus De Voraigue, Archbishop of Genoa, who composed it under the title of "*LEGENDA AUREA*," in the Latin language, about the year 1260. In the subsequent century it was translated into French by JEAN DE VIGNAY, (of whom the reader has already had some account at p. 32) and from this French * translation it was converted into our own language by the indefatigable Caxton. The work is rightly called by Warton "an inexhaustible repository of religious fable;" and such was the almost sacred light in which it was considered abroad†, for upwards of two centuries, that the learned

* A magnificent, and perhaps the original, French manuscript of this work was sold among the duplicates of Mr. R. Heathcote's books in 1803; said to be "near five hundred years old," and executed for the Queen of Philip De Valois. It is described (n°. 1090) as being "an immense folio volume, perhaps the most curious work of the kind in the world; every leaf on the finest vellum; all the capital letters illuminated with gold and rich colors; with upwards of 200 miniatures of the different saints," &c. &c. It was purchased by the Duke of Norfolk for £64.

† The popularity of this work in the 15th century is sufficiently attested by the great number of editions of it which were printed in the Latin, Italian, Dutch, German, and French languages. Panzer enumerates upwards of 70 editions in the first language; 8 in the second; 14 in the third; 5 in the fourth; and 3 in the fifth. Santander (*Dict. Bibliogr. Choisi*, vol. iii. 469) says the first edition, to which a date is affixed, is the one printed at Paris, by Gering, Crantz and Friburg, in 1475. This does not appear improbable, although Heineken (*Idee D'Estampes*, p. 386) assigns the date of 1470 to the first edition; De Bure (*Cat. de la Valliere*, n°. 4695) that of 1472; and Panzer notices one of 1474, on a brief description of such edit. by Denis, p. 42. It must be ob-

Claude Espence, in the year 1555, was obliged to make a public recantation for calling it *LEGENDA FERREA* ! See *Hist. Engl. Poet.* vol. i. 14, note—ii. 41; 111: note. Consult also the last edition of the *Bibliothèque Francoise* of De la Croix du Maine, vol. i. 606. The Harl. Catalogue says that, “the volume is not a translation from any one author; but from a Latin, French, and English work which Caxton had by him at the time—that many histories were comprised in the first two works which were not in the English one—therefore, says Caxton, “I have written one out of the said three books; which I have ordered otherwise than the said *English Legends*, which was so tofore made.” *Bibl. Harl.* vol. iii. n°. 1661. This however only goes to prove that the English translation was not so full as the French and Latin works. With respect to the promise of a buck and a doe

served that the account of the four last writers is supported by very loose authority. Heineken's is a mere assertion; De Bure mentions a dateless edition, which he calls “d'environ l'an 1472;” and neither Panzer nor Denis favour us with the colophon. Panzer's reference to Laire's *Index Libr. Rarior*, l. 405, does not appear to be correct. The quarto edition of the *Crevenna Catalogue*, vol. v. 77, also affirms that the first edition was printed in 1470; for which I apprehend the authority of De Bure (*Bibliog. Instruct.* n°. 4619) was too hastily adopted; without considering that Conrad Winters de Hoemborch (its supposed printer) never printed at Paris at so early a period—and that in the *Cat. de Gaignat*, n°. 2776, De Bure took occasion to correct this error, stating that some one had scratched out the figure or figures after mccccxx. This very copy appears to have been afterwards in the *Valliere* Collection, n°. 4694. I should add that De Bure's note, n°. 4619, is worth consulting. There is, indeed, an Italian edition to which Panzer has assigned the date of 1474; although in his work, vol. iii. 107, he classes it under 1475: but on consulting Haym's *Biblioteca Italiana* (vol. i. 202. n°. 2.) I find the same edition specified as “senz' anno, che dovreb' essere 1474.” In regard to the supposed Delft edition of 1472, it is clear, as Visser suggested, that this date is erroneously put for 1482. The art of printing was not, I believe, introduced in this town till the year 1477. See Marchand, *Hist. de L'Impr.* p. 69.

If Caxton's translation be from a French *printed* edition, and not from a MS. it must be from the edition of 1475, without place affixed, (which by the bye is feebly stated by Maittaire, vol. i. 357) or from the Lyons edition of 1476. See Panzer, i. 529. In regard to the wood cuts introduced by Caxton, many of them were probably taken from those in the “*Legende des Saints*,” printed in the German language in the year 1470, and executed as early as the middle of the 15th century. Consult Heineken, p. 198.

to the printer, during life, as a reward for his typographical labour, Oldys speaks of this (on the authority of the Harl. Cat.) as if it were first mentioned in the *second* edition—whereas it plainly appears in the preface of the present one.

Bishop Nicholson, who has erroneously supposed Caxton to be the translator of Capgrave's "*Legenda Sanctorum Anglie* (first printed in the year 1516, by W. de Worde) has charged our author with a marvellous exaggeration in the *Legend of St. Ursula*. "The story of St. Ursula, and her eleven thousand virgins, was thought, in former times, a sufficiently glorious army of martyrs; but Mr. Caxton assures us that there were also fifteen thousand men who suffered with them, and so the whole company consisted of no less than twenty-six thousand. This part of the history was vouched to him by the men of Cologne, who seem to have had some farther revelation since the days of Tynmouth and Capgrave." Hist. Library, p. 98. edit. 1736. "But," says Oldys, "after all the monstrous improbabilities of this story, how rationally the said 26,000 may be reduced to *two persons*, may appear in a modern French historiographer; who is of Father Simon's opinion about this Legend, that those, who first broached it, finding in some old martyrological MSS. "*St. Ursula et Undecimilla* V. M. that is, S. Ursula and Undecimilla, martyrs—and imagining that *Undecimilla* with the V. and M. which followed, was an abbreviation for *Undecem Millia Martyrum Virginum*—did thence, out of *two* Virgins, make *eleven thousand*." Biogr. Brit. vol. iii. 370.

To revert to the volume. It is printed in double columns, contains ccccxliij folios, and is, without exception, one of the most elaborate, skilful, and magnificent specimens of printing which ever issued from Caxton's press. The wood-cuts, with which it abounds, were erroneously supposed by Heineken to have been the first productions of the graphic art in this country. [See p. 109 ante.] Herbert says "it has been supposed there were two editions this year"—but he properly gives the supposition no credence: although the Harleian copy, concluding with the Life of St. Erasmus, had not the colophon or epilogue of Caxton. This life is supposed to have been printed sepa-

rately, and added afterwards—that the edition might not be deficient in any life the smaller editions contained.

His Majesty's copy of this edition is in every respect complete, except that the margin has been considerably cut down. Lord Spencer has a large and very fine copy of it; but perhaps the largest and finest one in existence is that in Dr. W. Hunter's collection, Glasgow. In the public library at Cambridge there are three imperfect copies; the one numbered AB 1: 6. is a fine tall one. See Bibl. West. n°. 1865: The Marquis of Blandford and Mr Johnes have each a copy; and Mr. Douce has two imperfect ones. "By the account of receipts for the year 1497," in the book of the Church Wardens of St. Margaret's Westminster, Ames found that Caxton had bequeathed xij copies of this work to that church; whereby it would appear that parts of it, like those of the Festival, were read as Homilies in the churches; and the multiplicity of editions by subsequent printers seems to strengthen this conjecture." Herbert supposes, with truth probably, that, if not used in this manner, "they might be only placed in some convenient part of the church, as Fox's Book of Martyrs was at the beginning of the Reformation." Typog. Antiq. vol. i. 97.

23. THE SAME. *Printed by the Same.* Small Folio.

This edition, of which I never saw a copy, is said by Ames to be printed without initials, and was probably published soon after the large one. It has wood cuts. No date is specified by either Ames or Herbert: but consult the note in Bibl. Harleian. vol. iii. n°. 1574.

24. THE SAME. *Fynysshed at westmestre the xx day of May, The yere of our lord m cccc lxxxix And in the viii yere of the reygne off kynge Henry the vii. By me wyllyam Caxton.* Folio. (Type No. 4.)

“ Here beginneth the Legend named in Latin *Legenda Aurea*, that is to say in English, the *Golden Legend*: for like as passeth gold in value all other metals, so this Legend exceedeth all other books.”

This title is over the same large wood cut as is in the first edition. On the reverse commences, with the ornamented T given in the Preliminary Disquisition, “ The holy and blessed doctor Ierom,” &c. A table of 3 leaves follows. The running heads and titles are in Wynkyn de Worde’s largest and best types. It ends on the reverse of fol. cccc xxix with the Life of St. Erasmus.

“ Thus endeth the Legend named in the Latin *Legenda Aurea*, that is to say, in English, the *Golden Legend*; for like as passeth gold in value all other metals, so this Legend exceedeth all other books: wherein be contained all the high and great feasts of our Lord, the feasts of our blessed Lady, the lives, passions, and miracles of many other Saints’ Histories and Acts, as all along here afore is made mention. Which work I did accomplished at the commandment and request of the noble and puissant earl, and my special good Lord, William, Earl of Arundel; and now have renewed and finished,” &c. [as in title.]

This edition, as well as the preceding, is printed in double columns; has more wood cuts, and the chapters are differently arranged. Herbert had an imperfect copy of it, and refers to the *Bibl. Ratcliff*. n°. 1676; where I find the prologue of it to be in MS, and that the date is 1493, with Caxton’s name subjoined.

Herbert thus adds, respecting the date: “ This is a knot I must acknowledge myself unable to untie, or reconcile with the account of Mr. Caxton’s death in 1492, as mentioned in Mr. Lewis’ *Life of Caxton*, p. 117.” I have no doubt that this edition was printed by Caxton, as the type clearly denotes; but that the printer of the colophon was Wynkyn De Worde—who affixed Caxton’s name out of respect to his master. The reverse of the last leaf, upon which the foregoing colophon is printed, has every mark of being the pro-

duction of Wynkyn De Worde's press ; notwithstanding the magnificent capital initial T is precisely the same as that at the commencement of the volume. The wood cut of the crucifixion, at the bottom of the colophon, was never introduced by Caxton ; it is too spirited and elegant to harmonise with any thing that he ever published ; while, at the same time, it is to be found in many small quarto publications, chiefly on religious subjects, which were printed by W. de Worde. As to the text of this edition, there is no doubt but that it is printed with the type of Caxton, similar to that of the edition of 1483.

The perfect copy of this rare book in the library of Earl Spencer, has enabled me to submit the foregoing remarks to the reader's consideration.

25. THE BOOKE CALLYD CATHON (Magnus) *Translated oute of Frenche into Englyssh by William Caxton in thabbay of Westmystre the yere of our lorde mccccclxxxiiij And the fyrst yere of the regne of Kyng Rychard the thyrde the xxiij day of Decembre. Folio. (Type No. 4.)*

" About the year 1480, (says Warton), or rather before, Benedict Burgh, a Master of Arts of Oxford, among other promotions in the church, Archdeacon of Colchester, prebendary of saint Paul's, and canon of saint Stephen's chapel at Westminster (See Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. i. 90: 11. 517.) translated CATO'S MORALS in the *royal stanza*,* for the use of his pupil Lord Bourchier, son of the Earl of Essex. Encouraged by the example and authority of so venerable an ecclesiastic, and tempted proba-

* Gascoigne says that " RITHME ROYAL" is a verse of ten syllables, and ten such verses make a staffe." Burgh's stanza is here called "*balade royall*;" by which, I believe, is commonly signified the *octave stanza*. All those pieces in Chaucer, called *Certaine Ballads*, are in this measure, &c. &c. See Warton's note c, *Hist. Engl. Poet.* ii. 165. Burgh died in the year 1483.

bly by the convenient opportunity of pilfering phraseology* from the predecessor in the same arduous task, Caxton translated the same Latin work; but from the French version of a Latin paraphrase, and into English prose, which he printed in the year 1483. He calls, in his preface, the measure used by Burgh, the *Balad Royal*. His translation superseded Burgh's work"!† In his preface, which is both curious and interesting, he gives us to understand that "Poggius Florentinus, whose library was furnished with the most valuable authors, esteemed CATHON GLOSSED; that is, *Cato with Notes*, to be the best book in his collection. The Glossarist (continues Warton) I take to be Philip De Pergamo, a prior at Padua; who wrote a most elaborate *Moralisation on Cato*, under the title of "*Speculum Regiminis*," as early as the year 1380—which was printed in 1475."‡ But it is time to introduce Caxton's PREFACE to the reader's particular attention.

"Here beginneth the prologue or proheme of the book called Caton, which book hath been translated out of Latin in to English, by Maister Benet Burgh,§ late Archdeacon of Colchester, and high canon of Saint Stephen at Westminster; which full craftily hath made it, in ballad royal for the erudition of my Lord Bousher, son and heir at that time to my lord the Earl of Essex. And by cause of late came to my hand a book of the said Caton in French, which rehearseth many a fair learning and notable ensamples, I have translated it out of French into English, as all along hereafter shall appear, which I present unto the city of London.

"Unto the noble, ancient, and renowned city, the city of London

* This observation is unworthy of *honest Tom Warton*. It has been sufficiently shewn that Caxton was a man of the most amiable simplicity and upright intentions.

† *Hist. Engl. Poetry*, vol. ii. 165, &c.

‡ *Idem*, p. 169. See Warton's note w, on *glossed* manuscripts.

§ Benedict Burgh, Rector of Sandon in Essex, 1440, Archdeacon of Colchester, 1465, Prebendary of St. Paul, 1472, and High Canon of St. Stephen's. See *Newcourt Repertorium*, vol. ii.

in England, I, William Caxton, citizen and *coniurye* of the same, and of the fraternity and fellowship of the mercery, owe of right my service and good will; and of very duty am bounden naturally to assist, aid, and counsel, as farforth as I can to my power; as to my mother, of whom I have received my nurture and living; and shall pray for the good prosperity and policy of the same during my life. For as me seemeth it is of great need, by cause I have known it in my young age much more wealthy, prosperous, and richer than it is at this day; and the cause is that there is almost none, that intendeth to the common weal, but only every man for his singular profit. O when I remember the noble Romans, that for the commonweal of the city of Rome, they spent not only their moveable goods, but they put their bodies and lives in jeopardy and to the death, as by many a noble ensample we may see in the acts of Romans, as of the two noble Scipions African and Asian, Actilius, and many other! And among all other, the noble Cato, author and maker of this book, which he hath left for to remain ever to all the people for to learn in it and to know how every man ought to rule and govern him in this life, as well for the life temporal, as for the life spiritual. And as in my judgment it is the best book for to be taught to young children in school, and also to people of every age it is full convenient if it be well understanden; and by cause I see that the children that be born within the said city increase, and profit not like their fathers and elders, but for the most part after that they be comen to their perfect years of discretion, and ripeness of age, how well that their fathers have left to them great quantity of goods, yet scarcely among ten two thrive. I have seen and known in other lands in divers cities, that of one name and lineage successively have endured prosperously many years, yea vi. or vj. hundred year, and some a thousand; and in this noble city of London, it can only continue unto the third heir, or scarcely to the second. O blessed Lord! when I remember this I am all abashed; I cannot judge the cause, but fairer, nor wiser, nor better bespoken children in their youth be nowhere than there be in London; but at their full riping, there is no kernel nor good corn

founden, but chaff for the most part. I wote well there be many noble and wise, and prove well and be better and richer than ever were their fathers; and to the end that many might come to honour and worship, I intend to translate this said book of CATON, in which I doubt not, and if they will read it and understand, they shall much the better rule themselves thereby; for among all other books this is a singular book, and may well be called the regiment or governance of the body and soul."

"There was a noble clerk named Poggius of Florence, and was secretary to Pope Eugene, and also to Pope Nicholas, which had in the city of Florence a noble and well stuffed library, which all noble strangers coming to Florence desired to see, and therein they found many noble and rare books; and when they had asked of him which was the best book of them all, and that he reputed for the best, he said, that he held Cathon glossed for the best book of his library, &c."

At the conclusion of this prologue is a table, in which the word folio seems used for capitulo, for the leaves are not numbered.

At sign. a ij. "Cum animadverterem plurimos homines errare in via morū," &c. Englished thus: "When I remember and consider in my courage that much people err grievously in the way of manners."

It would appear from the concluding sentence of the work (on fol. four after sign. i. iiij) that Caxton "done and made this little book in two verses, by cause that the doctrine and government both of the body and of the soul is contained in it—for which thing men may intitle this little book the mirror of the reign and government of the body and of the soul."

At the end: "Here finisheth this present book which is said or called Cathon, translated out of French in to English by William Caxton, in the Abbey of Westminster, the year of our Lord m cccc lxxxiiij, and the first year of the reign of King Richard the Third, the xxiiij day of December." It is divided in four books, containing 72 heads.

I have not been able to discover any French *printed* edition of this work before the publication of Caxton's; and therefore conclude that our typographer made his translation from a manuscript. The ingenious note below * will amply satisfy the reader as to the origi-

* "I need not affront my readers," says Warton, "when I inform them without any apology, that the *Latin original* of this piece was not written by Cato the censor, nor by Cato Uticensis: although it is perfectly in the character of the former, and Aulus Gellius has quoted CATO's poem *DE MORIBUS* (*Noct. Att.* xi. 2). Nor have I the gravity of the learned Boxhornius, who, in a prolix and elaborate dissertation, has endeavoured to demonstrate that these distichs are undoubtedly supposititious; and that they could not possibly be written by the venerable Roman whose name they bear. The title is *DISTICHA DE MORIBUS AD FILIUM*, which [Distichs] are distributed into four books, under the name of Dionysius Cato. But he is frequently called *MAGNUS CATO*."

"This work has been absurdly attributed by some critics to Seneca, and by others to Ausonius. [It was printed under this latter title in 1572, 8vo.] It is however more ancient than the time of the Emperor Valentinian the Third, who died in 455. On the other hand, it was written after the appearance of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, as the author, at the beginning of the second book, commends Virgil, Maccr [*De Virtutibus Herbarum*], Ovid and Lucan. The name of Cato probably became prefixed to these distichs, in a lower age, by the officious ignorance of transcribers, and from the acquiescence of readers equally ignorant, as Marcus Cato had written a set of moral distichs. Whoever was the author, this metrical system of ethics had attained the highest degree of estimation in the barbarous ages. Among Langbain's MSS. bequeathed to the University of Oxford by Antony Wood, it is accompanied with a Saxon paraphrase [Cod. 12. [8615]. John of Salisbury, in his *Polycraticon* [vii. p. 373. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1595—*Ibid.* p. 116. 321-512] mentions it as the favourite and established Manual in the education of boys. To enumerate no others, it is much applauded by Isidore, the old etymologist [*Art. Officienda*], Alcuine [*Contra Elipand.* lib. ii. p. 949] and Abelard [Lib. i. *Theol. Christ.* p. 1183]; and we must acknowledge that the writer, exclusive of the utility of his precepts, possesses the merit of a nervous and elegant brevity. It is perpetually quoted by Chaucer. In the Miller's Tale, he reproaches the simple carpenter for having never read in Cato, that a man should marry his own likeness. [v. i. 3227]: and in the *Marchaunt's Tale*, [v. 9261] having quoted Seneca to prove that no blessing is equal to an humble wife, he adds Cato's precepts of prudently bearing a scolding wife with patience."

"It was translated into Greek at Constantinople by Maximus Planudes, who has the merit of having familiarised to his countrymen many Latin classics of the lower empire by metaphrastic versions: and at the restoration of learning in Europe, it was illustrated with a commentary by Erasmus, which is much extolled by Luther [*Colloq. Mensal*, cap. 37.] *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. ii. 166, &c.

nal author of the Latin composition. Perfect copies of Caxton's book are in the Bodleian Library, and in the public library at Cambridge, as well as in the collections of his Majesty, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Johnes.

26. PARVUS CHATO (Cato) *Explicit Chato. Without Printer's Name or Date*; but evidently the production of Caxton's press. Folio. (Type No. 3.)

"Hic incipit parvus Chato." This title is over a wood cut of "*Grammayre*" similar to the one in the *Mirror of the World*, of which a fac-simile is given at p. 110 ante. It opens thus:

(D) um aīa adverterē quam hoīes graviter errarē.

Whan I adverte in my remembraunce
And see how fele folkes erren grevously
In the wey of vertuous governaunce
I have supposyd in myn herte that I
Ought to supporte and counceyl prudently
Them to be vertuous in lyuyng
And how they shal them self in honour bryng
Igitur fili carissime docebo te quo facto mores
Therefore my leve chyld I shal now telle the
Herken me wel the maner and the guyse
How the sowle inward shal acqueynted be
With the wes good and vertues in al wyse
Rede and conceyve for he is to dyspyse
That redyth ay and wote not what it ment
Such redyng is no thyng but wynde mispent

It ends with the following verses.

Beholde my maistre this litel tretise
Whiche is full of wit and sapience

Enforse the this matere taccomplice
 Thenke hit is translated al your reverence
 Enrolle hit therefore in your advertance
 And desire for to knowe what Cathon mente
 When ye it rede let not your hert be thense
 But doth as this saith with al your hole entente.

These eight latter verses only, are quoted by Herbert and Ames ; to which is added " Hic finis parvi Cathonis."*

This work may be considered a kind of supplement to the preceding one ; it was originally written by DANIEL CHURCHE, (or Ecclesiensis) a domestic in the court of Henry the Second, about the year 1180, and translated by Burgh ; whose performance, however, is pronounced by Warton to be " too jejune for transcription ; and would not have afforded a single splendid extract, had even the Latin possessed any sparks of poetry. The only critical excellence of the original consists in a terse conciseness of sentences, although not always expressed in the purest latinity." Hist. Engl. Poetry, vol. ii. 171. From Warton's note y, at p. 170, it would appear that he had but an imperfect knowledge of this rare book, as he mentions a " Cato Parvus" different from that in the text ; although there is unquestionably but one edition of the work printed in the fifteenth century. Lydgate was the translator both of the Cato Magnus and Cato Parvus. See Ritson's Bibliographia Poetica, p. 66, &c. Article " Lydgate."

In the copy of this edition which I examined in St. John's College Library, Oxford, on the second leaf after sign. d ij, is printed "**Explicit Chato.**" This copy has 26 leaves unnumbered ; and not 37, as might be inferred from Ames. The volume contains Cato MAGNUS as well as Cato Parvus ; the former beginning on the reverse of the second leaf. The whole poetical performance, in four books, with Latin verses interspersed, is dull in the extreme. It is however

* These words are over a cut of " *Logyke*" as in the Mirror of the World, p. 110, ante.
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among the scarcest of Caxton's pieces. I subjoin what follows from the Harl. Cat. vol. iii. n°. 6202 ; premising that it appears to be erroneous in stating that the book is a quarto, and has signatures. " This quarto edition of Cato seems to have much escaped the description of those which have written of Caxton's works. It is visibly enough printed with Caxton's letter, but seems to be more ancient than that in folio ; because it has no initials at the beginning of the books ; has no signatures, or catchwords, or numbers on the pages at top—nor even any points throughout ; an omission which has not been observed in Caxton's earliest printed books."

27. THE KNYGHT OF THE TOURE. Translated oute of Frenssh in to our maternall Englysshe tongue by me william Caxton ; whiche book was ended and fynysshed the first day of Juyn the yere of our Lord mcccc lxxxiiij And *enprynted at Westmynstre the last day of Janyuer the fyrst yere of the regne of kynge Rycharde the thyrd.* (1484) Folio. (Type No. 4.)

" The book of the *ensignementes* and teaching of the Knight of the Tower, made to his daughters. And speaketh of many fair ensamples." It begins with the following Prologue ; which affords no bad specimen of the courteousness of Caxton towards the fair sex.

" All virtuous doctrine and teaching had and learned of such as have endeavoured them to leave for a remembrance after their death to us, by which we *ben* informed in science, wisdom, and understanding of knowledge, how we ought to rule ourself in this present life, have caused us to know many good rules, and virtuous manners to be governed by : among all other, this book is a special doctrine and teaching by which all young gentlewomen specially may learn to behave themself virtuously, as well in their virginity, as in their wedlock and widowhood ; as all along shall be more plainly said in

the same. Which book is comen to my hands by the request and desire of a noble lady, which hath brought forth many noble and fair daughters which *ben* virtuously nourished and learned : and for very zeal and love that she hath alway had to her fair children, and yet hath, for to have more knowledge in virtue, to the end that they may alway persevere in the same, hath desired and required me to translate and reduce the said book out of French into our vulgar English ; to the end that it may the better be understood of all such as shall read or hear it : wherefore at contemplation of her good grace, after the little cunning that God hath sent me, I have endeavoured me to obey her noble desire and request. In which work I find many virtuous good *enseignments* and learnings by evident histories of authority and good ensamples for all manner people in generally, but in especial for ladies and gentlewomen, daughters to lords and gentlemen. For which book all the gentlewomen now living, and hereafter to come, or shall be are bound to give laud praising and thankings to the author of this book, and also to the lady that caused me to translate it, and to pray for her long life and welfare, and when God will call her from this transitory life, that she may reign in heaven sempiternally, where is joy and bliss without end. Then forasmuch as this book is necessary to every gentlewoman of what estate she be, I advise every gentleman or woman having such children, desiring them to be virtuously brought forth, to get and have this book, to the end that they may learn how they ought to govern them virtuously in this present life, by which they may the better and hastlier come to worship and good *rennome*. And I desire all them that shall learn or see any thing in this said book, by which they shall *ben* the wiser and better, that they give laud and thanking to the said lady's good grace, and also to pray for her. And whereas any default shall be found in the reducing and translating in to our English tongue, that it be *arretid* to me, which am ignorant and not expert in the work ; though so be that I have emprised heretofore to smatter me in such translations which I confess and [ac]knowledge me

ignorant and therein to be imperfect. Wherefore I humbly require and beseech my said good lady pardon me of my simple and rude reducing, and if any thing be said or made unto her pleasure, then I think my labour well employed: whom I humbly beseech to receive this little book in *gree* and thank, and I shall pray to Almighty God for her long and good life, and to send to her, after this short and transitory life, everlasting life in heaven. Amen. And all other that be understanding and finding any default, I require and pray them of their charity to correct and amend it, and so doing they shall deserve thank and merit of God, to whom I shall pray for them."

"Here followeth the table of the rubric and chapters of the book of the ensignments," &c. This table contains the heads of cxliiij chapters, on three leaves; which, with the foregoing preface by Caxton, have no signatures.

Next follows rather an interesting prologue or preface of the author (on signature a j); of which Herbert has favoured us with two short extracts only.

"Here beginneth the book which the Knight of the Tower made; and speaketh of many fair ensamples and *thensygnementys* and teaching of his daughters.

PROLOGUE.

"In the year of our Lord a m. three hundred, lxxi, as I was in a garden under a shadow, as it were, in the issue of April, all mourning and pensive—but a little I rejoiced me in the sounds and the songs of the fowls savage, which sung in their language, as the merle, the mavis, the throstle, and the nightingale, which were gay and lusty.

"This sweet song *enlusted* me, and made my heart all *temoye*; so that then I went remembering of the time passed in my youth, how love had hold me in that time in his service by great distress, in which I was many an hour glad and joyful, and many another time sorrowful, like as it doth to many a lover; but all my evils have rewarded me since that the fair and good [Lady qu.] hath given to

me, which hath knowledge of all honourable, all good, and fair maintaining. And of all good she seemed to me the best and the flower, in whom I so much me delighted. For in that time I made songs, lays, roundels, ballads, virelays, and new songs in the most best wise I could. But the death which spareth none, hath taken her; for whom I have received many sorrows and heavinesses—in such wise, that I have passed my life more than twenty years heavy and sorrowful; for the very heart of a true lover shall never, in any time nor day, forget good love, but evermore shall remember it.

“And thus in that time as I was in a great pensiveness and thought, I beheld in the way, and saw, my daughters coming; of whom I had great desire that they should turn to honour above all other things—for they be young, and little, and disgarnished of all wit and reason. Wherefore they ought at beginning to be taught and chastised courteously by good examples and doctrines, as did a Queen, I suppose she was, Queen of Hungary—which fair and sweetly chastised her daughters, and them endoctrined as is contained in her book. And therefore when I saw them come toward me, I remembered me of the time when I was young, and rode with my fellowship and companies at Poictou, and in other places. And I remember me much well of the feats and sayings that they told of such things as they found with the ladies and *damoiselles*, that they required and prayed of love,” &c.

The worthy knight, after speaking somewhat at large of the capriciousness of women, and the dissoluteness of men, continues thus—
“And for this cause that I have here said, I have thought on my well beloved daughters, whom I see so little—to make to them a little book for to learn to read, to the end that they may learn and study and understand the good and evil that is passed for to keep them from him which is yet to come. For such there be that laugheth before you, which, after your back, go mocking and lying: wherefore it is an hard thing to know the world that is now present. And for these reasons, as I have said, I went out of the garden and

found in my way two priests and two clerks that I had, and told to them that I would make a book and an exemplar for my daughters to learn to read and understand how they ought to govern themselves and to keep them from evil. And then I made them to come and read before me the book of the bible, the gests of the kings, the chronicles of France and of England, and many other strange histories, and made them to read every book, and did make of them *this book*; which I would not set in rhyme, but all along in prose for to abridge, and also for the better to be *understonde*; and also for the great love that I have to my daughters, whom I love as a father ought to love them." After a few more (immaterial) remarks, he concludes thus:

"And by cause every father and mother, after God and nature, ought to teach and inform their children, and to disturn them from the evil way, and to shew to them the right way and true path, as well for the salvation of their souls, as for the honour of the body earthly, I have made two books; that one for my sons, and that other for my daughters, for to learn to read; and thus in learning it shall not be but that they shall retain some good ensample, or for to flee the evil and retain the good. For it may not be but in some time they shall remember some good ensample, or some good lore after that it shall fall, and come to their mind in speaking upon this matter. Thus endeth the prologue."

"Here followeth the book of the ensignments," &c.

It ends with this colophon: "Here finisheth the book, which the Knight of the Tower made to the ensignment and teaching of his daughters, translated out of French into our maternal English tongue, by me William Caxton, which book was ended and finished the first day of June, the year of our Lord m cccc lxxxij, and enprinted at Westminster the last day of January the first year of the reign of King Richard the Third."

This singular performance, from its title, would lead the reader to expect an account of tilts, tournaments, and all the peril and pomp attending chivalrous adventures; but, although there may be

some amusing and instructive stories in it, [none of which however it has been my good fortune, on a casual glance, to discover] it is a didactic work, and received its title from the author's surname, which was DE LA TOUR LANDRY; and seems to have been printed by Caxton from a MS.* of the 14th century, written in the year 1371. According to the prologue just extracted, the author had composed, in his youth, "*Chansons, Laiz, Balades, Rondeaux, Virelaiz et Chans nouveaulx.*" His work appears to have been first printed in the French language by Guillaume Eustace, in 1514, folio, with wood cuts; to which the "*Guidon des Guerres,*" † by the same author, was attached.

* *Cat. de la Valliere*, vol. i. n°. 1338. The MS. here described has 98 leaves written in the ancient bastard hand, in long lines; decorated with pictures illustrative of the customs of chivalry. The book contains, according to the same authority, "des enseignements dévots, des préceptes de sagesse, des histoires pieuses, des miracles" &c. This MS. did not contain the "*Guidon des Guerres.*"

I subjoin some account of the original author from La Croix du Maine and Du Verdier. "GEOFFROI DE LA TOUR LANDRI, Gentilhomme Angevin, surnommé LE CHEVALIER DE LA TOUR (qui est l'une des plus anciennes et nobles maisons de tout le Pays et Duché d'Anjou) Sieur de Nostre-Dame de Beaulieu, l'an 1371. Le dit Chevalier de la Tour, étant fort âgé, escrivoit un Livre, qu'il intitula, *Le Chevalier de la Tour*, et contient l'instruction pour entretenir en vertu et honnêteté les femmes tant mariées, qu'à marier." Il florissoit l'an sudit 1371. *Bibliothèque Francoise*, vol. i. 277.

† From this work, containing seven chapters, and comprised in 20 pages, I present the reader with the following curious extract:

"Les signes de fort chevalier.

Ceux sont dignes a estre chevaliers q'ont les yeulx esveillez, la teste droicte, la poitrine large, les espaules grandes et haultes, les bras gros et quarrez, gros col, longs dois, ventre petit, les rains larges, les cuysses et les piedz nervuz et durs. On ne doit point querir la grandeur de lestature comme de la force. ¶ Ceulx redoubtent les playes et destre navrez qui ont peu de sang. ¶ Ceulx qui ont moins use de delices en leur vie doubtent moins la mort que les delicieux. ¶ Ne la noblesse de vestemēs, ne les richesses dor et dargent et de pierres precieuses ne font point encliner les ennemys a reverence ne a grace, mais la paour des armes seulement les fait estre obeyssans. ¶ Plus prouffitable chose est a apprēdre les siens en lusage des armes q̄ louer les estranges pour soy servir en guerre ¶ Encores plus prouffitable et plus seure chose est de bailler la garde de ses citez villes et chasteaulx aux personnes qui ont en iceulx leurs biens meubles et immeubles que aux estrangiers q̄ ny ont riēs et qui ny auroient quelque dōmage ou interest se les ennemys y entroient,"

&c.

fol. 90. rev.

The beautiful vellum copy of this latter work, which De Bure so temptingly describes, and which was in the Valliere collection, once belonged to Gaignat (Cat. n°. 2253), and was sold at the sale of his books for 200 livres. A similar copy occurs in Mr. Edwards's catalogue of 1794, n°. 1267, marked at the sum of £5. 5. This copy is now in the choice library of Mr. Douce. As it is the first edition of the "*Guidon des Guerres*," and as this latter piece has some curious information in it relating to chivalry, it may be thought a considerable acquisition to the preceding work. Some of the wood cuts are sufficiently curious, especially the first; which represents the Knight of the Tower carrying a large sword in his right hand, and a castle in his left.

A copy of Caxton's book, which it is exceedingly difficult to obtain in a perfect state, was sold at Mr. Brand's sale for 105 guineas. See Bibl. Brand. p. 1. n°. 8296: R. Smith, p. 274, n°. 84. There is a perfect copy in the British Museum, and another in the public library at Cambridge; the latter a very fine one. [A. B. 10. 28.] In the Bodleian Library there are two copies; one wanting sign. a ij—n iiij; the other b ij. His Majesty, the Marquis of Blandford, and Lord Spencer, have each a perfect copy. The book has no initials; the leaves are unnumbered; and it contains, what Herbert calls "signatures to n iiij—in octaves."

28. THE SUBTYL HISTORYES AND FABLES OF ESOPE.
Translated out of Frenshe in to Englysshe, by William
Caxton at Westmynstre In the yere of our lorde M cccc
lxxxiii, &c. *Enprynted by the same the xxvj daye of
Marche the yere of our lorde M cccc lxxxiiij, And
the fyrst yere of the regne of kyng Rychard the thyrde
Folio. (Type No. 4.)*

The first leaf presents us with the following wood cut of Esop, surrounded by birds and beasts.

ESOPVS



On the recto of the second leaf, signature a ij, "Here beginneth the book of the subtle Histories and Fables of Esop, which were translated out of French into English by William Caxton at Westminster, in the year of our Lord m cccc lxxxiiij."

VOL. I.

E e

"First beginneth the Life of Esop with all his fortune; how he was subtle, wise, and born in Greece, not far from Troy the *graunt* in a town name Amones: which was among other deformed and evil-shapen—For he had a great head, large visage, long jaws, sharp eyes, a short neck, *curb-backed*, great belly, great legs, and large feet; and yet that which he was worse, he was dumb and could not speak: but notwithstanding all this, he had a great wit and was greatly ingenious; subtle in cavillations, and joyous in words."

After this, we have the histories of Esop's life and death;* prefixed to which there is a cut of him, his master, and the two servants that had stolen the figs. The first history occupies signature a. On folio xxxj^o. "Here beginneth the preface or prologue of the first book of Esop:" at the head of which is a cut of the translator, &c. The prologue thus commences: "I Romulus son of *thybare* (the bear) of the city of Attica, greeting, Esop man of Greece, subtle and ingenious; teacheth in his fables how men ought to keep and rule them well—In which he hath written the malice of the evil people and the argument of the *Improbables*. He teacheth also to be humble and to use words. And many other fair ensamples rehearsed and declared hereafter; the which I, Romulus, have translated out of Greek's tongue in to Latin tongue; the which, if thou read them, they shall *agyse* [sharpen] and sharp thy wit, and shall give to thee cause of joy."

* The death of Esop is thus told: "And as they were all come to the place for to cast down Esop, he said to them another fable, saying in this manner—'A man which was enamoured on his daughter, the which by force he took and defloured her; and the daughter said to the father, 'Ha, father, thou art an evil man and out of thy wit that hast done to me such shame and *vergogne*! for rather I should have suffered this crime and loathly deed of an hundred other men than of thee, of whose blood I am made and formed.' Semblably is of me: for I had leave and rather I should suffer all the peril of the world of noble men, than to be put of you churls so villainously to death. But I render and yield thankings and mercy to the gods, praying to them that they punish you of the evil which ye have, and will do to me.' And then they cast and threw him down from the top of the hill to the foot of it. And thus died Esop miserably."

Fol. xxix. xxx.

Beneath is a wood cut of Esop, prostrate on the ground, with the blood issuing from his mouth.

It would seem that Romulus translated four books only ; for we have, at the fifth book, " Hereafter follow some fables of Esop after the new translation ; the which Fables be not found nor written in the books of the philosopher Romulus."

The Fables of ESOP conclude on the reverse of fol. cv. At fol. cvi. begin those of " AVIAN," or Avienus, to which a table is prefixed, presenting us with the heads of his 27 fables. At fol. cxx the fables of Avienus conclude ; and on the reverse of the same leaf begin those of " ALFONCE ;" the first of which ' maketh mencion of the exhortacion of sapyence or wysedome and of love ;' the last or eighth, is ' of the taylor, of a kynge, and of his seruaunts,' [fol. cxxxvii-viii.] The 7th fable of Alfonse is precisely the story of Chaucer's January* and May, and is accompanied with a rude but whimsical wood cut.

The Fables of ' POGG the Florentyn' begin at fol. cxxxviii—" The fyrst fable is of the subtylte of the woman for to deceyue her husband"—There are in the whole twelve fables ; to seven of which wood cuts are prefixed. At folio cxlii, where the fables of Poggio cease, Caxton thus takes leave of his work :

" Now then I will finish all these fables with this tale that followeth, which a worshipful priest and a parson told me late : he said, that, There were dwelling in Oxenford, two priests, both Masters of Arts—of whom that one was quick and could put himself forth—and that other was a good simple priest. And so it happed that the Master, that was pert and quick, was anon promoted to a benefice or twain, and after to prebends, and for to be a Dean of a great Prince's chapel, supposing and weening that his fellow, the simple priest, should never be promoted, but be alway an annual, or, at the most, a parish priest. So after a long time that this worshipful man,

* It is rather extraordinary that Mr. Tyrwhitt did not find this story (which he calls that of the "*Pear Tree*,") in the original Latin of Alphonsus, MS. Reg. 10. B. xii ; or in any of the French translations of the work which he had examined. He gives us a curious specimen of a similar story, " written by one ADOLPHUS, in elegiac verses of his fashion, in the year 1315 : which has never been printed but once." See *Chaucer's Cant. Tales*, vol. i. 96. 4to. edit.

this Dean, came running into a good parish with v or vii horses, like a prelate, and came into the church of the said parish, and found there this good simple man, sometime his fellow; which came and welcomed him lowly. And that other bade him 'good morrow, master John,' and took him slightly by the hand, and axyd [asked] him where he dwelt—And the good man, 'In this parish'—'How,' said he, 'are ye here a *sole* priest, or a *parish* priest?' 'Nay, sir,' said he, for lack of a better, though I be not able nor worthy, I am parson and curate of this parish.'—And then that other auled his bonnet, and said, 'Master Parson, I pray you to be not displeased—I had supposed ye had not been beneficed—But master,' said he, 'I pray you what is this benefice worth to you a year?' 'Forsooth,' said the good simple manner, 'I wote never; for I make never accompts thereof; how well I have had it four or five year'—'And know ye not,' said he, 'what it is worth—it should seem a good benefice.' 'No forsooth,' said he, 'but I wote well what it shall be worth to me.' 'Why,' said he, '*What* shall it be worth?' 'Forsooth,' said he, 'if I do my true dealing in the cure of my parishes in preaching and teaching, and do my part [be]longing to my cure, I shall have *heaven* therefore. And if their souls be lost, or any of them, by my default, I shall be punished therefore—And hereof I am sure.' And with that word the rich Dean was abashed—and thought he should be the better, and take more heed to his cures and benefices than he had done. This was a good answer of a good priest and an honest. And herewith I finish this book, translated and imprinted by me William Caxton, at Westminster, in the Abbey—and finished the xxvj day of March, the year of our Lord m cccc lxxxiiij, and the first year of the reign of King Richard the Third."

Hence it would appear that the book was translated in the year 1483, and printed in the subsequent year.

I shall now present the reader with a few SPECIMENS OF THESE FABLES in their first English dress;—accompanied with fac-simile wood cuts.



"Of Juno the goddess and of the Peacock and the Nightingale.

Every one ought to be content of kind, and of such good as God hath sent unto him, whereof he must use justly: as rehearseth this fable—Of a Peacock, which came to Juno the goddess and said to her, 'I am heavy and rueful, by cause I cannot sing so well as the nightingale, for every one mocketh and scorneth me because I cannot sing.' And Juno would comfort him, and said 'thy fair form and beauty is fairer and more worthy and of greater presing [price] than the song of the nightingale, for thy feathers and thy color be resplendishing as the precious emerald; and there is no bird like to thy feathers nor to thy beauty.' And the Peacock said then to Juno: 'All this is nought since I cannot sing:' and then Juno said again thus to the Peacock for to content him—'This is in the disposition of the gods, which have given to either of you one property and one virtue, such as it pleased them. As to thee, they have given fair figure; to the eagle have they given strength; and to the *Nightingale*, fair and pleasant song; and so to all other birds: wherefore every one must be content of that that he hath. For the miserable avaricious, the more goods that they have, the more they desire to have.'

Fol. lxxviii-ix.



“Of the Ass and of the Wolf.

To none evil man faith ne troth ought never to be adjousted ; as men may well see by this fable—Of a Wolfe which visited an Ass which was well sick ; the which wolfe began to feel and *taste* him, and demanded of him, ‘ My brother and my friend whereabout is thy sore?’ and the ass said to him ‘ there as thou tastest.’ And then the wolfe, feigning to visit [examine] him, began to bite and smite him. And therefore men must not trust flatterers—for one thing they say, and done another.” *

Fol. lxxiiij.

* This fable is thus rendered in the black letter edition of 1647, 8vo. “ Faith and truth from an evil man is seldom to be expected, as Esop rehearseth by this fable of a Wolfe which visited an Asse which was very sick, the Wolfe began to feele and *touch* him, and demanded of him and said, My brother and friend, whereabout is thy sore? and the Asse said to him: even in that place where thou touchest: and then the Wolfe faining to help, began to bite and smite him. Men must therefore beware of flatterers, for they say one thing, and doe another.”

Fol. 89.



“ Of the Fox and of the Cat.

There is many folk which advance them and say that they be wise and subtle, which be great fools and knowen nothing; as this fable rehearseth—Of a Fox which sometime met with a Cat, to whom he said ‘ My godsey, god give you good day!’—and the Cat answered ‘ My Lord, god give you good life!’ and then the Fox demanded of him ‘ My godsey, what canst thou do?’—And the Cat said to him ‘ I can leap a little’—and the Fox said to him ‘ Certainly thou art not worthy to live, by cause that thou canst nought do.’ And by cause that the Cat was angry of the Fox’s words, he asked and demanded of the Fox—‘ And thou, godsey, what canst thou do?’ ‘ A thousand wiles have I, said the Fox; for I have a sack full of sciences and wiles; and I am so great a clerk that none can beguile ne deceive me.’ And as they were thus speaking together, the Cat perceived a knight coming towards them, which had many dogs with

him, and said to the Fox ' My godsey, certainly I see a knight coming hitherward, which leadeth with him many dogs, the which, as ye well know, be our enemies.' The Fox then answered to the Cat, ' My godsey, thou speakest like a coward, and as he that is afraid—let them come, and care not thou.' And, incontinently, as the dogs perceived and saw the Fox and the Cat, they began to run upon them. And when the Fox saw them come, he said to the Cat ' Flee we my brother, flee we!' To whom the Cat answered ' Certainly, godsey, thereof is none need.' Nevertheless the Fox believed not the Cat, but fled and ran as fast as he might for to save him. And the Cat leapt upon a tree, and saved himself, saying ' Now shall we see who shall play best for to preserve and save himself.' And when the Cat was upon a tree, he looked about him, and saw how the dogs held the Fox with their teeth; to whom he cried and said ' O godsey, and subtle Fox, of thy thousand wiles that since late thou couldest do, let me now see, and shew to me, one of them.' The Fox answered not, but was killed of the dogs, and the Cat was saved. And therefore the wise ought not to dispraise the simple—for such supposeth to be much wise which [be] a *kind* and a very fool."*

Fol. lxxx-i.

* Thus printed in the edition of 1647: " Many there be which advance themselves, and think that they be wise and subtile, which be stark fooles and know nothing, as rehearseth this present fable, of a Fox that sometime met with a Cat, to whom he said, ' My Gossip, God give you good day.' And the Cat said, ' My Lord, God give you good life.' And then the Fox demanded of him: ' My Gossip, what canst thou do?' And the Cat said unto him, ' I can leap a little,' and the Fox said to him, ' certainly thou art not worthy to live, because thou canst do nothing.' And because that the Cat was angry at the Foxes words, he demanded of the Fox and said, ' Gossip what canst thou do?' ' A thousand sundry wiles have I,' said the Fox, ' for I have a sack full of sciences and wiles, and I am so great a scholler that none can deceive me.' And as they were thus talking together, the Cat perceived a knight coming towards them, which had many dogs with him, wherefore he said to the Fox, ' my Gossip, certainly I see a knight coming hitherward, which hath with him many dogges, the which as ye know be our enemies.' The Fox answered, ' my Gossip, thou speakest like a coward, and one that is afraid, let him come, and care not thou,' &c. &c.

Fol. 97.



“ Of a Carpenter.

Inasmuch as God is more proper and benign to the good and holy, much more he punisheth the wicked and the evil; as we may see by this fable—Of a Carpenter who cut wood upon a river for to make a temple to the gods: and as he cut wood, his ax fell in the river; wherefore he began to weep and to call help of the gods. And the god Mercury for pity appeared before him, and demanded of him wherefore he wept, and shewed to him an ax of gold, and demanded of him if it was the ax which he had lost: and he said ‘Nay:’ and after, the god shewed to him another ax of silver: and *semblably* [he] said ‘Nay.’ And by cause that Mercury saw that he was good and true, he drew his ax out of the water, and took it to him with much good that he gave to him. And the Carpenter told the story to his fellows; of the which one of them came into the same place for to cut wood as his fellow did before, and let fall his ax within the water, and began to weep and to demand the help and aid of the gods. And then Mercury appeared tofore him, and shewed to him an ax of gold, and demanded of him in such manner, ‘Is the

same it that thou hast lost?' And he answered to Mercury 'Yea fair Sir, and mighty God, the same is it.' And Mercury, seeing the malice of the villain, gave to him neither the same *ne* none other, and left him weeping. For God, which is good and just, rewardeth the good and true in this world, or each other after his desert, and punisheth the evil and unjust."

I have not yet been able to discover the edition, from which these wood cuts are taken: probably they are not exactly copied from any one. The illustrations below* will serve to shew how the artists of this period borrowed from each other. A succinct account of the earliest LATIN EDITIONS of Esop will be found in the *second* edi-

* The following wood cut, so strongly resembling the one at p. 214 ante, is taken from an old French edition in the British Museum:



The title is as follows: "*Les subtiles fables de Esope. Avec celles de aviẽ, de alfonce et de poge florentin.*" This title is printed in large letters, commencing with a blooming capital, over the printer's device (as I apprehend); with the inscription "Pierre Mareschal vernabe Chaussard." In the centre are the initials P.B.—which are probably put for Pierre Bonfondo the printer. On the reverse of the title is a wood cut of Esop, like Caxton's, but not so large. It is a small folio, full of wood cuts similar to Caxton's—and on the reverse of the second leaf, after sign. k iii, we have "Cy finissent les fables de Esope de Avian de Alfonse. El aulcunes ioyeuses de Florentin." There is neither printer's name, date, nor place subjoined.

tion of my "Introduction to the Classics," p. 10. 11. In Freytag's *Adparatus Literarius*, vol. i. 72, is noticed a Dutch edition, with wood cuts, "haud satis eleganter incisæ;" which has escaped Panzer, in the second volume of his *Typographical Annals*. Santander mentions an Ulm edition, in German, with wood cuts, which he thinks was printed [by Zeiner] before 1480, and of which Earl Spencer and Mr. Douce possess copies. The engravings in this edition have great merit.

There is another German edition of 1483 with wood cuts; and a very valuable one, with the Italian version of Tупpi, printed at Naples in 1485, containing wood cuts. See the *Dict. Bibliog. Choisi*, vol. ii. n^{os}. 35-6-7. Consult also De Bure. This latter book, of which Mr. Douce and Mr. Heber possess copies, is, in every respect, among the most beautiful volumes published in the 15th century. The compartments, or rather arabesque borders of the cuts, are ex-

The next similar wood cut is from an ancient Latin edition :



The copy in the British Museum has no title page, but a life of Esop commences opposite a large wood cut of him, as in the English and French editions. It concludes on the fourth leaf after signature q iiii: and contains the usual collection from Avienus and Poggius, &c. It is full of rude cuts: upon the whole, similar to Caxton's. Mr. Douce has a copy of it; and imagines it to be printed before the year 1480. The cuts at the latter end of the volume, illustrating the fables of various other writers, have the appearance of copperplate engravings.

cuted in a style of genuine taste. On looking into the catalogue of the elegant books belonging to Mr. George Galwey Mills, which were sold in 1800, I find an edition of Esop with the "Dialogue of Creatures moralized," printed at Gouda in 1482, which is supposed to be "the first edition of *Esop published with engravings*." See Bibl. Mills. n°. 302. But I suspect that these wood cuts belonged to the latter work; especially as Gerard Leeu, who was the printer, published an edition with wood cuts as early as the year 1480, at Gouda. Consult Lambinet's *Recherches sur L'Imprimerie*, p. 415-6. And yet Panzer [*Annal. Typog.* vol. i. 443-4.] does not notice these cuts in either of the editions of 1480-1-2, printed by Leeu, at Gouda. To return, however, to Caxton's edition.

This volume contains 142 leaves, as far as signature s 6 in octaves. The pages are numbered, but there are no catchwords. It has running titles all through, "except," says Herbert, "signature n; omitted no doubt by mistake, and perhaps was not so in all the copies."

His Majesty's copy is the only perfect one I ever saw. Imperfect copies are in the public libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and in most of the private collections before mentioned. From the note prefixed to the royal copy, it would appear that "it was bequeathed to the King by Mr. Hewet of Ipswich, of Suffolk; and delivered to Mr. Allen, by Philip Broke, Esq. and Sir John Hewet, Bart. to be by him presented to his Majesty." Mr. Tyrwhitt says that Caxton's book has been reprinted more than once; and that he saw an edition of it as late as the year 1647—but doubted whether there had been one since.* I have a copy of this latter edition, which is printed in the black letter; but it will be evident, from the specimen of it given at p. 214-6 ante, that it is not a faithful reprint of the text of Caxton.

* *Chaucer's Cant. Tales*, vol. ii. 493, 4to. edit.

29. THE BOOK OF THE ORDRE OF CHYVALRY, OR KNYGHTHODE. *Translated oute of Frensshe into Englysshe at a requeste of a gentyl and noble esquier by me William Caxton &c* (No printer's name or date, but undoubtedly the production of Caxton's press; and supposed to have been printed in the year 1484.) Folio. (Type No. 4.)

This has been considered by Oldys, whose words have been repeated by Ames and Herbert, as "one of the scarcest books now remaining of our first printer." It is also one of the most amusing, as will be seen from the ensuing extracts.

It opens with the following proheme, and table of the contents of the work :

" ¶ Here beginneth the table of this present book, intituled 'THE BOOK OF THE ORDER OF CHIVALRY OR KNIGHTHOOD.' Unto the praising and divine glory of God, which is Lord and sovereign King above and over all things celestial, and worldly, we begin this book of the Order of Chivalry. For to shew that to the signifiante of God the Prince Almighty which *signoreth* above the seven planets, that make the course celestial, and have power and seigniory in governing and ordaining the bodies terrestrial and earthly, that in likewise owen the kings, princes, and great lords to have puissance and signiory upon the knights, And the knights, by similitude oughten to have power and dominion over the *moyen* people. And this book containeth viij chapters ; ¶ The first chapter saith, how a knight being an hermit devised to the squire the rule and Order of Chivalry. ¶ The second is of the beginning of Chivalry. ¶ The third is of the office of Chivalry. The fourth of the examination that ought to be made to the esquire, when he will enter into the order of Chivalry. ¶ The fifth is in what manner the esquire ought to receive Chivalry. ¶ The sixth is of the significence of the

arms [be]longing to a knight, all by order. ¶ The seventh is of the customs that appertain to a knight. ¶ The eighth is of the honour that ought to be done to a knight."

The first chapter presents us with an Introduction of a pleasing romantic air ; or a narrative of events which are supposed to have given rise to the composition of the work. This Introduction is here inserted for the reader's entertainment.*

"A country there was, in which it happened that a wise knight, which long had maintained the order of Chivalry, and that by the force and *noblesse* of his high courage and wisdom, and in adventuring his body had maintained wars, jousts, and tourneys, and in many battles had had many noble victories and glorious ; and by cause he saw and thought in his courage that he must not long live, as he which by long time had been by course of nature nigh unto his end, chose to him an hermitage. For nature failed in him by age, and he [had] no power nor virtue to use arms as he was wont to do ; so that then his heritages, and all his riches he left to his children, and made his habitation or dwelling place in a great wood ; abundant of waters and of great trees, and high bearing fruits of divers manners. And fled the world, by cause that the feebleness of his body in the which he was by old age fallen : and that he dishonoured not that which that in honourable things and adventurous had been long time honoured," &c.

"In one of the parts of the same wood was a fair meadow, in which was a tree well laden and charged of fruit in his time, of which the knight lived in the forest. And under the same tree was a fountain much fair and clear, that *aroused* and moistened all the meadow. And in that same place was the knight accustomed to come every day and to pray and adore God Almighty ; to whom he rendered thanking of the honour that he had done to him in this world all the days of his life. In that time it happened at the entering of a strong winter, that a king, much noble, wise, and full of good customs, sent for many

* Mr. Burnett has given a more compressed account: *Spec. Engl. Prose Writ.* vol. i. 230.

nobles by cause that he would hold a great court; and by the great renown that was of this court, it happed that a squire moved him for to go thither, in intention that there he should be made a knight.

“ Thus as he went all alone riding upon his palfrey, it happed, that for the travail that he had sustained of riding, he slept upon his horse. In the mean while that he rode so sleeping, his palfrey issued out of the right way, and entered into the forest where was THE KNIGHT HERMIT. And so long he went, that he came to the fountain at the same time that the knight, which dwelled in the wood, to do his penance was there coming for to pray unto God, and for to despise all the vanities of this world, like as he was accustomed every day. When he saw the squire come, he left his orison, and sat in the meadow in the shadow of a tree, and began to read a little book that he had in his lap. And when the palfrey was come to the fountain he began to drink, and the squire that slept anon felt that his horse moved not, and lightly awoke. And then to him came the knight, which was much old, and had a great beard, long hair, and a feeble gown worn and broken for over long wearing. And by the penance that he daily made, [he] was much discoloured and lean; and by the tears that he had wept, were his eyes much wasted, and [he] had a regard or countenance of much holy life. Each of them marvelled of [the] other. For the knight which had been much long in his hermitage, had seen no man since that he had left the world. And the squire marvelled him strangely, how he was come into that place. Then descended the squire from his palfrey, and saluted the knight; and the knight received him much wisely. And after, they sat them upon the grass that one by the other. And ere one of them spake, each of them beheld the other's cheer. The knight that knew that the squire would not speak first, by cause that he would do to him reverence, spake first and said: “ Fair Friend what is your courage and intent, and whither do ye go?” &c. &c.

“ The squire tells him he is going to the aforesaid king's court to be ‘*adoubed knight*’; but seeing the ancient knight pensive, he asks

him the cause of his pensiveness. The knight says that he is meditating deeply upon the sacred Order of Chivalry. The squire, as he going to be dubbed a knight, entreats of him to explain the nature and views of Chivalry—the knight replies, that the book, which he had been reading in his lap, and which he then held in his hands, contained a treatise upon this very Order. The squire examines it, and addressing himself to the knight, exclaims, “A sure blessed be ye! that have brought me in place and in time, that I have knowledge of Chivalry—the which I have long time desired, without that I knew the *noblesse* of the Order, nor the honour in which our Lord God hath set all them that be in the Order of Chivalry.”

“The knight said, ‘Fair son, I am an old man and feeble, and may not further much longer live: and therefore this little book that is made for the devotion, loyalty, and the ordinance that a knight ought to have in holding his order, ye shall bear with you to the court whereas ye go to, and to shew to all them that will be made knights. And when ye shall be new dubbed knight, and ye shall return into your country, come again to this place, and let me have knowledge who they be that have been made new knights, and shall have been obedient to the Order of Chivalry.’ Then the knight gave to the squire his blessing, and he took leave of him, and took the book most devoutly; and after, mounted upon his palfrey, and went forth hastily to the court. And when he was come, he presented the book much wisely and ordinantly unto the noble king; and furthermore he offered that every nobleman that would be in the Order of Chivalry, might have a copy of the said book, to the end that he might see and learn the ORDER OF KNIGHTHOOD AND CHIVALRY.”

The conclusion of the volume, or epilogue, composed by CAXTON himself, presents us with a still more interesting specimen; which has found its way into almost every work of repute that has treated of the ancient customs, manners, and literature of the English. The first part is rather *colophonic*; but the passage, beginning with “O ye Knights of England,” is singularly curious:

¶ “ Here endeth the book of the Order of Chivalry ; which book is translated out of French in to English, at a request of a gentle and noble esquire, by me, William Caxton, dwelling in Westminster, beside London, in the most best wise that God hath suffered me, and according to the copy that the said squire delivered to me. Which book is not requisite to every common man to have, but to noble gentlemen, that by their virtue intend to come and enter in to the noble Order of Chivalry ; the which in these late days hath been used according to this book heretofore written, but forgotten, and the exercises of chivalry, not used, honoured, nor exercised, as it hath been in ancient time, at which time the noble acts of the knights of England, that used chivalry, were renowned through the universal world. As for to speak to fore the incarnation of Jesu Christ, where were there ever any like to Brenius and Belynus, that from the great Brytayne, now called England, unto Rome and far beyond, conquered many *royammes* and lands, whose noble acts remain in the old Histories of the Romans ; and sith the incarnation of our Lord, behold that noble King of Britain, King Arthur, with all the noble Knights of the Round Table, whose noble acts and noble chivalry of his knights, occupy so many large volumes, that is a world, or as thing incredible to believe.”

“ O YE KNIGHTS OF ENGLAND, where is the custom and usage of noble chivalry that was used in those days ? What do ye now, but go to the *baynes* and play at dice ? And some, not well advised, use not honest and good rule, again all order of knighthood. Leave this, leave it ! and read the noble volumes of St. Graal, of Lancelot, of Galaad, of Trystram, of Perse Forest, of Percyval, of Gawayn, and many more : there shall ye see manhood, courtesy, and gentleness. And look in latter days of the noble acts sith the conquest, as in King Richard days Cœur du Lyon, Edward the First, and the Third, and his noble sons, Sir Robert Knolles, Sir John Hawkwoode, Sir John Chandos, and Sir Gualtiere Manny. Read Froissart ;* and

* “ If Caxton,” says Oldys, “ had translated and printed this Historian, it is presumed

also behold that victorious and noble King Harry the Fifth, and the captains under him, his noble brethren, the Earls of Salisbury, Montagu, and many other, whose names shine gloriously by their virtuous *noblesse* and acts that they did in the honour of the Order of Chivalry. Alas, what do ye, but sleep and take ease, and are all disordered from chivalry? I would demand a question if I should not displease—How many knights be there now in England that have the use and the exercise of a knight? that is to wit, that he knoweth his horse, and his horse him; that is to say, he being ready at a point to have all thing that [be]longeth to a knight, an horse that is according and broken after his hand, his armour and harness mete and so forth, *et cetera*. I suppose, and a due search should be made, there should be many founden that lack: the more pity is! I would it pleased our sovereign Lord, that twice or thrice a year, or at the least once, he would do cry jousts of peace, to the end that every knight should have horse and harness, and also the use and craft of a knight, and also to *torneye* one against one, or two against two; and the best to have a prize, a diamond or jewel, such as should please the prince. This should cause gentlemen to resort to the ancient customs of chivalry to great fame and renown: and also to be alway ready to serve their prince when he shall call them, or have need. Then let every man that is come of noble blood, and intendeth to come to the noble Order of Chivalry, read this little book, and do thereafter, in keeping the lore and commandments therein comprised, And then I doubt not he shall attain to the Order of Chivalry, *et cetera*.”†

we should have a more correct and genuine work, than the French editions have given us; by whom the English names, at least, if not the facts, are much corrupted.” *Biog. Brit.* vol. iii. 371. Mr. Johnes’s improved translation of Froissart has, in a great degree, remedied these inconveniencies. For a particular account of it consult Pynson’s edition of Froissart, 1523, post. At present I will only observe, that the first edition of Mr. Johnes’s translation, in 4 volumes, quarto, is become an exceedingly scarce book; and that the subsequent ones in octavo have had an extensive circulation.

† The following are Mr. Lewis’s reflections upon this curious production; which,

“ And thus this little book I present to my redoubted natural and

though rather long, are nevertheless amusing; and as I have pledged myself to incorporate the whole of his *Life of Caxton*, the reader would not excuse the omission of some of its most interesting parts.

“ In this Epilogue,” says Mr. Lewis, “ we may observe with what earnestness Mr. Caxton recommends to the English nobility and gentry, the reading the Histories of King Arthur, and the noble knights of the round table, one of which he afterwards printed, and of Belinus and Brennius, who, Geoffry of Monmouth tells us, besieged and took Rome; and several foreign romances, of which I am not in circumstances to give any satisfactory account. I only therefore observe, that this way of writing is intimated by Richelet,¹ to be of Spanish extraction, and commonly in verse. Thus he describes a romance; ‘ Terme de Poesie Espagnol.’ A sort of Poeme where one meets with some sad adventure, some event that is rare and particular, or some glorious and heroic action. It’s on account of this last that Mr. Caxton recommends the perusal of *Lancilot, or Sir Lancilot du lac*, History of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, &c. on which a learned² Spaniard has passed the following censure: That they were invented by idle men, and full of that sort of lies which neither contribute any thing to the increase of knowledge, or to thinking and living well, but only serve or gratify a certain vain, and present itch or tickling pleasure.

“ He next recommends the glorious and illustrious examples of the following English generals and commanders who lived not long before his time. Of these the first mentioned is the great SIR ROBERT KNOLLES. This knight is commonly represented as of mean birth and parentage, somewhere in Cheshire, but³ raised by his own merit, which gained him a reputation equal to that of the most famed and renowned warriors. He had signalized himself in a very extraordinary manner in the wars with France, in the reign of King Edward III, and particularly in the battle of Poitiers: on which occasion his bra-

¹ *Dict. de langue Franc.* tom. ii.

² ——— Ut Lancilotum et mensam rotundam Gallicam——qui libri ab hominibus sunt otiosis conficti, pleni eo mendaciorum genere quod nec ad sciendum quicquam conferat, nec ad bene vel sentiendum de rebus vel vivendum, tantum ad inanem quandam et præsentem titillationem. *Lud. Vires de disciplina*, lib. ii.

³ Postea vero, circa Festum Nativitatis S. Johannis Baptistæ 1370, rex Edvardus magnum exercitum de valentioribus viris et magis expertis in bello fecit sollicitè congregari: inter quos erant aliqui domini, id est, dominus Grantson, et dominus le Fitz Water, et alii Nobiles milites valentes, quibus præfecit in eorum ducem, dominum ROBERTUM DE KNOLLES, volens, ut ejus discretione et industria, et non aliter, universi dicti exercitus uterentur, et ejus imperio in omnibus obedirent: quia ‘ in bellicis congressibus, et in exercitûs regimine fuerat satis instructus.’ *Ad. Murimuth continuat. Trivet.* p. 124.

most dread sovereign, Lord King Richard, King of England and of

very is thus extolled in the register of Bermonsea. 'In isto bello de Roberto Knollis milite Cestrie sic canebatur metricè.

O ROBERTE KNOLLIS per te fit Francia mollis,
Ense tuo tollis predas, dans vulnera collis.

Which has been thus translated.

O Robert Knowles, most worthy of fame,
By thy prowess France was made tame,
Thy manhode made the French to yield
By dint of sworde in towne and field.

By the French¹ he was called, 'Le veritable demon de la guerre,' The true Demon or Thunder-bolt of War. Since his military exploits were, beyond imagination, illustrious; and his enterprizes in warlike actions of the greatest hazards and difficulties surprizingly successful. By these means, it's said, he became immensely rich, and got an estate fit for a king. In the beginning of the reign of King Henry IV. he was Seneschal of Guienne in France; but being now pretty well advanced in years, and grown weary of a life of so much hurry and action, he retired to a seat of his in Norfolk, called Scone, or Scone-Thorp, where he² died about the middle of this reign, A. D. 1406, and was buried with great funeral pomp in the church of the Whitefriars, in Fleet Street, London, which he had built. Of the several acts of piety, charity, and munificence which he did in his lifetime; one was, his building with stone, the bridge over the River Medway, at Rochester, in Kent.³ This was before made of timber, and on that account had been subject to several accidents. Thus Anno 1264, it was set on fire and burnt, by Simon Mountfort the Earl of Leicester: and not full twenty years after, Anno 1282, it was 'all borne down away by the ice,⁴ there having been such a great frost and snow from Christmas till the

¹ *Reg. of Order of the Garter*, vol. ii.

² The same year, 7 Hen. IV. Anno 1406, Sir Robert Knolles, Knight, a worthy warrior, died at his manor in Norfolk, and from thence was brought to London on a horse bier with much torch-light, and so he was brought unto the White Friars in Fleet Street, and there was done and made for him a solemn feast and royal entertainment for those that thither would come, both rich and poor, and there lieth buried by dame Constance his wife, in the mid of the body of the church: on whose soul God have mercy. Amen. *Caxton's Chronicle of England, printed by Julyan Notary*, 1515. Fol. cxii. b.

³ *Lambert's Peramb. of Kent*, p. 382. Ed. 1596. ⁴ *Summary of English Chron.* 10 Edw. I.

France: to the end, that he command this book to be had and read

Purification of our Lady as the old men could not remember the like.' Sir Robert therefore built it with stone, somewhat nearer to the castle wall than the wooden bridge stood, as to a place more fit, both for the fastness of the soil, and the breaking of the swiftness of the stream, to build a bridge upon; and, at the east end, built a chapel for a chauntrie adjoining to his dwelling house. To observe that by the way, either the damage above mentioned done to this bridge by the ice, was not repaired above an hundred years after, or it was then a second time demolished by the same means: since, in 1383,² Archbishop Courtney granted Letters of Collection, dated from the Manor of Otteford, the 23d day of May, to one John Brugge, wherein he recited, That the bridge was so broken, 'per nimiam inundacionem aquarum, ac turbidos incursus glaciei et gelu hyemalis,' by an excessive inundation of waters, and terrible attack or shocks of ice and winter frosts; that the estates of the inhabitants, and those of the county, who were obliged to maintain and repair the said bridge, were not sufficient: and to encourage them to contribute liberally to this work, he mercifully released to them forty days of the penances that had been enjoined to them. Whether these letters put Sir Robert on rebuilding it, is more than we now know; but, it's certain, his doing it could not be long after them; since, as we have seen, he lived but three and twenty years after the date of them.

"SIR JOHAN HAWKWODE⁴ was born at Sibil Heueningham, or Heningham, in Essex, and the son of Gilbert Hawkwoode, a tanner of that place. He was bound an apprentice to a tailor in the city of London, from whence he was pressed into the service of King Edward III. in the wars with France. For his admired valour he was honoured by that prince with the order of knighthood. In the like regard to his warlike merits, Barnabie, the valiant brother of Galeasius, Lord of Millaine, father to John, the first Duke of it, gave him his daughter Domnia⁵ in marriage, with a fortune of ten thousand florins of yearly rent. Here he did many extraordinary exploits with the forces which he commanded, even wonderful things, unheard of before. The Florentines therefore, in gratitude to his memory, and for a testimony of his surpassing valour and singular faithful service to their state, adorned him with a statue of a man of arms, and a sumptuous monument in their cathedral. On this account Julius Feroldus made the following verses in his praise:

HAWKWOOD Anglorum decus, et decus addite genti
Italicæ, Italico presidiumque solo.

¹ Now the Crown Inn in Rochester.

² *Litere questûs*, MS.

³ The Petition to the King [printed 1733] in Parliament for ascertaining the Portions and Repairs of the New Bridge of Rochester, is in the names of Robert de Knolles and John de Cobeham.

⁴ *Weever's Funeral Monum.* p. 623.

⁵ *Murimuth*, &c. p. 147.

unto other young lords, knights, and gentlemen within this *royame*,

Ut tumuli quondam Florentia, sic simulacri
Virtutem Jovius donat honore tuam.

In English thus :

O Hawkwood, England's glory, sent to be
The Bulwark and the pride of Italy.
A tomb just Florence to thy worth doth raise,
And Jovius rears a statue to thy praise.

"He died an aged man in the year 1394, the 18 Richard II. His friends here in England, set up for him a monument in the parish church where he was born, viz. a tomb arched over, and in imitation of that at Florence, engraven with the likeness of hawks flying in or through a wood; that being the rebus of his name, Hawk-wood.

"SIR JOHAN CHANDOS, distinguished himself in a very singular manner in all the wars which King Edward III. waged in France. At the battle of Aulroy in Britain, he was named Sovereign Captain. In 1361, he was sent by the king into France, with the title and commission of Lieutenant General, with a considerable force and full power to pardon all sorts of crimes. But in the 44th year of this king's reign¹, anno 1370, was this ² renowned hero slain, by the enemy in Gascony. Sir John Froissart says of him, that 'he was a good knight, courteous and benign, well shaped, liberal, heroic, wise and faithful in all matters; and one who had worthily behaved himself among all lords, knights, ladies and damsels; so that there was no knight in his days more generally beloved and praised of all people.'

"SIR GAULTIER MANUY, [or MANNY] is another of those knights which are here mentioned and recommended by Mr. Caxton: but I do not find any notice taken of him in those English Chronicles which I have seen. The name is plainly French, and perhaps he was one of that nation who was an officer or commander in King Edward's or King Henry's armies in their wars with France, where he signalized himself as the other knights did whom he here names: [Lewis has mistaken Manuy for Manny.]

"He next names the EARL of SALISBURY MONTAGU; that is, I suppose, William Montague, or Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, King of the Isle of Man, and Marshal of England. To the first of these dignities he was advanced by King Edward III, in the year³

¹ *A. Murimuth*, &c. p. 124.

² *Strenuus et sapiens miles. Murimuth*, &c.

³ In the year of our Lord a Mcccxxx—King Edward made six earls; that is for to say, Sir Henry the Earl of Lancaster's son, Earl of Leicester; William of Bughum, Earl of Northampton; William of Montagu, Earl of Salisbury; Hugh of Awdwell, Earl of Glou-

that the noble Order of Chivalry be hereafter better used and ho-

1330. In 1342, he conquered the Isle of Man; and, in consideration of this conquest, and because his father was married to one of the sisters of Orroy, King of Man, was crowned by King Edward, king of the said island. But two years after, when the king appointed solemn justs and tournaments to be held at Windsor, this noble lord, through his immoderate courage and labour, for three or four days together, was so bruised and fatigued with those boisterous encounters, that falling into a fever, he died within eight days after, in the 43d year of his age, to the infinite regret of the king and all his court, as well strangers as English. Walsingham observed, that it would be a work of great commendation to write worthily of his illustrious and valourous acts.

"Such were the virtuous and commendable examples which Mr. Caxton recommended to the following and imitation of the English nobility and gentry of his time: men not only famous for their personal courage and warlike conduct, but of eminent piety, virtue and goodness.

"Lastly, Mr. Caxton here proposed the revival of the ancient exercises and diversions of ² Justs and Tournaments, which, it seems, were now growing into disuse. Justs were single combats of two knights on horseback, who tilted at, or ran one against the other, with their spears or lances, within the lists or bounds which were appointed to them. Tournaments were exercises of arms, in which several fought or tilted together in the way of diversion. Richelet ³ thus describes them: 'A combat betwixt two parties of horsemen well mounted, richly dressed or adorned, and armed, made for pleasure, and in the presence of the ladies for some public rejoicing, or to make themselves fit for the exercise of war, and that within a barrier, or place enclosed with rails, appointed for these sorts of famous games or tiltings.' These barriers were boarded, from whence the French styled the making Justs and Tournaments, *behourde*, or boarding. Our poet Chaucer therefore describes his knight thus:

Full oft timis he had the *bord* begon.

Or, was the first at the *behourde*, or the ¹ *board bariere*, where the Justs or Tournaments were held. The same poet represents these manly games as circumstances of love.

Justis, array, and all the circumstauncis
Of love———

"The design of these diversions being, as has been intimated, in part to please the la-

cester; Robert of Ufford, Earl of Suffolk; and William of Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon. *Caxton's Chronicles*, &c. printed by Julian Notary, 1515. Fol. lxxxv.

¹ A. D. 1344.

² See *Gul. Neubrig. Hist.* p. 501, 502, *Ed. Oxon.* 1719.

³ *Diction. Fran.*

noured than it hath been in late days passed. And herein he shall do

dies, and recommend to their favour the combatants, for their dress and manhood. But Mr. Caxton seemed to have another view in advising their encouragement, namely, the employing the nobility and gentry, that they might not spend their time worse, in gaming and debauchery, and preserving their ancient courage and valour, that the honour and security of the English nation might not suffer through *their* sinking and degenerating into delicacy and effeminacy."

LEWIS'S *Life of Caxton*, p. 84 to 92.

As the present is an age of reading and collecting ANCIENT ROMANCES, and as the volumes of Messrs. Ritson and Ellis have greatly contributed towards this elegant pursuit, I make no apology for adding to Lewis's account of the *latter* Worthies, mentioned by Caxton, a list of a few ancient and curious publications of the exploits of the *former* Worthies—also lauded and recommended by our venerable Typographer.

I. SAN GRAAL.

1. *L'Histoire, ou le Roman du Saint Gréaal, qui est le fondement et le premier livre de la Table Ronde.* Paris. 1516. Folio. 2 vol. in 1.

This is one of the rarest books in the class of those of Romances of Chivalry. See *De Bure*, n°. 3778. *Cat. de la Valliere*, n°. 3992.

2. *Le Meme*: Paris, 1523. Folio.

A neat and faithful reprint of the preceding. *Cat. de Gaignat*, n°. 2276. Mr. Thomas Crofts thought this edition to be of great rarity. See *Bibl. Crofts*, n°. 4923.

II. LANCELOT DU LAC.

1. *Le Roman du Grand Artus (ou Lancelot du Lac.)* Rouen, 1488. Five parts, in two volumes.

First French edition; of extreme rarity. De Bure specifies only *three* parts; of which he says the first two were printed at Rouen in 1488, and the third at Paris in the same year. Santander mentions five parts. Both Santander and the *Cat. de la Valliere*, n°. 3998, give the same colophon. See *Dict. Bibliog. Choisi*, vol. ii. n°. 151: De Bure, *Bibliog. Instruct.* n°. 3786. *Cat. de Gaignat*, n°. 2283.

2. *Le Meme.* Paris. By Antony Verard, 1494, 3 vol.

A magnificent copy of this edition, printed UPON VELLUM, was in the library of the late King of France. De Bure calls it "un morceau des plus précieux en ce genre, vu la rareté de ceux de cette édition, qui ne sont imprimés que sur papier." In the *Cat. de la Valliere*, n°. 3999, the colophon of the last volume is given. The same edition, which was translated by Borron, was sold for £14. 3. 6, at the Paris sale of books, n°. 377. Verard printed a second and different volume of this Romance, without date, and of which a copy UPON VELLUM, with 20 miniatures, was sold at the Valliere sale, n°. 4000. Santander mentions "THE ROMANCE OF THE LITTLE ARTHUS," which was printed in 1493, fol. without place or printer's name; and which was reprinted at Lyons in 1496, fol. Lord Berners translated this latter work.

a noble and virtuous deed, And I shall pray Almighty God for his

Of the subsequent editions of *Launcelot du Lac*, in the 16th century, that of 1533 is preferred to the one of 1513; both are rare—especially the former. A fine Parisian edition was printed in 1520, 3 vol. folio: see Edwards's *Cat.* 1790: n°. 1135; and *Bibl. Croft.* n°. 4922.

Osmont refers us to the article *BORRON* for an account of this romance, but the article is not in his *Dictionn. Typograph.*: he mentions, however, a Parisian edition of 1502 in 4to. under the article "*ARTUS*," which has escaped De Bure. Other editions were printed at Paris in 1543—and 1584, 4to.: and a Lyons edit. in 1591, 8vo.

III. GALAAD.

What is meant by this romance, unnoticed in the memorable lists in the *Troy Book*, and *Richard Cœur du Lion*, or whether any edition of it was separately published, I have not been able to discover. According to an article in Mr. Edwards's *Cat.* of 1796, n°. 1524, I find *Galaad* is numbered among the Knights of the Round Table in a Parisian edition by Galliot du Pre, 1528, fol. comprising *Arthur*, &c.

IV. TRISTAN, [OR TRISTREM.]

1. *Le Roman du noble et vaillant Chevalier Tristan*, &c. Rouen, 1489, Folio, 2 vol. This is the first edition, and very rare. It is particularly noticed by Santander, vol. iii. n°. 1303. See too Mr. Walter Scott's '*Sir Tristrem*,' p. lxxiii. edit. 1806.

2. *Le Meme.* Paris. By Antony Verard. Without date, 2 vol.

A scarce work. A magnificent copy of it, UPON VELLUM, bound in blue velvet, was in the Gaignat collection, n°. 2289. The first leaf of the second volume was supplied by writing. A paper copy was sold at the first sale of the Duke de la Valliere, in 1767; see n°. 3378 of the catalogue. The subsequent editions of *Tristrem*, in the 16th century, are coldly noticed by De Bure. They are, however, worth possessing by collectors of this class of literature.

V. PERCE-FOREST.

1. *La très élégante, délicate, melliflue et très plaisante histoire du très noble et victorieux Roi Perceforest*, &c. Paris, 1528. Folio, 6 vol. frequently bound in 3.

De Bure speaks in strong terms of commendation of this romance, as "having been composed with great care." The Duke de la Valliere's copy of this first edition, UPON VELLUM, with its brilliant decorations, is much praised by him; as well it might be—for, on consulting the Valliere Catalogue, n°. 4097, we find it to have been sufficiently magnificent, and that it once probably belonged to Francis I. It was sold for 1601 livres at the sale. See too *White's Catalogues* for 1777, 1780, n°. 1143: 1173:

2. *Le Meme.* Printed by Gourmont. Paris, 1531. Folio, 6 vol. in 3.

This edition, the volumes of which are frequently found intermixed with those of the preceding one, is not held in equal reputation. Whoever will consult Mr. Payne's *Catalogue* of 1794, nos. 786-7 will find an exquisite copy of each of these rare romances. See the *Censura Literaria*, vol. viii. p. 218; for a particular account of the latter edition.

long life and prosperous welfare, and that he may have victory of all his enemies; and, after this short and transitory life, to have everlasting life in heaven, where as is joy and bliss world without end. Amen."

The sixth chapter is worth the reader's attention; and especially the attention of those who are curious in the lore of ancient Chivalry.*

VI. PERCEVAL.

La très plaisante et recreative Histoire du vaillant Chevalier Perceval le Gallois, &c.
Paris, 1530. Fol.

An exceedingly rare book, especially when in fine preservation. De Bure seems to think that there was but this one edition of it. [*Bibl. Instr.* n°. 3803.]

VII. GAWAINE.

Of this romance I do not discover any foreign edition noticed by the French Bibliographers. It constantly occurs in the lists of our old English Romances, and forms a conspicuous figure in the first volume of Ritson's Metrical Romances.

Perhaps it may be expected that I should here add a few more curious Romances, not noticed by Caxton, such as MERLIN, FIERABRAS, THESEUS, GUIDON de Anstone, GERAD d'Euphrate, &c. but some limits must be assigned to this note, and Caxton shall assign them. The curious *English* editions will be described, hereafter, in their proper places; to which a reference will be easily made in the general Index of the last volume. Who does not wish for the publication of a portable octavo volume, which should contain a spirited and accurate account of all the editions of the French and English Romances?—in short, a "BIBLIOTECA ROMANCA!"? The extensive knowledge, and communicative kindness, of Messrs. Douce and Heber, in this department of literature, might give many finishing touches to the most carefully compiled catalogue.

* The following extract, from this chapter, presents us with the *moral application* of the several parts of the accoutrements of a Knight equipped for battle:

"OF THE SIGNIFICANCY OF THE ARMS OF THE KNIGHT.

Un to a knight is given a *Sword*, which is made in semblance of the cross, for to signify how our Lord God vanquished in the cross the death of human lineage, to the which he was judged for the sin of our first father Adam. All in likewise a knight oweth to vanquish and destroy the enemies of the cross by the sword. For Chivalry is to maintain justice. And therefore is the sword made cutting on both sides, to signify that the knight ought with the sword [to] maintain chivalry and justice. To a knight is given a *Spear*, for to signify truth: for truth is a thing right and even; and that truth ought to go tofore falseness. And the iron or head of the spear signifieth strength, which truth ought to

Oldys is the first bibliographer to whom we are indebted for an account of this curious volume. In the *British Librarian*, p. 191, we

have above falseness. And the pennon signifieth that truth sheweth to all faith: and hath no dread ne fear of falseness ne of treachery. And Verity is sustaining of Hope, and also of other things, which ben signified by the spear of the knight. The *Hat*, of steel, or iron, is given to the knight to signify shamefastness. For a knight without shamefastness may not be obeysant to the Order of Chivalry. And all thus as shamefastness maketh a man to be ashamed and causeth to cast down his eyen against the earth, in like wise the hat of iron defendeth a man to look upward on high, and maketh him to look toward the ground, and is the *moyen* between the things high and low; for it covereth the head of a man, which is the most high and principal member that is in the body of a man. Also shamefastness defendeth the knight which hath the most noble office and most high that is next the office of a clerk, that he incline ne bow him not to villainous feats and horrible; and that the *noblesse* of his courage abandon him ne give him to *barate*, wickedness, ne to any evil *enseygnment*.

“The *Hawberk* signifieth a castle and fortress against vices and defaults. For all in like wise as a castle and fortress ben closed all about, in like wise an hauberk is ferme and close on all parts, to the end that it give significance to a noble knight that he in his courage ought not to enter into treason, ne none other vice. *Chauces of iron*, or leg harness, ben given to a knight for to keep and hold surely his legs and feet from peril; to signify that a knight with iron ought to hold him upon the ways; that is to understand, with the sword, spear, and mace, and other *garnelements* of iron for to take the malefactors, and to punish them. The *Spurs* ben given to a knight to signify diligence and swiftness; because that with these two things every knight may maintain his order in the high honour that belongeth to it. For in like wise as with the spurs he pricketh his horse, because to haste him to run, right so doth diligence haste him to do his things, and maketh him to procure the harness and the dispenses that ben needful to a knight; to the end that a man be not surprised ne taken suddenly. The *Gorget* is given to a knight to signify obedience. For every knight that is not obeysant to his lord, ne to the Order of Chivalry, dishonoureth his lord, and issueth out of his Order. And right so as the gorget environeth or goeth about the neck of a knight, because it should be defended from strokes and wounds, in like wise maketh obedience a knight to be within the commandments of his sovereign, and within the Order of Chivalry; to the end that treason, pride, ne none other vice, corrupt not the oath that the knight hath made to his lord and to chivalry.

“The *Mace* is given to the knight to signify strength of courage. For like as a mace or poleaxe is strong against all arms, and smiteth on all parts, right so force or strength of courage defendeth a knight from all vices, and enforceth virtues and good customs; by the which knights maintain the Order of Chivalry in the high honour which is due and appertaineth to it. *Misericorde*, or *knife with a cross*, is given to a knight to the end that, if his other

are informed that "it has little occurred to those who have attempted to give us any catalogues of Caxton's publications. It is printed,"

armours fail him, that he have recourse to the misericorde or dagger. Or if he be so nigh his enemy that he may not grieve ne smite him with his spear, or with his sword, that then he join to him, and surmount him, if he may, by the force or strength of his *myserycorde* or knife. And because this armour which is named *myserycorde*, sheweth to a knight that he ought not to trust all in his arms ne in his strength, but he ought so much *affye* and trust in God, and to join to him by right good works, and by very hope that he ought to have in him, that by the help and aid of God he vanquisheth his enemies and them which be contrary to the Order of Chivalry. The *Shield* is given to the knight to signify the office of a knight; for in like wise as the knight putteth his shield between him and his enemy, right so the knight is the *moyen* between the prince and the people. And like as the stroke falleth down upon the shield and saveth the knight, right so the knight ought to apparel him, and present his body tofore his lord, when he is in peril, hurt, or taken. *Gauntlets* ben given to a knight to the end that he put his hands therein, for to be sure, and to receive the strokes, if it were so that his other armours manyable failed to him. And thus as the knight with his gauntlets handleth more surely the spear, or his sword; and that to the significance of the gauntlets he lift up on high his hand; right so ought he to lift them up in thanking God of the victory that he hath had. By the gauntlets is also signified that he ought not to lift up his hand in making a false oath, ne handle none evil, ne foul touchings, ne dishonest with his hands. The *Saddle*, in which the knight sitteth when he rideth, signifieth surety of courage, the charge and the great burthen of chivalry. For like as by the saddle a knight is sure upon his horse, right so surety of courage maketh a knight to be in the front of the battle. By the which surety Adventure, friend of chivalry, aideth him. And by surety ben misprysed many cowards, vaunters, and many vain semblances which make men cowards for to seem hardy and strong of courage. And by that ben many men refrained in such manner that they dare not pass tofore in that place, where noble courage and strong ought to be, and pass above the course of a valiant knight and hardy. And by the saddle is signified the charge of a knight. For the saddle, like as we have said, holdeth the knight firm and sure upon his horse; so that he may not fall, ne move lightly, but if he will. And therefore the saddle, which is so great, signifieth the charge of chivalry, that the knight ought in no wise to move for slight things. And if it behoveth him to move, he ought to have great courage, noble and hardy, against his enemy, for to enhance the Order of Chivalry.

"To a knight is given an *Horse*, and also a courser for to signify *noblesse* of courage. And the cause that he be well horsed and high, is, because he may be seen from far. And that is the significance that he ought to be made ready to do all that which behoveth to the Order of Chivalry more than another man. To an horse is given a bridle, and the reins of the bridle ben given in the hands of the knight, because that the knight may at his will hold his horse and refrain him. And this signifieth that a knight ought to refrain

continues Oldys, "with large initial letters at the beginning of the chapters; with only one sort of points, which are oblique or leaning

his tongue, and hold that he speak no foul words ne false. And also it signifieth that he ought to refrain his hands, that he give not so much that he be *suffratous* and needy, and that he beg ne demand nought, ne he ought not to be so hardy but that in his hardiness he have reason and attemperance. And by the *Reins* is signified to the knight, that he ought to be led over all where the Order of Chivalry will lead him or send him. And when it shall be time of necessity to make largess, his hands must give and dispend after that it appertaineth to his honour. And that he be hardy, and doubt nothing his enemies: for doubtance *affeblissheth* strength of courage. And if a knight do contrary to do all these things, his horse keepeth better the rule of chivalry than he doth. To his horse is given in his head a *testrere*, to signify that a knight ought to do none arms without reason. For like as the head of an horse goeth tofore the knight, right so ought reason go tofore all that a knight doth; for all works without reason ben vices in him. And all in like wise as the *testrere* keepeth and defendeth the head of the horse, right so reason keepeth and defendeth a knight from blame, and from shame. Garments of the horse ben for to keep and defend the horse. And they signify that a knight ought to keep his goods and riches, because that they might suffice to him for the office of chivalry to maintain. For like as the horse is defended of the strokes or hurts by his garments, and without them he is in peril of death, in like wise a knight without goods temporal, may not maintain the honour of chivalry, ne may not be defended from evil perils. For Poverty causeth a man to think *barates*, falsities, and treasons, and to this purpose saith the scripture, *Propter inopiam multi delinquerunt*: for poverty many have made falshede.

A *Coat* is given to a knight, in significance of the great travails that a knight must suffer for to honour chivalry. For like as the coat is above the other garments of iron, and is in the rain, and receiveth the strokes tofore the hawberke and the other armours, right so is a knight chosen to sustain greater travails than another man. And all the men that ben under the *noblesse* of him, and in his guard, ought, when they have need, to have recourse to him. And the knight ought to defend them after his power, and the knights ought rather to be taken, hurt, or dead, than the men that ben in their guard. Then as it is so right great and large chivalry, therefore ben the princes and barons in so great travails for to keep their lands and their people. A token or *Esseygnal* of arms is given to a knight in his shield and in his coat, because that he be known in the battle, and that he be allowed if he be hardy and if he do great and fair feats of arms; and if he be coward, faulty, or recreant, the *ensygnal* is given to him because that he be blamed, vitupered, and reproved. The *esseygnal* is also given to a knight to the end that he be known if he be a friend or enemy of chivalry. Wherefore every knight ought to honour his *esseygnal* that he be kept from blame, the which blame casteth the knight and putteth him out of chivalry. The *Banner* is given to a king, a prince, baron, and to a knight banneret, which hath under him many knights, to signify that a knight ought to maintain the honour of

dashes; some double or united types, as in his other books; also with signatures, but no catchwords; nor any numbering of the leaves," &c. The first capital initial letter, A, was introduced by Ames and Herbert at the commencement of their account of Caxton's books: it has also been copied for the present work.* There is no similar one throughout the volume.

This book may be considered not only among the scarcest of those printed by Caxton, but, in my humble judgment, as one of the most elegant specimens of his press. The copy in the British Museum,† which has given rise to this remark, has all the skillfulness of arrangement which we see in the Aldine editions: the neatness of the register, (or setting up of the text) and amplitude of the margin, give it the appearance of a large paper copy. It must, however, be confessed that the type is not the choicest of those used by Caxton. The volume contains 52 leaves, extending to signature

his lord and of his land. For a knight is loved, praised, and honoured of the folk of worship of the *royaume* of his lord. And if they do dishonour of the land wherein they be, and of their lord, such knights be more blamed and shamed than other men. For like as for honour they ought to be more praised because that in them ought to be the honour of a prince, and of the knight and of the lord; in like wise in their dishonour they ought to be more blamed. And by cause that for their *latchesse*, falshood, or treason, ben kings and princes more disherited than by any other men." Third leaf after sign. d iijj, &c.

My friend, Mr. Henry Ellis, who presides over the book department in the British Museum, was kind enough to make the foregoing extract at my particular request; and, in the language of Herbert, I beg of him "to accept my hearty thanks for the same."

* See the account of Caxton's Life; ante.

† At the end of this copy is an ancient piece of printing, without the name of printer or designation of place or year, which Herbert has noticed at the conclusion of Machlinia's books, under the title of "Revelation;" and of which I have given a very particular account at the end of the same Printer's books. The Museum copy of Caxton's Order of Chyvalry contains also a MS, (probably coeval,) of *makyng of Knyghte of the Bath*—beginning thus—"to the worshyp of louyng of god, holy church and thorder of knyghtehode. And whē prys of the day appēth, the kūt shall confess and then here matynes and masse and after masse be *houscled* if he wyll," &c.

g iij in octaves. It begins on signature a ij,—and most probably had never “a regular title page, with the cut of a knight”—as Herbert intimates. The copy of this work in the British Museum has, I believe, been considered to be *unique*.

30. THE RYAL BOOK; or a Book for a Kyng. *Reduced in to englisshe at the request and specyal desyre of a singuler frende of myn a mercer of lōdon the yere of our lord m. iiij^c. lxxxiij. Folio. (Type No. 5.)*

Of this book, which was unknown to Ames, I have seen five copies; and where the margin is broad and unstained, such copies afford a very favourable specimen of Caxton's press. Herbert's account of the work is short, but correct. The subjoined specimen* is the only addition which it has been thought proper to introduce to the reader's notice: it is sufficiently curious.

“The Royal Book, or Book for a King, in which ben comprised the x. Commandments, the xii. Articles of the Faith, the vii. deadly

* “They that live after their jollity will hold company with fools: such folk can not, may not, ne will not, hold ne keep measure ne reason. They that live after hypocrisy be they that be martyrs to the devil: such hypocrites have two measures: for the two devils that torment the hypocrite be much contrary that one to that other. That one saith, eat enough, so that thou be fair and fat: that other saith, thou shalt not, but thou shalt fast, so that thou be pale and lean, to the end that the world hold thee for a good man; and that it may appear that thou doest much penance. Now it behoveth that the hypocrite have ii measures; one little and one great: of which they use the little measure tofore the people, and the great measure they use so that no man can see them. They retain not the true measure that be avaricious. In such manner as the mouth will; which is the lady of the house and commander. Then between the belly and the mouth of the glutton be three disputacions. The belly saith, I will be full; the mouth saith, I will not be full; the belly saith to him, I will that thou eat, and take enough, and *dispend* largely: the mouth saith, I shall not, I will that thou restrain thee!—and what shall the sorry caitif do which is servant to his two evil lords? Two measures make the peace. The measure of the belly in an other man's house good and large; and the measure of his mouth in his own house sorrowful and over scarce.”

Sign. f. j. recto.

sins, the vii. Petitions of the Paternoster, the vii. Gifts of the Holy Ghost, the vii. Virtues," &c. "Here followeth the table of the rubrics of this present book, intituled and named Royal, which speaketh first of the x. Commandments." This table contains the heads of 161 chapters. At the end :

"This book was compiled and made at the request of King Philip (le Bele) of France. In the year of the incarnation of our Lord m,cc,lxxix, and translated or reduced out of French into English by me William Caxton, at the request of a worshipful merchant and mercer of London ; which instantly required me to reduce it for the weal of all them that shall read or hear it, as for a special book to know all vices and branches of them, and also all virtues by which well understanden and seen may direct a person to everlasting bliss. Which book is called in the French le livre Royall, that is to say, the Royal Book, or a Book for a King. For the Holy Scripture calleth every man a king which wisely and perfectly can govern and direct himself after virtue ; and this book sheweth and ensigneth it so subtilly, so shortly, so perceivingly and so perfectly, that for the short comprehension of the noble clergy and of the right great substance, which is comprised therein, it may and ought to be called well by right and quick reason above all other books in French or in English, The BOOK ROYAL, or the BOOK FOR A KING ; and also by cause that it was made and ordained at the request of that right noble King Philip le Bele, King of France, ought to be called Royal, as tofore is said. Which translation or reducing out of French into English, was achieved, finished, and accomplished the xiiij day of September, and in the second year of the reign of King Richard the Third."

As to the original French work, I find no account of either a MS, or a printed edition of it, in De Bure ; in the Catalogues of Gaignat and La Valliere ; or in the Dict. Anon. of Barbier. Caxton most probably translated it from a MS. The volume is a thin folio, with printed initials, and has a few rude cuts. The leaves are unnumbered, but they extend to sign. u. 9, in octaves, except the first and



HARLEY EARL of OXFORD

Born 1661, Died 1724.

last, which have only six leaves. A fine copy is in the possession of his Majesty, [from the Bibl. West. n°. 1875,] the Marquis of Blandford, and Lord Spencer. There are three copies of it in the public library at Cambridge [A B. 10: 27. 29. 59.]. Mr. John Ratcliffe had an imperfect copy, to which was subjoined another imperfect work, said to be printed by Caxton, called "POLITICK ADMONITIONS AND OBSERVATIONS FIT FOR GREAT MEN TO PERUSE." See Bibl. Ratcl. n°. 1661. What this latter work is, I have never been able to ascertain: most probably it is not printed by Caxton.

31. A BOOK OF THE NOBLE HYSTORYES OF KYNGE ARTHUR and of certeyn of his knyghtes. Whiche book was reduced in to englysshe by syr Thomas Malory knyght and by me dewyded into xxi bookes chapytred and enprynted, and fynnysshed in thabbey Westmestre the last day of Juyl the yere of our lord M.cccc.lxxxv. Folio. (Type No. 4.)

This title is gathered from the prologue and colophon; there being no title "at full length," as Mr. Burnett* supposed, prefixed to the edition. Of all the productions of Caxton's press, the present is probably the most curious, amusing, and scarce; and is well called by Oldys,† the printer's "capital work this year." Lewis‡ does not appear to have ever seen a copy of it; and I suspect that Oldys has taken his account from the imperfect description of Ames, who has extracted, with many errors, what he considered to be, Caxton's prohemie or preface, and mentions "a wooden cut to each book"—whereas there is not a single cut throughout the volume.§ Herbert

* *Specimens of English Prose Writers*, vol. i. 247.

† *Biogr. Britan.* vol. iii. 372, note Q.

‡ *Life of Caxton*, p. 96.

§ I incline to think that some one sent Ames an account of EAST's edition of the romance of King Arthur, which edition agrees, in the prologue, with the phraseology adopted by Ames, and contains "a wooden cut to each book."

had never seen a copy ; but as Ames noticed it, he doubted not of its existence, and accordingly transcribed his account literally. Ritson * thought that "no copy of it was now known to exist ;" and that Caxton's book was "the only one known by the name of *La Mort D'Arthur*, which he took as he found it." It will be seen, from the sequel, that this learned antiquary has been mistaken in both points ; for a copy of the work does exist, and it has not the professed title which he, and subsequent bibliographers have, supposed. Mr. G. Ellis, † without hazarding any remark on the present existence of Caxton's book, informs us that Mr. Ritson was wrong in supposing that a metrical romance, under the title of MORTE ARTHUR, among the Harl. MS. (n°. 2252), "was versified from the prose work of the same name, written by Malory, and printed by Caxton. "This latter, continues Mr. E. "differs most essentially from Malory's work, which was a mere compilation ; whilst it follows, with tolerable exactness, the French romance of Lancelot." Indeed, Bishop Percy ‡ tells us that Mr. Wanley thought this metrical romance, in the Harleian collection, "to be no older than the time of Henry VII." If so, it must necessarily be posterior to Malory's performance. But to speak more particularly of this latter, as printed by Caxton.

By the politeness of the Earl of Jersey, I am enabled to lay before the reader a particular, and I trust interesting, account of this singularly rare book ; it having been originally obtained from the Harleian library, by Bryan Fairfax, § and purchased of this latter, with his entire collection, for the Osterley Library, by the late Mr. Child, grandfather of the present Countess of Jersey.

Caxton, in his prologues to Godfrey of Boulogne and the Order of

* *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, vol. i. cvi : cxliv.

† *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*, vol. i. 308.

‡ *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, vol. iii. p. xxxvi. edit. 1794.

§ Consult *Bibl. Harleian.* vol. iii. n°. 372. It would appear from the catalogue of Dr. Lort's library, that "Mr. Fairfax's books were sold to Mr. Child, and the catalogue suppressed ; and that only twenty-five copies [of the Catalogue] were printed." See *Bibl. Lort.* nos. 1142 : 4736.

Chivalry, had spoken so enthusiastically of Prince Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, that he most probably seized with avidity the present opportunity of *printing* a work written in commendation of this illustrious corps. His preface, or proheme, to the present work, commencing on the recto of sign. a ij, is as follows: "After that I had accomplished and finished divers histories, as well of contemplation, as of other historical and worldly acts of great conquerors and princes, and also certain books of ensamples and doctrine, many noble and divers gentlemen of this *royame* of England, came and demanded me many and oft times, wherefore that I have not do made, and emprint the noble History of the Saint Greal,* and of the most renown christian King [first and chief of the three best christian and worthy] King Arthur, which ought most to be remembered among us Englishmen, tofore all other christian kings; for it is *notoyrly* known throughout the universal world, that there be ix worthy, and the best that ever were; that is to wit, three Paynims, three Jews, and three Christian men. As for the Paynims, they were to fore the incarnation of Christ; which were named, the first, Hector of Troy, of whom the history is common, both in ballad and prose; the second, Alexander the Great; and the third, Julius Cæsar, Emperor of Rome; of whom the histories be well known and had. And as for the three Jews, which also were to fore the incarnation of our Lord, of whom the first was of Duke Joshua, which brought the children of Israel into the land of behest; the second, David, King of Jerusalem; and the third, Judas Maccabeus. Of these three the Bible rehearseth all their noble histories and acts. And sith the said incarnation have been three noble christian men, stalled and admitted through the universal world, in to the number of the ix best and worthy; of whom was first the noble ARTHUR, whose noble acts

* "The adventure of the *Saint Graal* is plainly written upon a very different plan from the other Romances of the Round Table, and is likely enough to have come from an ecclesiastick; though rather, I confess, from a graver one than Walter Map may be supposed to have been." *Tyrwhitt's Chaucer*, vol. i. 39, note. 4to. edit. For some ancient French editions of this Romance, consult p. 232, ante, note.

I purpose to write in this present book here following; the second was CHARLEMAIGN, or CHARLES THE GREAT, of whom the history is had in many places, both in French and Englysh; and the third and last was GODFREY OF BOULOGNE,* of whose acts and life I made a book unto the excellent prince and king of noble memory, King Edward the Fourth. The said noble gentlemen instantly required me to emprint the story of the said noble king and conqueror, King Arthur, and of his knights, with the history of the Saint Greal, and of the death and ending of the said Arthur, affirming, that I ought rather to emprint his acts and noble feats, than of Godfrey of Boulogne, or any of the other eight, considering that he was a man born within this *royame*, and king and emperor of the same—and that there be in French divers and noble volumes † of his acts, and also of his knights—To whom I answered, that divers men hold opinion that there was no such Arthur, and that all such books as be made of him be but feigned and fables, by cause that some chronicles make of him no mention, ne remember him no thing, ne of his knights. Whereto they answered, and one in

* Vide p. 130, ante.

† Caxton must here allude to *Manuscript* volumes; as there was no printed edition of the Life of Arthur before his own. Consult the French editions (specified at p. 232, ante) of Lancelot du Lac: “from which, and from Le Brut, Tristan, Saint Graal, and some other Romances of less note, our Romance called “MORT D’ARTHUR” is translated.” *Tyrwhitt’s Chaucer*, vol. i. 39, 4to. note. Mr. Walter Scott seems to be of the same opinion. He says, “the collection, called the *Morte Arthur*, containing great part of the history of the Round Table, was extracted at hazard and without much art or combination, from the various French prose folios on that favourite topic”—and adds—what the lovers of the heroes of romance will do well to attend to—that “Those, unaccustomed to the study of romance, should beware of trusting to this work, which misrepresents the adventures, and traduces the character, of SIR GAWAIN, and other renowned Knights of the Round Table.” See his *Sir Tristrem*, p. lxxvi-vii. edit. 1806. However, in the first note to the first canto of ‘*Marmion*, Mr. Scott admits that this romance “gives the general reader an excellent idea of what romances of chivalry actually were: that it has also the merit of being written in pure old English; and many of the wild adventures which it contains, are told with a simplicity bordering upon the sublime.”

special said, that in him that should say or think that there was never such a king called Arthur, might well be *aretted* great folly and blindness; for he said that there were many evidences of the contrary. First ye may see his sepulture in the monastery of Glastonbury.* And also in Polychronicon in the v. book, the vi. chapter, and in the seventh book, the xxiii. chapter, where his body was buried, and after found and translated in to the said monastery. Ye shall see also in the History of Bochas in his book, 'De casu principum,' part of his noble acts, and also of his fall. Also Galfridus, in his *brutysshe* book, recounteth his life, and in divers places of England many remembrances ben yet of him, and shall remain perpetually, and also of his knights. First, in the Abbey of Westminster, at Saint Edward's shrine, remaineth the print of his seal in red wax, closed in beryl, in which is written, 'PATRICIUS ARTHURUS, Britannie, Gallie, Germanie, Dacie Imperator.' Item, in

* Whoever will be at the pains of reading the scattered notices of Arthur's burial, in the *Collectanea* of Leland, may find sufficient, though sometimes contradictory, sources of entertainment. In the first volume, p. 242, we are told that in the year 1192, "the sepulchre of the famous King Arthur was found at Glastonbury, with a leaden cross upon his breast and his name inscribed thereon"—at p. 264, this event is stated to have occurred in 1191. In the fourth volume, p. 154, the date of 1189 is affixed to the transaction, with the additional information that Henry Sully was Abbot of Glastonbury at the time of the discovery. In the third volume, p. 11, a more detailed account is given; and we are here informed that this leaden cross was placed, not on the outer, but the inner, part of the coffin, and that the letters upon it were cut into the stone, and not in alto relief—the inscription was as follows: "Hic jacet sepultus inclitus rex Arturius, cum Wennevera, uxore sua secunda, in insula Avallonia." [In the fourth volume this inscription is different and is composed of two hexameter Latin verses—the name of Wennever, or Guenever, being omitted]. On discovering the bodies of Arthur and his wife Guenever, the yellow hair of the latter was found to have preserved its original colour, and apparently its substance; but one of the monks, anxious perhaps to bear away so precious a relic, hastily seizing it, it crumbled into dust. We are told that Arthur's body was deposited sixteen feet below the surface of the earth, in the heart of an oak tree; lest any of the Saxons, whom he had so frequently defeated during his life, should unluckily discover it." *Leland's Collectanea*, Hearne's edit. 1774. Giraldus Cambrensis affirms that he saw this body himself; and that the bones were those of a giant. *Littleton's Henry II.* vol. vi. 383. 8vo. edit. 1773.

the Castle of Dover, ye may see Gawain's skull, and Cradok's mantle: at Winchester, the round table; in other places, Launcelot's sword, and many other things. Then all these things considered, there can no man reasonably gainsay but there was a king of this land named ARTHUR;* for in all places, christian and heathen, he is reputed and taken for one of the ix. worthy, and the first of the three christian men. And also he is more spoken of beyond the sea, more books made of his noble acts than there ben in England,

* The Arthur of romance, and the Arthur of legitimate history are undoubtedly very distinct personages. "The learned and ingenious compiler of the *Cambrian Biography*, has in a great measure specified the distinct qualities of both. He says, 'that there was a prince of this name, or who had such an appellation given him, on account of his great exploits, as Nennius represents, and who often led the Britons to battle against the Saxons in the commencement of the sixth century, there ought not to be any doubt; for he is mentioned by Llywarch, Merddin, and Taliesin, poets who were his cotemporaries; and he is also often recorded in the triads, which are documents of undoubted credit: but neither by the poets, nor in the triads, is he in any wise exalted above other princes, who held similar stations in the country.'" See Sir R. C. Hoare's magnificent edition of *Giraldus Cambrensis*, vol. i. 114. As to the other King Arthur, of romantic memory, all the accounts are, as Leland expresses of it, (speaking of Banestre and Erceldoune) but "words spoken in figure." Our old Chronicler, Geoffrey of Monmouth, took the history as he found it; and to him we are in a great measure indebted for all the marvellous and delightful stories which have pleased, and yet continue to please us, when, enjoying the revelries of Christmas, in imitation of 'our Christian sires of old,'

"The fire, with well-dried logs supplied,
Goes roaring up the chimney wide—&c.
Little we heed the tempest drear,
While music, mirth, and social cheer,
Speed on their wings the passing year." *Marmion*, Introd. to 6th Cant.

The curious reader should consult the number of short notices, or journal-like entries, relating to Arthur, which are in the second volume of *Leland's Collectanea*, p. 510; Hearne's edit. 1774. We are here told that our venerable Bede objected to his history 'because he was begotten in adultery:' or (what seems to be a little more substantial cause of scepticism) 'by cause the thinges that were writen of Arthure were *greater then men could wel beleve*!!' It was a gravely received opinion, by our forefathers, that Arthur slew 900 Saxons with his own hand; but Leland, alarmed at this exaggerated statement, is anxious to inform us that the number of Saxons, who had the honour of falling by the sword of this redoubted champion, was only *eight hundred and odd!*

as well in Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and Greekish, as in French. And yet of record remain in witness of him in Wales, in the town of Camelot, the great stones, and marvellous works of iron lying under the ground, and royal vaults, which divers now living hath seen. Wherefore it is a marvail why he is no more renowned in his own country, save only it accordeth to the word of God, which saith, that 'no man is accept for a prophet in his own country.' Then all these things foresaid alledged, I could not well deny but that there was such a noble king named Arthur, and reputed one of the ix. worthy, and first and chief of the christian men. And many noble volumes ben made of him and of his noble knights in French, which I have seen and read beyond the sea, which ben not had in our maternal tongue. But in Welsh ben many, and also in French, and some in English, but no where nigh all. Wherefore such as have been late drawn out briefly into English, I have, after the simple cunning that God hath sent to me, under the favour and correction of all noble lords and gentlemen, enprised to imprint a book of the Noble Histories of the said King Arthur, and of certain of his Knights, after a copy unto me delivered, which copy Sir Thomas Malory did take out of certain books of French, and reduced it in to English. And I, according to my copy, have done set it in imprint, to the intent that noble men may see and learn the noble acts of chivalry, the gentle and virtuous deeds that some knights used in tho[se] days, by which they came to honour, and how they that were vicious were punished, and oft put to shame and rebuke. Humbly beseeching all noble lords and ladies, with all other estates, of what estate or degree they ben of, that shall see and read in this same book and work, that they take the good and honest acts in their remembrance, and to follow the same. Wherein they shall well find many joyous and pleasant histories, and noble and renowned acts of humanity, gentleness, and chivalries; for herein may be seen noble chivalry, courtesy, humanity, friendliness, hardiness, love, friendship, cowardice, murder, hate, virtue, and sin. Do after the good, and leave the evil,

and it shall bring you to good fame and renown. And for to pass the time this book shall be pleasant to read in; but for to give faith and belief that all is true that is contained therein, ye be at your liberty. But all is written for our doctrine, and for to beware that we fall not to vice ne sin, but to exercise and follow virtue, by which we may come and attain to good fame and renown in this life, and, after this short and transitory life, to come unto everlasting bliss in heaven, the which He grant us that reigneth in heaven, the blessed Trinity. Amen.

“Then to proceed forth in this said book, which I direct unto all noble princes, lords and ladies, gentlemen or gentlewomen, that desire to read, or hear read of the noble and joyous History of the great conqueror and excellent King Arthur, sometime king of this noble *royalme*, then called Britain, I William Caxton, simple person, present this book following, which I have enprised to imprint; and treateth of the noble acts, feats of arms of chivalry, prowess, hardiness, humanity, love, courtesy, and *veray* gentleness, with many wonderful histories and adventures. And for to understand briefly the content of this volume, I have divided it in to xxi. books, and every book chaptered as here after shall, by God’s grace, follow.*

The <i>first</i> book shall entreat how Utherpëndragon gat the noble conqueror King Arthur, and containeth	Chapters xxviij.
The <i>second</i> book treateth of Balin, the noble knight, &c.	xix.
† <i>Third</i> : Of the marriage of King Arthur to Queen Guenever, with other matters, &c.	xv.

* In the original, the ensuing chapters run consecutively with the text, without separation; but for the sake of a more lucid order I have adopted Ames’s plan.

† In order that the possessors of subsequent editions of the HISTORIES OF ARTHUR may compare their copies with the present one—and to shew the niceties and peculiarities of our language in the course of two centuries—as well as to afford, to the uninitiated, a specimen of the curious things which happened in the ancient days of

Fourth : How Merlin was assotted, and of war made to King
Arthur

xxix.

Fifth : Of the conquest of Lucius the emperor ; and containeth xij.

chivalry, I subjoin a few extracts from this *third book* ; giving fragments of the first four, and the entire fifth, chapters, with a few immaterial variations from East's edition. Those who do not discover therein a certain simplicity or naïveté of style, may be accused of possessing a fastidiousness of feeling, of which no scholar of taste will envy them the possession.

“ *Capitulum Primum.*

How King Arthur took and wedded Guenever unto his wife, &c. with whom he had the Round Table.

“ In the beginning of Arthur, after he was chosen king by adventure and by grace, for the most party of the barons knew not that he was Uther Pendragon's son, but as Merlin made it openly known. But yet many kings and lords held great war against him for that cause, and well¹ Arthur overcame hem all, for the most party the days of his life he was ruled much by the counsel of Merlin—So it fell on a time, King Arthur said unto Merlin—‘ My barons will let me have no rest but² needs I must take a wife, and I will none take but by thy counsel, and by thine advice.’ ‘ It is well done,’ said Merlin, ‘ that ye take a wife ; for a man of your bounty and *noblesse* should not be without a wife—now is there any³ that ye love more than another?’ Then said King Arthur, ‘ I love GUENEVER, the king's daughter, Lodegrean,⁴ of the land of Camelerd ; the which holdeth in his house *the table round* that ye told he had of my father Uther : and this *damoyzel* is the most valiant⁵ and fairest lady that I know living, or yet that ever I could find.’ ‘ Sire,’ said Merlin, ‘ as of her beauty and fairness, she is one of the fairest on live—but, and ye loved her not so well as ye do, I should find now a *damoyzel* of beauty and of goodness that should like you and please you, and your heart were not set ; but there, as a man's heart is set, he will be loath to return.’ ‘ That is truth,’ said King Arthur. But Merlin warned the king covertly⁶ that Gwenever was not wholesome for him to take to wife, for he warned him that Launcelot should love her, and she him again ; and so he turned his tale to the adventures of Sangreal,” &c.

VARIATIONS from East's edition.

¹ ‘ but King Arthur full well overcame them all.’

² ‘ but needs they will have that I take a wife.’

³ ‘ fair lady’ (added)

⁴ ‘ Leodegraunce.’

⁵ ‘ gentlest.’

⁶ ‘ privily.’

Sixth: Of Sir Launcelot and Sir Lionel, and marvellous adventures . xviii.

“ *Capitulum Secundum.*

How the Knights of the Round Table were ordained, &c.

“ When King Arthur heard of the coming of Guenever and the c. knights with the Table Round, then King Arthur made great joy for her¹ coming, and that rich present²—and said openly, ‘ This fair lady is passing welcome unto me, for I have loved her long, and therefore there is nothing so *lyef*³ to me; and these knights, with the round table, please me more than right great riches,’ ” &c.

“ *Capitulum Tertium.*

How a poor Man, riding upon a lean mare, desired King Arthur to make his Son Knight.

“ For with all there came a poor man into the court, and brought with him a fair young man of xviii year of age, riding upon a lean mare; and the poor man asked all men that he met ‘ Where shall I find King Arthur?’ ‘ Yonder he is’—said the knights—‘ Wilt thou have⁴ any thing with him?’ Then⁵ said the poor man, ‘ Therefore I am⁶ hither.’ Anon, as he came before the king he saluted him, and said, ‘ O king Arthur, the flower of all knights and kings, I beseech Jesu save thee! Sir, it was told me that, at this time of your marriage, you would give any man the *yefte*⁷ that he would ask out, except that were unreasonable?’ ‘ That is truth,’ said the king, ‘ such cries I let make, and that will I hold; so it *apayre* not my realm nor mine estate.’ ‘ Ye say well and graciously,’ said the poor man—‘ Sire, I ask nothing else but that ye will make my son here a knight.’ ‘ It is a great thing thou askest of me,’ said the king—‘ What is thy name?’ said the king to the poor man—‘ Sir, my name is *Ayres*, the Cowherd’—‘ Whether cometh this of thee, or of thy son,’ said the king—‘ Nay, sire,’ said Ayres, ‘ this desire cometh of my son, and not of me: for I shall tell you, I have xiiij sons, and all they will fall to what labour I put them, and will be right glad to do labour; but this child will not labour for me for any thing that my wife and I may do, but always he will be shooting and casting darts, and glad for to see battles and to behold knights; and always, day and night, he desireth of me to be made a knight.’ ‘ What is thy name?’ said the king unto the young man—‘ Sire, my name is *Tor*’—The king beheld him fast, and saw he was passingly well visaged, and passingly well made of his years. ‘ Well,’ said King Arthur unto Ayres

VARIATIONS from East’s edition.

¹ ‘ their’—

² ‘ and that rich present’ omitted—

³ pleasant.

⁴ ‘ have’—omitted.

⁵ Yea.

⁶ came.

⁷ gift.

Seventh : Of a noble knight called Sir Gareth, and named
by Sir Kay, Beaumayris

xxxvj.

the Cowherd, 'fetch all thy sons afore me, that I may see them!' And so the poor man did; and all were shapen much like the poor man: but TOR was not like none of hem all in shape ne in countenance, for he was much more than any of them. 'Now,' said King Arthur unto the Cowherd, 'where is the sword he shall be made knight withal?' 'It is here,' said TOR: 'Take it out of the sheath,' said the king, 'and require me to make you a knight.'

"Then TOR alight off his mare, and pulled out his sword kneeling, and requiring the king that he would make him knight, and that he might be a knight of the table round. 'As for a knight, I will make you'—and therewith smote him in the neck with the sword, saying, 'Be ye a good knight; and so I pray to God so ye may be; and if ye be of prowess and of worthiness, ye shall be a knight of the table round,' &c.

"Capitulum Quartum.

How Sir Tor was known for the Son of King Pellynore, and how Gawain was made Knight.

"So on the morn¹ King Pellinore came to the court of King Arthur, which had great joy of him, and told him of Tor, how he was his son, and how he had made him a knight at the request of the cowherd. When Pellinore beheld Tor, he pleased him much; so the king made Gawain knight, but Tor was the first he made at the feast," &c.

"Capitulum Quintum.

How at feast of the Wedding of King Arthur to Guenever, a white Hart came into the hall, and thirty couple hounds, and how a brachet pinched the hart which was taken away.

"Then was the high feast made ready, and the king was wedded at Camelot, unto Dame GUENEVER, in the church of Saint Stephen's, with great solemnity. And as every man was set after his degree, Merlin went to all the Knights of the Round Table, and had them sit still that none of them² remove: for ye shall see a strange and a marvellous adventure. Right so as they sat there came running in a white hart in to the hall, and a white brachet next him, and xxx couple of black running hounds came after with a great cry, and the hart went about the table round; as he went by other boards, the white brachet boot [bit] him by the buttock, and pulled out a piece—where through the hart leapt a great leap, and overthrew a knight that sat at the board side; and therewith the knight arose, and took up the brachet, and so went out of the hall, and took his horse and rode his way with the brachet. Right so, anon, came in a lady on a white palfrey,

VARIA TIONS from East's edition.

¹ morrow.

² 'should' instead of 'of them.'

<i>Eighth</i> : Of the birth of Sir Tristrem, the noble knight, and of his acts	xlj.
<i>Ninth</i> : Of a knight named by Sir Kay, Le Cote-male-taylle, and also of Sir Tristrem	xliij.
<i>Tenth</i> : Of Sir Tristrem, and other marvellous adventures	lxxxviiij.
<i>Eleventh</i> : Of Sir Launcelot and Sir Galahad	xiiij.
<i>Twelfth</i> : Of Sir Launcelot and his madness	xiiij.
<i>Thirteenth</i> : How Galahad came first to King Arthur's court, and the quest how the Sangreal was begun	xx.
<i>Fourteenth</i> : Of the quest of Sangreal	x.
<i>Fifteenth</i> : Of Sir Launcelot	vj.
<i>Sixteenth</i> : Of Sir Bors and Sir Lyonell his brother	xviij.
<i>Seventeenth</i> : Of the Sangreal	xxiiij.
<i>Eighteenth</i> : Of Sir Launcelot and the Queen	xxv.
<i>Nineteenth</i> : Of Queen Guenever and Launcelot	xiiij.
<i>Twentieth</i> : Of the piteous death of Arthur *	xxij.
<i>Twenty-first</i> : Of his last departing, and how Sir Launcelot came to revenge his death	xiiij.

and cried aloud to King Arthur—'Sire, suffer me not to have this despite; for the brachet was mine that the knight led away.' 'I may not do therewith,' said the king.

"With this there came a knight riding all armed on a great horse, and took the lady away with him with force; and ever she cried and made great dole.' When she was gone, the king was glad, for she made such a noise. 'Nay,' said Merlin, 'ye may not leave adventures so lightly; for these adventures must be brought again, or else it would be disworship to you and to your feast.' 'I will,' said the king, 'that all be done by your advice.' 'Then,' said Merlin, 'let call Sir Gawain; for he must bring again the white hart. Also, sir, ye must let call Sir Tor, for he must bring again the brachet, and the knight, or else slay him. Also, let call King Pellinore; for he must bring again the lady and the knight, or else slay him: and these three knights shall do marvellous adventures or they come again.' Then were they called all three, as it rehearseth² afore; and every each of them took his charge, and armed them surely. But Sir Gawain had the first request, and therefore we will begin at him."

From sign. e j. rev. to e iiij. recto.

* Ames has taken these heads rather from the conclusion of the books in the body of the volume.

VARIA TIONS from East's edition.

¹ moan.

² is rehearsed,

“The sum is xxi. books, which contain the sum of v. hundred and vii. chapters, as more plainly shall follow hereafter, by the help of Christ.”

The prologue terminates on the recto of signature iiij, and is succeeded by “The Table or Rubrysshe” of the heads of the chapters of each book, which table occupies the 14 subsequent leaves. The first chapter of the first book begins on the recto of signature a j; and the entire volume extends to three leaves after signature e e iij. in eights; the latter having but six leaves. Sir Thomas Malory’s conclusion to the work, which Ames has partly extracted as if it had been the composition of Caxton,* is as follows:

“Here is the end of the book of King Arthur, and of his noble Knights of the Round Table; that when they were whole together there was an c and xl: and here is the end of the death of Arthur. I pray you all, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, that readeth this book of Arthur and his Knights from the beginning to the ending, pray for me while I am on live, that God send me good deliverance: and when I am dead, I pray you all pray for my soul—for this book was ended the ixth year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth, by SIR THOMAS MALEORE, Knight; as Jesu help him for his great might, as he is the servant of Jesu both day and night.”

Next comes Caxton’s colophon:

“Thus endeth this noble and joyous book entitled LA MORTE DARTHUR; notwithstanding, it treateth of the birth, life, and acts of the said King Arthur, of his noble Knights of the Round Table, their marvellous conquests and adventures, the atchieving of the Sangreal, and in the end the dolorous death and departing out of this world of them all. Which book was reduced in to English by Sir Thomas Malory, Knight, as afore is said, and by me divided in to xxi books, chaptered and imprinted, and finished in the Abbey

* Oldys has properly assigned this to the translator, and has copied his own account in the Harleian Catalogue. Lewis, whose account is sufficiently meagre, seems to have been indebted to East’s edition for the partial extract he has made. *Life of Caxton*, p. 96.

Westminster the last day of July, the year of our Lord M,CCCC, LXXXV.

Caxton me fieri fecit."

In the Harleian Catalogue, vol. iii. n°. 372, this copy is very justly described to be "choicely preserved; bound in red morocco, and richly adorned with gold." The margin is ample, the press work exact, and, upon the whole, the book is one of the finest specimens extant of Caxton's typography. It has capital initials, like those of the first, second, and fourth form in the plate prefixed to the *Disquisition on early Printing and Engraving*: the pages are about 550 in number. Lord Oxford's autograph is on the recto of the first leaf of the body of the work; and a pencil mark of £5. 5. is on the corner of a fly leaf—the price at which Bryan Fairfax probably obtained it from Osborne the bookseller, who purchased the Harleian collection: a sum, at least, forty times below its present value!

Of the translator and the work itself, we will say a few words by way of conclusion to this article. "Sir Thomas Malory," says Oldys, [*Biog. Britan.* vol. iii. 372] "seems to have drawn this voluminous romance out of several manuscripts, written in the French and Welch tongues, of the said King Arthur and his Knights; and to be conversant in the adventures of such redoubted champions, Caxton thought would inspire a noble spirit of valour in our gentry, which made him recommend it to them. If this Sir Thomas Malory was a Welchman, as Leland, and others after him assert, he was probably a Welch priest; as appears not only by the legendary vein which runs through all the stories he has thus extracted and wove together, but by his conclusion of the work itself." It underwent several impressions * afterwards, and seems to have been popular

* Of subsequent English editions, due mention will be made in the proper place; at present, without stopping to notice the rarity of East's edition, it may be only necessary to state, that the last of any value, in the estimation of collectors, is the following; and of which a copy was sold at Mr. Reed's sale, in 1807, for £7. 10. [see *Bibl. Reed*, n°.

even as late as the reign of Charles I. In the reign of Henry VIII: "Roger Ascham, in his *Toxophilus and Schoolmaster*, severely reprobates this and similar "bookes of fayned chevalrie; wherein a man, by readinge, shoulde be led to none other ende, but onely to manslaughter and baudrye." He says, the whole pleasure of this work standeth "in these two special points;" and after asking whether "this is good stuff for wise men to laugh at, or honeste men to take pleasure in?"—he concludes by saying that, "he knew the time when GOD'S BIBLE was banished the court, and LA MORTE D'ARTHUR received into the prince's chamber!"* The reader will find the literature relating to this romance exhausted in the first volume of the *British Bibliographer* [1809, 8vo.] p. 43: 109.

32. THE LYF OF CHARLES THE GREAT. Fynysshed in the reducyng of it in to englysshe the xvij day of Juyn the second yere of kyng Rychard the thyrd, and the yere of our lord M cccc lxxxv. *And enprynted the fyrst day of Decembre the same yere of our lord & the fyrst yere of King Harry the seventh.* (1485) *Explicit per William Caxton.* Folio. (Type No. 4.)

"This work," says Oldys, "through its great scarceness, has not

2655. The title is this: "The most ancient and famous History of the renowned Prince Arthur, King of Britaine, wherein is declared his life and death, with all his glorious battails against the Saxons, Saracens, and Pagans, which (for the Honour of his country) he most worthily atchieved—as also all his noble Acts and Heroic Deeds of his valiant Knights of the Round Table." 1634, 4to. Black Letter. [with a frontispiece of the Knights sitting round the table.] Those who are fond of hunting after rare and curious editions of this and other Romances, may consult the *Catalogue de la Bibliotheque du Roi*, 1738, 10 vols. fol. Art. 'Belles Lettres.' *Catalogue de Guyon*, 1759, 8vo. p. xv. &c.: *de la Marquise de Pompadour*, 1765, 8vo. p. 185: *de la Bibliotheque des MSS. de Genève*, 1779, 8vo. p. 452, &c.: *d'une Bibliotheque de Litterature*, 1776, 8vo. p. 589, &c. Vide also p. 232, ante.

* Bennet's edit. of Ascham's Works, p. 254.

been sufficiently described in the histories of our first printed books. Dr. Middleton, by not mentioning it, implies that they have it not in the public library at Cambridge; and Mr. Lewis mentions it in such a cursory manner as implies that he had never seen it. Though it was originally compiled mostly to the honour of Frenchmen, yet, as our translator observes, it is for the profit of every man. Herein, besides the history of CHARLEMAGNE himself, the reader will find that of RICHARD OF NORMANDY, with the feats of ROWLAND and OLIVER, and several other of his champions. Much of that vein which was in the spiritual inspirers of invasions against the Turks, Saracens, and other miscreants, as they were called under the title of the *Holy War*, appears in this book. It was first gathered together (continues Oldys) by our translator, at the incitement of Henry Bolomyer, Canon of Lausanne—the whole three parts out of two French books; that is to say, the first and third part out of an old authentic book, named *Myrror Hystoryal* (a fine copy whereof was in Isaac Vossius's library) and the second part out of an old romance; and at the request of some singular friends, especially Mr. William Daubeney, one of the treasurers of King Edward IV's jewels, translated into English, and printed as above. Whether that treatise of the actions and manners of the Emperor Charles, which is said to have been written by Christian of Pisa, before mentioned, in French, was serviceable in the compiling of this, we know not, having never seen a copy." Thus far Oldys: *Biog. Britan.* vol. iii. 372, note.

Every bibliographer will subscribe to the justness of that part of these observations, which states the scantiness of information that has gone abroad relating to this work: the more to be regretted, as Caxton makes mention in it of some curious books of romance! At the same time it must be remembered that, although Lewis has been superficial, Ames (whose account has been copied by Herbert) has been somewhat copious; and Caxton himself has furnished us with an interesting preface. It is most probable that the account of Charles the 5th was borrowed, in a great degree, from Christina's

manuscript [see p. 76, ante] and that by the *Myrror hystoryal** is meant the *Speculum Historiale* of VINCENTIUS BELLOVACENSIS, who lived in the middle of the 13th century, and who, on account of his erudition, was appointed preceptor to the sons of Louis the 9th of France. Oldys speaks of the fine copy of Vincentius's book which belonged to Isaac Vossius:—he was probably not aware of the magnificent copy of it on LARGE PAPER, printed by Koeburger, at Nuremberg, in 1483, fol. which is in the library of Peter House College, Cambridge. For amplitude of margin, excellence of paper, and skilfulness of typographical arrangement, I should deem this book almost matchless. The FIRST EDITION of it was printed at Strasbourg, by Mentel, in 1473, in four ponderous folio volumes, which are particularly specified by Panzer, vol. i. 19. n°. 11; and noticed by Santander, Dict. Bibl. Choisi. vol. iii. n°. 1351. Maittaire says, “Hujus Speculi PRIMA EDITIO rarissime occurrit.” Consult his intelligent note (2) in Annal. Typog. vol. i. 324. The entire works of Vincentius, comprehending the *Speculum Morale*, *Naturale*, *Doctrinale*, and *Historiale*, were first printed, according to Mentelius, (a descendant of the printer) in ten royal folio volumes, in the Roman type: see his treatise De Vera Typog. Orig. p. 78. Those who have not Mentelius's original work, will find it introduced in the useful compilation of Wolfius. (Monument. Typog. vol. ii. p. 237 to 366). Mr. Beloe, in the third volume of his Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books, p. 247, mentions these works, and specifies them as being printed in eight volumes.

It must not be forgotten that Isabel, the daughter of Charles the 5th, was married to our unfortunate monarch Richard II; and that their nuptials are described by Froissart [Chronicles. Pynson's edit. vol. ii. fol. 242] with a splendor of diction suitable to the importance of the occasion. It is chiefly on this account that Caxton, in his “Order of Chivalry,” ranks Froissart among the excellent writers of romance whose works are deserving of perusal. See Warton's Hist.

* Verard published a French edition under this title in 1496. Panzer, vol. ii. 310. n°. 368.

Engl. Poet. vol. i. 137. 164. 337. Having said thus much by way of introduction, we may proceed to Ames's description of the work itself; presuming only that the "old Romance," which Oldys supposes Caxton to have in part copied from, is not specified by our printer himself.

On the second leaf, or signature a ij, begins the preface thus:

"Saint Paul, doctor of veryte,* saith to us, that all things that be reduced by writing, be written to our doctrine: and Boece maketh mention that the health of every person proceedeth diversely. Then since it is so, that the christian faith is affirmed and corroborated by the doctors of the holy church, nevertheless the things passed diversely reduced to remembrance, engender in us correction of unlawful life. For the works of the ancient and old people ben for to give to us ensample to live in good and virtuous operations *digne* and worthy of health, in following the good, and eschewing the evil; and also in recounting of high histories, the common understanding is better content to the imagination local than to simple authority, to which it is submised. I say this gladly; for oft-times I have been excited of the venerable man *Messire* Henry Bolomyer, Canon of Lusanne, for to reduce for his pleasure some histories, as well in Latin and in romance, as in other fashion, written; that is to say, of the right puissant, virtuous, and noble Charles the Great, King of France, and Emperor of Rome, son of the great Pepin, and of his princes and barons, as Rowland, Oliver, and other—touching some works *haultayne* done and comprised by their great strength and right ardaunt courage, and to the exaltation of the christian faith, and to the confusion of the heathen Saracens and miscreants—which is a work well contemplative for to live well. And by cause the said Henry Bolomyer hath seen of this matter, and the histories divisioned without order, therefore at his request, after the capacity of my little *entendement*; and after the histories and matter that I have founden, I have ordained this book following. And it might so have been

* Ames says, "Doctour of the Church."

that if I had been more largely informed and all plain, I had better made it: for I have not said any matter, but I have therefore been informed—first, by an authentic book named *Mirror Historial*, as by the canons and some other books which make mention of the work following. And by cause I may have a little part of honourable *foundement*, I shall touch of the first christian king of France; for the most part of this book is made to the honour of the Frenchmen, and for profit of every man. And after the desire of the reader and hearer, there shall be founden in the table, all plain, the matter of which the person shall have desire to hear or read, without great *ate-dyacion*—by the pleasure of God, to whom I submit all mine intention to write no thing that ought to be blamed, ne but that it be to the health and salvation of every person.”

“Then forasmuch I late had finished in enprint the book of the noble and victorious King Arthur, first of the three most noble and worthy of christian kings; and also tofore had reduced in to English the noble History and Life of Godfrey of Boulogne, King of Jerusalem, last of the said iij worthies; some persons of noble estate and degree have desired me to reduce the History and Life of the noble and christian Prince CHARLES THE GREAT, King of France, and Emperor of Rome, the second of the three worthy: to the end that the histories, acts, and lives may be had in our maternal tongue, like as they be in Latin or in French: for the most quantity of the people understand not Latin ne French here in this noble *royame* of England. And for to satisfy the desire and request of my good singular lords and special masters and friends, I have enprised and concluded in myself to reduce this said book in to our English, as all along and plainly ye may read, hear, and see, in this book here following. Beseeching all them that shall find fault in the same, to correct and amend it, and also to pardon me of the rude and simple reducing; and though so be there be no gay terms, ne subtle ne new eloquence, yet I hope that it shall be understonden—and to that intent I have specially reduced it, after the simple cunning that God hath lent to me, whereof I humbly and with all my heart thank him: and also am

bounden to pray for my father and mother's souls, that in my youth set me to school; by which, by the sufferance of God, I get my living I hope truly; and that I may so do and continue, I beseech him to grant me of his grace: and so to labour and occupy myself virtuously that I may come out of debt and deadly sin, that after this life I may come to his bliss in heaven, AMEN."

On the next leaf begins a table of contents, which occupies three leaves.

At the end:

"¶ And by cause I, William Caxton, was desired and required by a good and singular friend of mine, Maister William Daubeney, one of the treasurers of the jewels of the noble and most christian king, our natural and sovereign lord, late of noble memory, King Edward the Fourth, on whose soul Jesu have mercy!—to reduce all these said histories in to our English tongue, I have put me in *devoir* to translate this said book, as ye here tofore may see, all along and plain; praying all them that shall read, see or hear it; to pardon me of this simple and rude translation and reducing, beseeching them that shall find fault to correct it: and so doing they shall deserve thankings, and I shall pray God for them, who bring them and me, after this short and transitory life, to everlasting bliss. Amen. The which work was finished in the reducing of it in to English the xviii day of June, the second year of King Richard the Third, and year of our Lord M cccc lxxxv, and enprinted the first day of December, the same year of our Lord, and the first year of King Harry the seventh. Explicit per William Caxton."

This volume is designated by Herbert as "A small folio, with double columns. The signatures extend to sign. m 7 in octaves, and very probably had another leaf with his cypher, to complete the sheet." A copy of it is in the Royal Library, probably from West's or Ratcliffe's collection: see Bibl. West, n°. 4092. Ratcliffe, n°. 1216. I know of no other copy.

33. THYSTORY OF THE NOBLE AND RYGHTE VALYAUNT
AND WORTHY KNYGHT PARYS AND OF THE FAYR
VYENE &c. Translated out of frensshe in to englysshe
by william Caxton of Westmestrefynyshed the last day
of August the yere of our lord M cccc lxxxv, and *en-
prynted the xix day of december the same yere, and the
fyrst yere of the regne of Kyng Harry the seventh.*
(1485) *Explicit per Caxton.* Folio. (Type No. 4.)

It is properly observed by the compiler of the Harleian catalogue that this is "a very scarce book." With the history of the romance, the name of its author, and the variety of editions of it, Herbert does not seem to have been much acquainted; nor could he have derived any assistance from the cursory manner in which it is mentioned by Lewis, and Warton (H. E. P. i. 146). Even now little is known of its contents; as neither Ritson nor Mr. G. Ellis have noticed it in their publications on Metrical Romances. What gives the present work an additional value in the estimation of the curious, is, that it is the FIRST EDITION extant of this romance. De Bure, Lambinet, and other bibliographers had supposed (as we shall presently see) that the Antwerp edition of 1487, by Gerard Leeu, had been the first printed history of this noble and right illustrious pair.

The original is of Provençal growth, and was translated into French by Pierre de la Sippade; whose name, however, is not to be found in the Bibliothèque Francoise of La Croix Du Maine and Verdier. Caxton himself is silent as to the name of the French translator. Whether the Antwerp printer knew of the London edition, and whether his text be the same in substance as that of Caxton, can only be determined by an examination of the two editions; both of which, unfortunately for the enquiry, rank among the rarest books of the fifteenth century. In regard to the *history* detailed in the romance,

all that we are told by the compiler of the Harleian catalogue [vol. iii. n°. 3511—copied by Oldys, *Biog. Brit.* iii. 372] is, that ‘The Dauphin here named is Sir Godfrey of Alaunson, Kinsman of Charles, King of France, in 1271. The story ends, after all their disappointments, with the marriage of that constant pair.”

Gerard Leeu, the celebrated printer of Antwerp, published a folio edition of it, with wood cuts, in the year 1487; which is called by De Bure [*Bibliog. Instruct.* n°. 3838—*Cat. de la Valliere*, vol. ii. n°. 4110.] very rare. A copy of it, according to Lambinet, is in the national library at Paris. In the same year and month, and only four days after the completion of the French edition, appeared a German one, in small folio, with better executed wood cuts. “These cuts,” says Lambinet, “are distinguished for a correctness of design, a truth of costume—(of the 14th century) and for the propriety of the different orders of architecture introduced into the several buildings. The printer’s device, representing the gate of the castle of Antwerp,” is at the end. Consult the “*Recherches, &c. sur l’Origine de l’Imprimerie*,” p. 423-4. Caxton’s edition is without cuts. For later French and English editions, see the note below.*

The present work thus commences on sign. a. j; “Here beginneth the History of the noble and right valiant and worthy Knight Paris,

*“Towards the middle of the 17th century, was published in 4to. ‘Vienna: wherein is storied the valorous atchievements, &c. of the most valiant knight *Sir Paris of Vienna*, and the most admired amiable princess of the fair Vienna.’ To this are prefixed commendatory verses by Thomas Haywood (Heywood) among others, praising the author for his witty performance; which, by the way, consists only in punning upon words, and such like; for the subject matter is wholly taken from the French, or perhaps from the translation of Caxton.” HERBERT’S Text, p. 63.

This edition is, I presume, the same as the one which appears in *Bibl. Steevens*, n°. 1174; and to which is prefixed the name of Richard Mynshull. A subsequent edition, printed in 1650, occurs in the same collection, n°. 1175. It would seem that Dr. Farmer did not possess a copy of this work. Consult *Bibl. Farmer*. nos. 5870 to 5909. In regard to French editions of it, in the *sixteenth* century, there was one printed at Lyons in 4to. 1519-20, by Claude Noury: in 8vo. 1596; and a quarto one at Paris, and at Rouen, without date. See *Cat. de la Valliere*, nos. 4111-4112-4113: *Bibl. Crofts*, n°. 4953: *Bibl. Monro*. 1927. An *Italian* edition was published at Milan as early as 1515 in 4to.

and of the fair Vienne, the Dauphin's daughter of *Vyennoys*, the which suffered many adversities by cause of their true love, or they could enjoy the effect thereof of each other. In the time of King Charles of France, the year of our Lord M CC lxxj," &c.

At the end.

"Thus endeth the History of the noble and valiant Knight Paris, and the fair Vienne, daughter of the Dauphin, translated," &c. [exactly as in the title.]

It is a small folio volume, and is printed in double columns, with capital initials. It contains e 5. a, b, &c. in octaves; d has only six leaves, and e five. The last page is generally blank. The leaves are not numbered. His Majesty's copy appears to have been obtained from Mr. West's collection, n°. 2482. There is no copy of it at either of the Universities, nor am I aware of any but the preceding one.

34. THE BOOK OF GOOD MANERS. Fynysshed and translated out of frensshe in to englisshe the viij day of Juyn the yere of our Lord M IIII^c lxxxvj and the first yere of the regne of kyng harry the vij. *And enprynted the xj day of Maye after etc.* (1487). Folio. (Type No. 5.)

Of this book it would appear that neither Oldys, Ames, nor Herbert, had seen a copy. The latter has given a superficial and somewhat erroneous account of it, which looks as if it had been transcribed from Dr. Middleton. On sign. a. i. the prologue begins thus: "When I consider the conditions and manners of the common people, which, without information and learning, be rude and not mannered, like unto beasts brute; according to an old proverb, he that is not mannered is no man—" &c. On the reverse "Here beginneth the table of a book named and intituled THE BOOK OF GOOD MANNERS; which was made and compiled by the venerable Frere *Jaques le Graunt*—in Latin, *Jacobus Magnus*—licentiate in theology, religious

of the order of St. Augustin—which book is of authority; for as much as there is nothing said therein but for the most part it is alledged in scripture, or else by saying of holy saints, doctors, philosophers,” &c.

From the *third book*, “which speaketh of the estate of Lords temporal of all chivalry,” I present the reader with the following extracts:

“*How Knights ought to govern themselves.* cap. viij.

A knight ought to be a man among a thousand; good and honourable; courageous of heart; true in his deeds; mighty and wise; hardy and prudent; and ready to defend the right of his country, and of them to whom he is bound to serve, and also of them of whom he hath the governance. And as Geoffrey [Chaucer] saith in his poetry ‘usage maketh a maister’—and the exercise maketh a man ready and *habile* in his feats and deeds—as the Greeks say in their proverbs—and therefore the knights ought to exercise and accustom them [selves] in feats of arms; and ought not to be idle in seeking and following their pleasure and ease—I suppose if a search should be made how many knights know their horses well, and their horses them, and have their harness and habiliments of war ready, I trow there should not many be founden.” Sign. f i. rev.

The *fourth book* relates to marriage, &c. and the rules to be observed by the fair sex:

“*How the Women ought to govern themselves.* cap. vj.

A woman ought to have reasonably two conditions: that is to wit, shame of reproof, and dread of disobeying of her party. For then a woman is lost and dissolute, when she hath in her neither dread nor shame. And it is a thing much to be reprovèd to see women hardy, dissolute, and ready to do many evils. Such be they, the which, by their manners foul and dissolute, and by their lecherous beholdings, draw men to do evil; of whom speaketh Jerom in his epistle cvij—and saith that many women be like idols the

which draw the people of the world to the fiend. *Semblably* be they that *poppe* themselves and make them[selves] to seem fair for to bring other to sin. And it is great marvel how they presume to defeat and alter that which God hath made; and much lewd is the woman the which weneth to make her more fair than God hath made her. And it is a great presumption to deface the *paynture* of God, for to make the paynture; as saith St. Ambrose in his *exameron*. And to this purpose Guyllem, in the ——— book of his book of the universal world, reciteth how two women were sometime right curious for to make them[selves] too fair, and to comb them[selves]: so it happened that the one died; the which, after, appeared to her fellow when she arrayed and combed herself, and said to her—“My friend, advise thee—for I am damned for my curiosities, the which I used and maintained when I was with thee”—reverse of fourth leaf after sign. f. iiij.

The *fifth* book treats “*Of Death, and how no man ought to glorify him of his estate.*” On the last leaf (the 5th after signature h v) we have **Explicit et hic est finis per Caxton, &c.** “Finished and translated out of French in to English, the viij day of June, the year of our Lord m iiij^c lxxxvj and the first year of the reign of King Harry the vij: and imprinted the xj day of May after, etc. **Laus Deo.**”

The original French work was delivered to Caxton “by a special friend of his, a mercer of London, named *William Praat.*” Whether there was any foreign printed edition before Caxton’s, I am not able to determine: none are mentioned by M. de la Monnoye in his note about Le Grand the author; (*Bibliothèque De la Croix du Maine*, &c. vol. i. 414) nor are any specified in the principal foreign catalogues. Le Grand was a native of Toulouse, and confessor of Charles VII; he is said to have refused the Archbishoprick of Bourdeaux. (*ibid.*) Maittaire, as Herbert rightly observes, has mistaken the date of the *translation* for the date of the printing, when he notices an edition of 1486. A copy of the original French work, in MS, was in Gaignat’s collection: see n°. 871. A fine and perfect

copy of Caxton's edition is in the public library at Cambridge [A. B. 10: 29]; and another is in that of his Majesty. An imperfect one is in Lambeth Library, n^o 1092. See Bibl. R. Smith, p. 275, n^o. 88.

35. THE DOCTRINAL OF SAPHYENCE. Translated out of Frensshe in to Englysshe by wyllyam Caxton at Westmestre. *Fynyshed the vij day of May the yere of our lord* M. cccc. lxxx ix. *Caxton me fieri fecit.* Folio. (Type No. 3.)

"This book," says Herbert, "has no title, but begins with a prologue or preface of two parts; the former accounting for its being translated into English, the latter giving some account of the original. The first part begins thus, on signature A j.

"This that is written in this little book ought the priests to learn and teach to their parishes: and also it is necessary for simple priests that understand not the Scriptures: and it is made for simple people and put in English. And by cause that for to hear examples stirreth and moveth the people, that ben simple, more to devotion than that great authority of science—as it appeareth by the right reverend father and doctor Bede, priest, which saith, in the Histories of England, that a bishop of Scotland, a subtle and a great clerk, was sent by the clerks of Scotland in to England for to preach the Word of God; but by cause he used in his sermons subtle authorities, such as simple people had nor took no savour, he returned without doing of any great good ne profit, wherefore they sent another of less science: the which was more plain and used commonly in his sermons examples, and parables, by which he profited much more unto the erudition of the simple people, than did that other. Then Master Jaques de Vytry, an holy man and clerk, which was a cardinal, in preaching commonly through the *royame* of France, used in his sermons examples the

which moved in such wise all the *royame* of France, that it is not in the mind of any man that to fore him was, ne since, that stirred and moved the people to devotion as he did."—He further quotes the examples of St. Austin, and of our Saviour.

The second part begins thus: "This present book in French is of right great profit and edification, and is examined and approved at Paris by divers masters in divinity: and the right reverend Father in God, Guy de Roy, by the miseration divine, Archbishop of Sens, hath done it to be written for the health of his soul, and of the souls of all his people.—And the said reverend father commandeth by great and fervent devotion that, in every parish of the city and diocese of Sens, this book be had; and that the curates and chaplains of the said parishes, read to the people two or iij chapters if any will hear it: and to the end that the curates and chaplains ben the more devout to read, and the people foresaid to hear, the said reverend father, to health of their souls, and in hope that they pray God for him, hath given and granted to all them that shall be in the state of grace, that shall read this book to other, xx days of pardon; and also to all that shall hear it read, and by them self read it, and that pray for that reverend father, x days for each time perpetually," &c.

After this prologue, says Herbert, is a table giving the heads of 93 chapters, as numbered, but there are really 94 chapters; there being a mistake in the table after C°. lxiiij. At the beginning of the first chapter is indented a wood cut of our Saviour with the doctors in the temple, and before C°. vj. another of the crucifixion. At the end:

"Thus endeth THE DOCTRINAL OF SAPIENCE, which is right *utile* and profitable to all christian men: which is translated out of French into English by William Caxton, at Westminster: finished the vij day of May, the year of our Lord M, cccc, lxxx ix. Caxton me fieri fecit."

This book has capital initials and signatures, but the leaves are not numbered: it contains from A to J, 8 leaves each, K and L ten a piece. Caxton's mark is at the back of the last leaf. Thus far Herbert.

His Majesty has an unique copy of this work, printed UPON VEL-
LUM, which has a richness and freshness superior to the finest copies
of Caxton's books upon paper. In a fly leaf is the following memo-
randum: "*This book was presented to the royal library by Mr. Bryant ;
and is the only book he ever saw or heard of printed by Caxton upon vel-
lum : at the end of this copy is a treatise not mentioned to be in any
other.*" Herbert overlooked this curiosity. The work, however, has
other claims to notice: at the end of it there is a treatise which is
supposed to be equally unique; and which I had fairly transcribed
before I recollected its insertion in Herbert's Appendix, p. 1767.
This treatise, which is here somewhat more correctly printed than in
Herbert's work, is as follows:

" OF THE NEGLIGENCES HAPPENING IN THE MASS, AND OF
THE REMEDIES. Cap. lxiiij.

" Like as we have said that this book is made especially for the
simple people, and for the simple priests, which understand not
Latin, by cause that he is not so sufficient but that sometime for neg-
ligences, or otherwise, he may fail—we will speak in this chapter of
the negligence of the mass, and say the remedies which ben assigned
by masters of divinity, and ben approved by authority of the law.
As if by negligence, which God forbid, the priest say mass and have
said the canon unto the consecration, without to leave the host upon
the altar—anon, as he shall apperceive it, take a host and leave it
upon the '*corporas*'—and begin again the consecration at '*Qui
pridie quam pateretur.*' And if he have forget to put in the wine,
which ought to be sacred, anon, as he shall apperceive it, that he
put the wine or water in the chalice; and begin again the conse-
cration at '*Simili modo postea quam*' unto the end. And if it happed
that he put but water in his chalice, and that he had '*wende*' it,
had he white wine, anon, as he shall apperceive it, put he wine in
the chalice, and begin the consecration at '*Simili modo*' unto the
end. And if it happed that he had said all the consecration, and
he had forgotten to put water to the wine, which then is sacred, anon,

as he shall have perceived it, put he water therein, and begin again at ‘*Oremus preceptis salutaribus moniti*,’ and say the ‘*pater noster, libera nos quesumus*:’ but if it happed that he now had made all the consecration of bread and wine, and that he had not said the canon but to ‘*Oremus preceptis*,’ and if he had forgotten to put water into the chalice, there, where he shall apperceive it, let him put water into the wine which is then sacred, and begin again where as he left when he apperceived it: and if it happed that he had then said all the canon and all the consecration, and he had neither wine nor water in his chalice, ne let him put it in the chalice and begin again at ‘*Simili modo*,’ and say all the canon in such wise that he make not the ii crosses, which he had made upon the host after the consecration unto the second ‘*memento*,’ but say all the remnant unto the end: and if it happed that the priest made the sacrament of wine without water, it shall be reputed *veri* sacrament: but the priest should sin much grievously if he left the water wetyngly [wittingly]; and if he made it of water without wine, that should be no sacrament. The priest, when he will say mass, let him take heed diligently that the host be whole, and that it have whole roundness, and that it be made of wheat; and know that the wine ought not to be sour nor verjuice; for it should have no consecration: for the *aigre* wine is no more wine; but it hath been wine—and the verjuice is not yet wine, but it should be wine if it should be suffered to ripe. There should be put so little water in the chalice, that it should not pass the wine; for if the water passed the wine, the consecration should be let. Know the priest certainly, that if, in his conscience, he know verily that he hath sinned deadly, of which he is not confessed and repentant, he sinneth deadly; for he goeth unworthily to the altar. He consecrateth and holdeth unworthily the body of our Lord, if, after midnight, he have one thing eaten or drunken—how well that he hath slept after. He ought not to say mass that day en receyue [or receive] the body of our Lord, but if he be in peril of death. If, in all the night, by sickness, or for any good cause just and honest, he hath not slept and hath not eaten nor drunk after

midnight, he may well and surely sing mass. If in his mass, after the consecration, he remembereth him that he hath eaten or drunken after midnight, or that he hath been in deadly sin, or irregular, or excommunicated, or accursed—and of these things he remembered not himself tofore the mass—then especially, for the cause of the excommunicating, or for cause that he hath eaten after midnight, go he nor pass no further forth but make an end. And if peradventure he doubt him to make over great *esclandre* to the people, if he should leave in such estate, so then, if he have good contrition, and purpose to confess him, and satisfy as soon as he shall mowe, he may surely proceed and accomplish the mass; for in so doing at that hour, by the invisible Bishop, that is, Jesu Christ, he shall have absolution and dispensation as touching to accomplish the divine mystery which he hath begun: and not to say mass unworthily, but to receive worthily the holy Sacrament.”

“ A doctor, which is called Bonaventure, which saith, that, tofore the mass the priest ought to think of his estate and of his conscience: and ought diligently to make him ready. And saith, that, in saying his mass he ought not to think on himself, but only on the sacrament that he maketh. If, before the consecration, a fly or loppe, or any other venomous beast were found in the chalice, it ought to be cast into the piscine, and the chalice ought to be washen, and to put other wine and water into the chalice. And if, after the consecration, were found any thing as poison, or venomous beast, in the chalice, it ought to be taken wisely and washen and to burn the beast: and the ashes, and the washing of the beast, to be put into the piscine. And by cause by adventure that the priest should doubt of the venom, or should have abomination to receive that which should leave in the chalice, let it be put into a fair vessel and clean, and let it be kept with the other relics; and anon to put other wine or other water in the chalice for to wash it, and after to put in wine and water and begin again the consecration of the blood at ‘*Simili modo* ;’ and after to receive it to the end, that the holy sacrament be accomplished. When the priest putteth the wine and the water in the cha-

lice, the drops, that abide sometime without the chalice, be nothing sacred; nor crumbs of the host that other while abide upon the altar; when the priest hath none intention to sacre [consecrate] them. If for cold or for any negligence, the host fall in the chalice, the priest ought not for that [to] begin again the thing that he hath said tofore, but ought always [to] proceed forthon when the priest sayeth mass. If in the host be any form of flesh or other form than bread, he ought not to use that host, but ought to synge [sing] again if he have no council. And that for fear and for the reverence of the holy sacrament, it sufficeth to him to have received it spiritually. When the priest singeth, and after the consecration he remembereth him not if he hath said, or not said, any words which ben not of the consecration, the which he ought to say—he ought not to trouble himself, but ought to say alway forth without any thing begin again. But if he know certainly that he had left any word that is of the consecration, let him begin again all the form of the consecration: that is to wit: ‘*Hoc est enim corpus meum*,’—or ‘*Hic est calix*,’ unto ‘*Ad remissionem peccatorum*,’ all entirely: and if he know well that he hath forgotten any words which be not of the consecration, he ought not to begin again, but ought to proceed all way forthon. If any thing little in quantity abide between the teeth of the meat that thou hast eaten, and by the wine or water, with which thou hast washen thy mouth, by any adventure thou hast swallowed in little quantity, as of spittle—that letteth [hindreth] nothing to sing mass. If for any cause tofore the canon the priest may not accomplish the mass, another priest may begin again and may accomplish it and make an end: and if in the canon, when he maketh any of the signs alway tofore the right substance, another priest ought to begin there where he hath left. And if the priest in saying the words of Sacrament failed, and might not say them all for any thing that might happen to him, BONAVENTURE counselleth that that host should be kept with the other relics which ben on the altar, and that another priest should sing with another host, and say another mass:

but the POPE INNOCENT saith, that, in this case, another priest ought to begin again at ‘*Qui pridie quam pateretur*’—and when the body of our Lord is consecrate, and not yet the blood, [if] the priest may not say the remnant for any cause—or if he have forgotten to put wine in the chalice unto the end of the mass, if he have not yet received the host sacred, then let him put it reverently and cleanly within the *corporas*, and put wine and water in the chalice, and begin at ‘*Simili modo postquam cenatum est*,’ and say all the canon unto the end, except that he make not the two crosses which have been tofore made upon the host between the consecration and the second memento; and in the end of the mass receive the body and the blood of our Lord. And if the priest faileth for any case in saying the words of the Sacrament of the blood, and might not accomplish them, ALBERTUS counselleth that the wine in the chalice should be put into a clean repository, and that it be kept with relics, and that another priest put again wine and water in the chalice, and begin again at ‘*Simili modo*’—and that he accomplish all the mass, and receive the body and the blood of our Lord. SAINT THOMAS DALQUYNE saith that, when the priest sayeth mass, and hath then received the body of our Lord, and he find that in the chalice is nothing but water, and he had supposed that it had been wine, he ought to take again another host, and put wine and water into the chalice, and begin at ‘*Qui pridie quam pateretur*’—and say all unto the end of the canon: and in the end of the mass receive yet the host which he hath sacred with the blood, notwithstanding that he hath received the water which he had supposed that it had been wine: for the commandment to perform the Sacrament is more strong than is the commandment to the priest to receive fasting. Otherwise should not be kept the ordinance of consecration.

If by any negligence fyl [fall] any of the blood of the Sacrament on the *corporas*, or upon any of the vestments, then ought to cut off the piece on which it is fallen, and ought well to be washen, and that piece to be kept with the other relics. And if it fall down upon the

earth, or upon a stone, or upon wood, it ought to be well scraped, and rased the place whereon it fall, and well to be washen, and to put the washing and rasure, or scraping, in the sacrayre [sacristry.] And if the body of Jesu Christ, or any piece fall upon the pale of the altar, or upon any of the vestments that ben blessed, the piece ought not to be cut off on which it is fallen, but it ought right well to be washen: and the washing to be given to the ministers for to drink, or else drink it himself.

“ This chapter to fore I durst not set in the book, by cause it is not convenient ne appertaining that every layman should know it. *Et cetera.*”

In the Bibl. Harl. vol. iii. n°. 1552. we have the following memorandum relating to this work :

“ This book was written in the year 1388, by Guy de Roye,* Archbishop of Sens : but, the year after, a religious brother, of the Order of Clugny, enriched it with divers historical examples, parables, &c. as what would move the people more to devotion, than great authority of science. Which argument, of the force of examples, is proved in the prologue, by examples themselves.” What follows is taken from the prologue already given ; and which Oldys has copied—telling us that “ in matters of devotion the world was then so moderate as to be satisfied with a little ; and preferred short masses, but long

* “ Son of Matthew de Roye, grand master of Archery of France. He was at first a canon of Noyon, afterwards Bishop of Verdun, in Lorraine, and died Archbishop of Rheims, in 1409. In this same year he sat out for the Council of Pisa, which had been called together to settle the great schism in the West, and where the election of a fourth Pope was the principal circumstance that took place. In his way thither, some one of his retinue happened to quarrel with an inhabitant of Volterra, about 5 leagues beyond Gênoa, and killed him : a great tumult ensued : the archbishop flew to suppress it ; but was struck with an arrow from a cross bow (un trait d'arbalète) which put an end to his life, on the 8th of June 1409. He was the founder of the college of Rheims in 1399 ; and left behind him a book called, ‘ DOCTRINALE SAPIENTIÆ,’ which he composed in 1388, and which was translated into French the following year, under the title of ‘ Doctrinal de Sapience,’ with the addition of pleasant histories and stories.” *Bibliothèque Francoise De La Croix Du Maine*, &c. vol. i. 303.

meals." Biog. Brit. iii. 373, note R. In regard to the observations of Middleton, Lewis, Oldys, and Herbert, about the large cypher added to this book, it will be seen, from p. 72, ante, that this cypher had been impressed on the recto of the first leaf of Earl Rivers's *Dictes and Sayings* in 1477. Of foreign editions of the work, I have not been able to discover any in the collections sold abroad—except a copy under the title of "*La Doctrine des Saiges, pour inciter chacun a vertu et laisser tout vice*. Lyon. 12mo. lit. goth." (Cat. de la Valliere, n°. 2945) which probably may not be the same. A quarto edition, printed in the gothic letter, is noticed by Juvigny; in which, at fol. 37, is the story translated by M. de la Monnoye, in Latin verse, under the title of "*Cantor lacrymas eliciens*." An imperfect copy of Caxton's book is in the Bodleian library; and a perfect one is in the public library at Cambridge [A. B. 10. 29.] His Majesty, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Johnes, each possess a copy. See Osborne's Cat. 1748, n°. 946: Egerton's Cat. 1798. n°. 1168. Bibl. Ratcliffe, n°. 1426.

36. THE FAYT OF ARMES AND CHYVALRYE. Whiche Translacyon was fynnysshed the viii day of Juyll the said yere (1489) and *Enprynted the xiiii day of Juyll the next folowing, and ful fynnysshyd*. Folio. (Type No. 3.)

We will first attend to Ames's and Herbert's account of the book—
 "Here beginneth the table of the rubrics of the book of the FAIT OF ARMES AND CHIVALRY, which said book is departed into four parts.

"The first part deviseth the manner that kings and princes oughten to hold in the faits of their wars and battles after the order of books, dictes, and examples of the most *preu* and noble conquerors of the world, and how and what manner *faits* ought best to be chosen, and the manners that they ought to keep and hold in their offices of arms.

¶ Item, the second part speaketh, after Frontyn, of *cawteles* and subtilties of arms, which he calleth stratagems of the order and manner to

fight, and defend castles and cities, after Vegece and other authors ; and to make war and give battle in rivers and in the sea. ¶ Item, the third part speaketh of the droits and rights of arms, after the laws and droit written. ¶ Item, the iiij party speaketh of the droits of arms in the faits of *säufconduytes*, of the truces, of mark, and after of camp of battle ; that is, of fighting within lists."

The first part is divided into xxix chapters ; the second into xxxviij, or rather xxxix—the chapter xxv being numbered twice : the third into xxviii : the fourth into xvii.

After the table, on sign. A j. " Here beginneth the book of Faits of Arms and of Chivalry. And the first chapter is the prologue ; in which Christian of Pise excuseth herself to have dare enterprise to speak of so high matter as is contained in this said book." The printer's narrative, in the colophon, is as follows :

" ¶ Thus endeth this book, which Christian of Pise made and drew out of the book named VEGECIUS de re MILITARI, and out of the *arbre* of battles, with many other things set in to the same, requisite to war and battles ; which book, being in French, was delivered to me, William Caxton, by the most christian king, and redoubted prince, my natural and sovereign lord King Henry the vii. King of England and of France, in his palace of Westminster, the xxiii day of January, the iiij year of his reign ; and desired and willed me to translate the said book, and reduce it in to our English and natural tongue, and to put it in imprint ; to the end that every gentleman born to arms, and all manner men of war, captains, soldiers, victuallers, and all other, should have knowledge how they ought to behave them in the faits of war and of battles ; and so delivered me the said book, then my lord the Earl of Oxenford a waiting on his said grace. Which volume, containing four books, I received of his said grace, and according to his desire, which to me I repute a commandment, and verily glad to obey ; and after the little cunning that God hath lent me, I have endeavoured me to the utterest of my power, to fulfil and accomplish his desire and commandment, as well

to reduce it in to English, as to put it in imprint; to the end that it may come to the sight and knowledge of every gentleman and man of war; and for certain in my opinion it is as necessary a book, and as requisite as any may be, for every estate, high and low, that intend to the faits of war, whether it be in battles, sieges, rescues, and all other faits, subtilties, and remedies for mischiefs. Which translation was finished the viii day of July the said year, and imprinted the xiiii. day of July next following, and full finished. Then, since I have obeyed his most dreadful commandment, I humbly beseech his most excellent and bounteous highness, to pardon me of this simple and rude translation, where in be no curious, ne gay terms of rhetoric; but I hope to Almighty God, that it shall be *entendible* and understanden to every man, and also that it shall not much vary in sentence from the copy received of my said sovereign Lord. And where as I have erred or made default, I beseech them that find such, to correct it, and so doing I shall pray for them; and if there be any thing therein to his pleasure I am glad, and think my labour well employed for to have the name to be one of the little servants to the highest and most christian king and prince the world; whom I beseech Almighty God to preserve, keep, and continue in his noble and most redoubted enterprises, as well in Britain, Flanders, and other places; that he may have victory, honour, and *renome*, to his perpetual glory; for I have not heard, ne read, that any prince hath subdued his subjects with less hurt, &c. and also holpen his neighbours and friends out of his land. In which high enterprises I beseech Almighty God that he may remain alway victorious, and daily increase from virtue to virtue, and from better to better, to his laud and honour in this present life, and that after this short and transitory life, he may attain to everlasting life in heaven; which God grant to him, and to all his liege people. Amen. *Per Caxton.*" Thus far Ames and Herbert.

This is another production of the fruitful pen of CHRISTINE DE PISE, who compiled it from the military treatises of Vegetius, Frontinus, and the Arbre des Batailles: of these three works some ac-

count will be found in the note below.* To those, says Mr. Burnett, who object to this lady, that the handling of her distaff and spinning wheel are occupations more suitable to a woman than concerning

* VEGETIUS is supposed to have been first separately printed at Rome in 1478, 4to. Maittaire [*Annal Typog.* i. 387] slightly notices this edition, and refers to Fabricius, *Bibl. Lat.* vol. iii. 132 (ed. 1722): but see Ernesti's edition of this latter work, vol. iii. 174. De Bure, n°. 2129, was the first who seemed to question the existence of this edition; and from the superficial manner in which Audiffredi (*Edit. Rom.* p. 228) makes mention of it, (referring to Orlandi and Tirasboschi as well as to Fabricius and Maittaire) it struck me that it was supposititious. Harwood says not a word upon it; and his Italian editors, Boni and Gamba, vol. ii. 291. 2. notice some old gothic editions, similar to certain books of 1468, and 1474, but decide nothing about the Roman one of 1478. They affix this date, by mistake, to Silber's edition of 1478, in which the works of Vegetius, Frontinus, and Modestus were first collected: this latter is rightly pronounced by them to be "Libro di gran rarità." See too *Cat. de la Valliere*, n°. 2091. If the authority of Santander be decisive, the Roman edition of 1478, "est apocryphe." Consult his *Dict. Bibl. Choisi*, vol. iii. n°. 1341—where a particular account is given of the collection just mentioned. It may be worth while adding, that, as no foreign catalogue contains a separate edition of Vegetius in 1478, the FIRST EDITION of this writer may yet continue questionable; notwithstanding the mention of an edition printed by Ketelaer and Leempt, (circ. 1473) and called by Santander "Premiere edition; infiniment rare et peu connue parmi les bibliographes." *Idem.* n°. 1342. There is no question, however, but that the Pisa edition of 1488, edited by Sebastian and Raphael de Orlandi, is "a precious edition; and remarkable on account of the place where it was executed." Boni et Gamba, *edit. Arwood*, ii. 292. See also Panzer, ii. 385: iv. 408.

A French version of Vegetius appeared in the year 1488, printed by Verard, in folio. Consult De Bure, 2130: Peignot *Dict. Portatif de Bibliog.* p. 351. It should contain a small piece at the end, written in French verse, "on the xii virtues which a knight ought to possess."

FRONTINUS first appeared in the collection printed by Silber above mentioned. MODESTUS was first printed at Venice, in 1474, 4to. and again (so supposed) at Rome, in 1475. Consult Santander's satisfactory account and references. *Dict. Bibliog. Choisi*, vol. iii. 971-2. De Bure gives only the title of the first edition: see n°. 2131.

The "ARBRE DES BATAILLES, composé par Honoré Bonnor, Prieur de Salon," was first printed at Lyons in 1481, folio; and again at Paris, by Verard, in 1493—copies of which latter edition are found UPON VELLUM. De Bure, n°. 3775-6. Lewis says (*Life of Caxton*, p. 81, note b.) that "In a catalogue of books for sale there is a book called 'The Harber of Battails of the Faits of Armes and Chivalry, Fol. by WM. CAXTON, 1490. Bently and Walford's Catal. A. D. 1687.'" But this was most probably the above work.

herself with the feats of arms, and the battles of heroes—she replies, by citing, in her prologue, the example of Minerva; whom she addresses in the following high-flown strain of panegyric: “O Minerva, goddess of arms and of chivalry! which by virtue of high *entendment* [destiny] above all other women, foundest and institutest, among the other noble arts and sciences which of thee took their beginning, the usage to forge of iron and steel armours and harness, *propice* and covenable to cover and *targe* [shield] the body of man against the strokes of darts, *noyous* [noxious] shot and spears in battle; feats of arms, helms, shields, targes and other harness defensible; from the first coming, institutest and gavest manner and order to arrange battles, and to assail and fight in manner—adored lady and high goddess! be not displeased that I, simple and little woman, like as nothing unto the greatness of thy renown in cunning [skill] dare presently *emprise* [undertake] to speak of so magnific an office, as is the office of arms; of which first, in the said renowned country of Greece, thou gavest the usage. And in so much it may please thee to be to me favourable, that I may be somewhat consonant in the nation where thou was born, which as then was named the Great Greece, the country beyond the Alps, or mountains *Puylle* [Apulia?] and *Callabre* [Calabria], in Italy, where you were born. And I am, as you were, a woman Italian.” Specimens of Early English Prose Writers, vol. i. 265-6.

Mr. Burnett goes on to inform us (being in part the Harleian account of it) that the chapters towards the end, which treat of the trial of right by *single combat within the lists*, as allowed and ordained by the Imperial and Lombard laws, are justly considered as the most curious parts of the book. Two other interesting extracts are then given by him from p. 267 to p. 276; and he concludes his account of the work, by observing that, “the present book, the Order of Chivalry, and the Knight of the Tower, contain the greater part of the doctrines of chivalry;” and adds, very justly, that, “they are all very curious, and obviously require republication.”

A perfect copy of Caxton's edition is in the Bodleian library, in the

public library at Cambridge, and in the British Museum. His Majesty, the Marquis of Blandford, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Johnes, each possess a perfect copy. Mr. Douce has an imperfect one. Vide Bibl. Harl. vol. iii. n°. 4010. West, n°. 2481. Ratcliffe, n°. 1221. The copy of this work in the Roxburgh Collection is remarkable for the beautiful and extraordinary manner in which the last leaf is rendered perfect: it being an unrivalled specimen of the well known talents of the late Mr. Roger Payne, the bookbinder of famous memory.

37. THE ARTE AND CRAFT TO KNOWE WELL TO DYE.
*Translated out of frensshe in to englysshe by Willm
Caxton the xv day of Juyn the yere of our Lord a m
iiiij^c. lxxxx. Folio. (Type No. 3.)*

Oldys and Herbert, in their account of this book, borrow the language of the Harleian catalogue—which is, in part, copied from Lewis; and is as follows:

“This important subject, of such universal behoof, was wisely undertaken by Master Caxton, at the age he was now arrived at, and under the decay he might feel upon him, which put an end to his laudable labours, before he was a twelvemonth older. It is the more to be regarded, in that he chose, by this work, to set himself the example of the doctrine therein inculcated. It is divided into six parts; treating, Of the Praise of Death, and how we ought to die gladly; of the temptations we are under at the Point of Death; of the Questions that ought to be made at that Time; of the Instructions that ought to be given; of the Remembrance of God’s Doings and Sufferings for us; of certain devout prayers that ought to be said by, or for, the dying Person. From all which articles it may evidently appear, as the author concludes, that to every person who would die well, it is necessary that he learn to die, before death comes, and prevents him.” Bibl. Harl. vol. iii. n°. 1576. Lewis’s *Life of Caxton*, p. 102.

On signature A. j: "Here begynneth a lytyll treatise shorte and abreged spekyng of the arte and crafte to knowe well to dye." At the end; "Thus endeth the trayttee abreged of the arte to lerne well to deye, translated," &c. [as in the title.] "Although," as Herbert justly observes, "in this book there is only mention of Caxton as translator thereof, yet by the type it very visibly appears to be printed by him." It is most probable, as the treatise is very short, that it was printed during the same year in which it was translated.

Before we speak of the origin of this performance, and of the foreign editions of it, the reader may probably not be displeased with a few short specimens of its piety, and of the occasionally melodious language of the translation. It commences abruptly thus:

"When it is so, that, what a man maketh or doeth, it is made to come to some end, and if the thing be good and well made it must needs come to good end; then by better and greater reason every man ought to intend in such wise to live in this world, in keeping the commandments of God, that he may come to a good end. And that out of this world, full of wretchedness and tribulations, he may go to heaven unto God and his saints into joy perdurable."

"TO GOD THE SON.

Oh my much loved Redeemer, right righteous! Jesus right benign! We pray thy *lacrymable* voice, by the which, in thy humanity, when thou shouldest for us die, thou were consumed of labours and sorrows—in such wise that thou were left of thy Father—that thou withdraw not the aid of thy mercy to this N. thy servant, our brother, into this hour and moment of his affliction—and the consumption of his spirit suffer not in the extreme hour of his death! But by the triumph of thy holy cross, and by the virtue of thy healthful passion, and of thy bitter death, think on him! Think of peace, and not of affliction; and deliver his soul from all anguish! And with the same hands, the which, for love of him, thou sufferedest to be fixed and nailed to

the cross with right sharp nails, Good Jesus, much sweet Father and Lord, deliver his soul from the torments which be deputed to him ; and bring him into eternal rest with voice of exaltation and of confession. Amen."

A prayer to GOD THE FATHER begins thus : " God, right mighty *debonnair* and merciful, which that after the multitude of thy mercy, effacest and putttest away the sins of them that be repentant, &c. Behold with pity upon this thy servant N our brother, which with all confession of heart requireth thee of pardon and remission of all sins," &c.

" TO OUR BLESSED LADY.

O right entire and eternal blessed Virgin, glorious Mary, aadress and helper of all anguish and necessity, succour us sweetly now ; and shew to thy servant here, N, our brother, thy gracious usage in this last necessity ! Withdraw and put from him all his enemies, by the virtue of thy right dear Son, our Lord Jesu Christ, and of his holy cross and passion ; and deliver him from all anguish of body and of soul—to the end that to God our Lord he yield praising without end. Amen."

There is some devotional eloquence in the following address :

" TO THE SICK PERSON, AT HIS END :

Right dear brother, or sister, I command thee to God Almighty, and commit thee to him, of whom thou art creature—to the end, when by thy death thou shalt have paid the duty of nature human, thou mayest return to thy Maker : which, of the slime of the earth formed thee ! Thy soul issue and go out of thy body, when it shall please God ! The right splendent company of angels be at thy departing, and meet thee ! The right clear senate of apostles will defend thee ! The victoryes [victorious army] of martyrs may meet thee ! The company adorned with shining confessors will environ thee ! The assembly of the right joyous virgins take and receive thee ! And the bosom of

the blessed rest of patriarchs will open to thee, and join them with thee," &c. Second and third leaf after sign. B ij.

The *origin* of this performance, (one of the most popular works in the 15th and 16th centuries) was probably the celebrated *ARS MORIENDI*; the composition of a Polish monk, and printed, as it is supposed, before the middle of the fifteenth century. The curious bibliographer will immediately call to mind Heinecken's elaborate account of this specimen of early typography, which he has enriched with several amusing fac-similes of the wood cuts that it contains. Those who are not in possession of Heinecken's rare book (*Idée Générale d'une Collection d'Estampes*; vide from p. 399 to 428), may consult De Bure, n°. 118; Catalogue de la Valliere, n°. 591; Meerman Orig. Typog. vol. i. 239; Lambinet Recherches sur L'Imp. 67; Daunou Analyse, &c. sur L'orig. de L'Imp. 10; and Santander, Dict. Bibliog. Choisi, vol. ii. n°. 150—all of which authorities rely chiefly upon Heinecken. No early *French* edition, however, is mentioned by either of the foregoing writers; and yet it is most probable that such a one preceded Caxton's, as our printer acknowledges his translation to have been made from the French. This certainly does not exclude the supposition of a French *manuscript*; but when various Latin editions of a work, so intimately connected with the offices of the Roman Catholic religion, were printed in Germany, it seems rational to conclude that a printed edition was executed in the capital of the French empire, composed in the language of the country. Those which are described below* were most probably not the earliest.

* "L'ART DE BIEN VIVRE ET BIEN MOURIR—Colophon: 'Lequel a este imprime a paris le xii iour de Fevrier. mil cccc lxxx. et xiii. (1493). Folio.

The title of this book is struck off in large letters with a fanciful ornamented capital, over the printer's device—two shields—with the arms of France above. The letter is like Pynson's largest type in the 'Dives et Pauper.' No printer's name is subjoined; and it contains small plates like those in the Shepherd's Calendar.

THE SAME: printed by Verard. "Demourant sur le pont nostre dame a lymage saïct iehan levangeliste, ou au palay au premier piliër ou on chante la messe de Messeigneurs de

Caxton's book contains thirteen leaves, ending with sign. B iij— It has capital initials, but the leaves are not numbered. A fine copy of it is in the Bodleian library; and another is in that of his Majesty. See Bibl. West. n°. 1876: Ratcliffe. n°. 1666: Tutet. n°. 329. It ranks among the rare books printed by Caxton.

38. THE BOKE OF ENEYDOS, COMPYLED BY VYRGYLE:
*Oute of Frensshe reduced in to Englysshe by me Wyllm
 Caxton, the xxij daye of Juyn, the yere of our lorde
 M. iiiij^c. lxxxx. The fyfthe yere of the regne of kyng
 Henry the seventh. Folio. (Type No. 3.)*

We are much indebted to Oldys for presenting us, in his Librarian, p. 127, with a more particular account of this curious volume than had appeared in Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 99: and especially for making us acquainted with its interesting preface—which has not failed to attract the attention of almost every writer upon ancient english literature. The preface will be found entire in Ames as well as in Herbert; and parts of it quoted in the Biog. Brit.; in Dr. Henry's History of Great Britain; and Mr. Burnett's Specimens.

"This work," says Oldys, (ibid.) "contains not an entire version of two or three books only of Virgil's *Æneid*, as some might imagine from the slender bulk of the book; nor is it here translated into verse as they might also expect, in imitation of the original; but it is

plemēt." The date (1496) appears at the end of the first treatise on "living well"—The plates are exactly the same as in the preceding edition—The type is large and handsome, and Verard's device is on the recto of the last leaf at the end of the second part of "dying well." A magnificent copy of this edition, struck off UPON VELLUM, with the plates indifferently coloured, is in the British Museum, and was formerly one of Henry VII's books.

On examining the curious collection of books of the late Dr. John Monro, I find a French Parisian edition of the date of 1453—which, however, must be a mistake; as the art of printing was not introduced at Paris till the year 1469-70. This French edition is described as printed in the gothic type, with cuts; and as being "a very scarce book, more so than generally thought." See *Bibl. Monro*, n°. 2105.

rather a reduction of that epic poem to an historical narrative in prose; which, though a commendable undertaking at that time, to familiarise the contents; yet, as it is but a translation of a translation; as the original itself is familiar enough now, and we have also many better translations, even in verse, directly from it; the very table of heads, no less than sixty-five, cannot be in this place desirable. Therefore we shall only refer to a note at bottom,* for a few remarks upon the work itself; and here recite the translator's preface; which contains such observable proofs of the fleeting fashions in our English tongue, as may moderate the conceits of those who depend upon a *style* or manner of expression, more than the *matter* expressed; that will not, like most other things, become obsolete, but maintain its perspicuity, and engage the taste of all ages."

THE PREFACE.

"After divers works made, translated, and atchieved, having no work in hand, I, sitting in my study, where as lay many divers pamphlets and books, [it] happened that to my hand came a little book in French; which late was translated out of Latin by some noble clerk of France; which book is named Eneydos; made in Latin by that noble poet and great clerk, Virgil; which book I saw over and read therein: how, after the general destruction of the great Troy, Æneas departed, bearing his old father, Anchises, upon his shoulders; his

* "And first of the French author; who, as he begins his work so high as the building of Troy by Priamus, so he continues it beyond the slaughter of Turnus by Æneas, to the succession of his son Ascanius, and two or three successions beyond. Moreover towards the beginning of his work, that is, in chap. 6, he has a digression upon Bocace; for relating his story of Dido in his *Fall of Princes*, differently from Virgil, and recites his account as well as that of his author. And in cap. 33, he passes over Æneas's descent into hell, *because 'tis feigned and not to be believed*; as if several other parts of this story, which he has repeated, were not as incredible as that. But to pass to the translator and printer, [Caxton] we observe his style to be more *ornate* (as he calls it), or dressed up in superfine words, especially of the *French* extract, than we believe it would have been, had he not submitted it to correction." *Librarian*, p. 127. note.

Warton seems to have borrowed his account of this book from the foregoing extract; without acknowledging it, *Hist. Eng. Poet.* ii. 122.

little son, Iolus, on his hand; his wife with much other people following; and how he shipped and departed; with all the history of his adventures, that he had ere he came to the atchievement of his conquest of Italy—as all along shall be showed in this present book. In which book I had great pleasure, by cause of the fair and honest terms and words in French, which I never saw to fore like, ne none so pleasant ne so well ordered; which book as me seemed should be much requisite to noble men to see, as well for the eloquence as the histories. How well that many hundred years passed was the said book of Eneydos, with other works made and learned daily in schools, especially in Italy and other places: which history the said Virgil made in metre. And when I had advised me in this said book, I deliber[at]ed and concluded to translate it in to English, and forthwith took a pen and ink and wrote a leaf or twain, which I oversaw again to correct it. And when I saw the fair and strange terms therein, I doubted that it should not please some gentlemen which late blamed me, saying that, in my translations, I had over curious terms which could not be understand of common people; and desired me to use old and homely terms in my translations. And fain would I satisfy every man; and so to do, took an old book and read therein; and certainly the English was so rude and broad that I could not well understand it. And also my Lord Abbot of Westminster did do shew to me late certain evidences written in old English for to reduce it into our English now used. And certainly it was written in such wise, that it was more like to Dutch than English, I could not reduce ne bring it to be understonden.”

“And certainly our language now used varieth far from that which was used and spoken when I was born; for we Englishmen ben born under the domination of the moon, which is never steadfast, but ever wavering, waxing one season, and waneth and decreaseth another season; and that common English that is spoken in one shire, varieth from another. Insomuch that in my days happened that certain merchants were in a ship in Thames for to have sailed over the sea into Zealand, and for lack of wind, they tarried at Foreland, and

went to land for to refresh them ; and one of them named Sheffelde, a mercer, came in to an house and axed for meat, and especially he axed after *egges* ; and the good wife answered, that she could speak no French ; and the merchant was angry, for he also could speak no French, but would have had eggs, and she understood him not. And then at last another said that he would have *eyren* ; then the good wife said that she understood him well. Lo what should a man in these days now write, *egges* or *eyren* ? certainly it is hard to please every man, by cause of diversity and change of language. For in these days, every man that is in any reputation in his country, will utter his communication and matters in such manners and terms that few men shall understand them. And some honest and great clerks have been with me, and desired me to write the most curious terms that I could find. And thus between plain, rude, and curious, I stand abashed : but in my judgment, the common terms that be daily used, be lighter to be understood than the old and ancient English. And forasmuch as this present book is not for a rude uplandish man to labour therein, ne read it, but only for a clerk and a noble gentleman that feeleth and understandeth in faits of arms, in love, and in noble chivalry : therefore, in mean between both, I have reduced and translated this said book in to our English, not over rude ne curious, but in such terms as shall be understanden, by God's grace, according to my copy. And if any man will intermit in reading of it, and findeth such terms that he cannot understand, let him go read and learn Virgil, or the Epistles of Ovid ; and there he shall see and understand lightly all, if he have a good reader and informer. For this book is not for every rude and uncunning man to see, but to clerks and very gentlemen that understand gentleness and science."

¶ "Then I pray all them that shall read in this little treatise, to hold me for excused for the translating of it ; for I [ac]knowledge myself ignorant of cunning to enprise on me so high and noble a work. But I pray Master John Skelton, late created poet laureat in the University of Oxenforde, to oversee and correct this said book,

and to address and expound where as shall be found fault to them that shall require it. For him I know for sufficient to expound and English every difficulty that is therein; for he hath late translated the Epistles of Tully, and the book of Diodorus Siculus, and divers other works, out of Latin into English, not in rude and old language, but in polished and *ornate* terms craftily, as he that hath read Virgil, Ovid, Tully, and all the other noble poets and orators, to me unknown: and also he hath read the ix muses, and understand their musical sciences, and to whom of them each science is appropriated. I suppose he hath drunken of Helicon's well. Then I pray him, and such other, to correct, add, or [di]minish where as he or they shall find fault; for I have but followed my copy in French, as nigh as me is possible; and if any word be said therein well, I am glad; and if otherwise, I submit my said book to their correction. Which book I present unto the high born my to-coming natural and sovereign Lord Arthur, by the grace of God, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, first begotten son and heir unto our most dread natural and sovereign lord and most christian King Henry VII, by the grace of God King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland; beseeching his noble grace to receive it in thank of me his most humble subject and servant. And I shall pray unto Almighty God for his prosperous increasing in virtue, wisdom, and humanity, that he may be equal with the most renowned of all his progenitors ¶ And so to live in this present life, that after this transitory life, he and we all may come to everlasting life in heaven. Amen."

Then follows a table of contents, on two leaves.

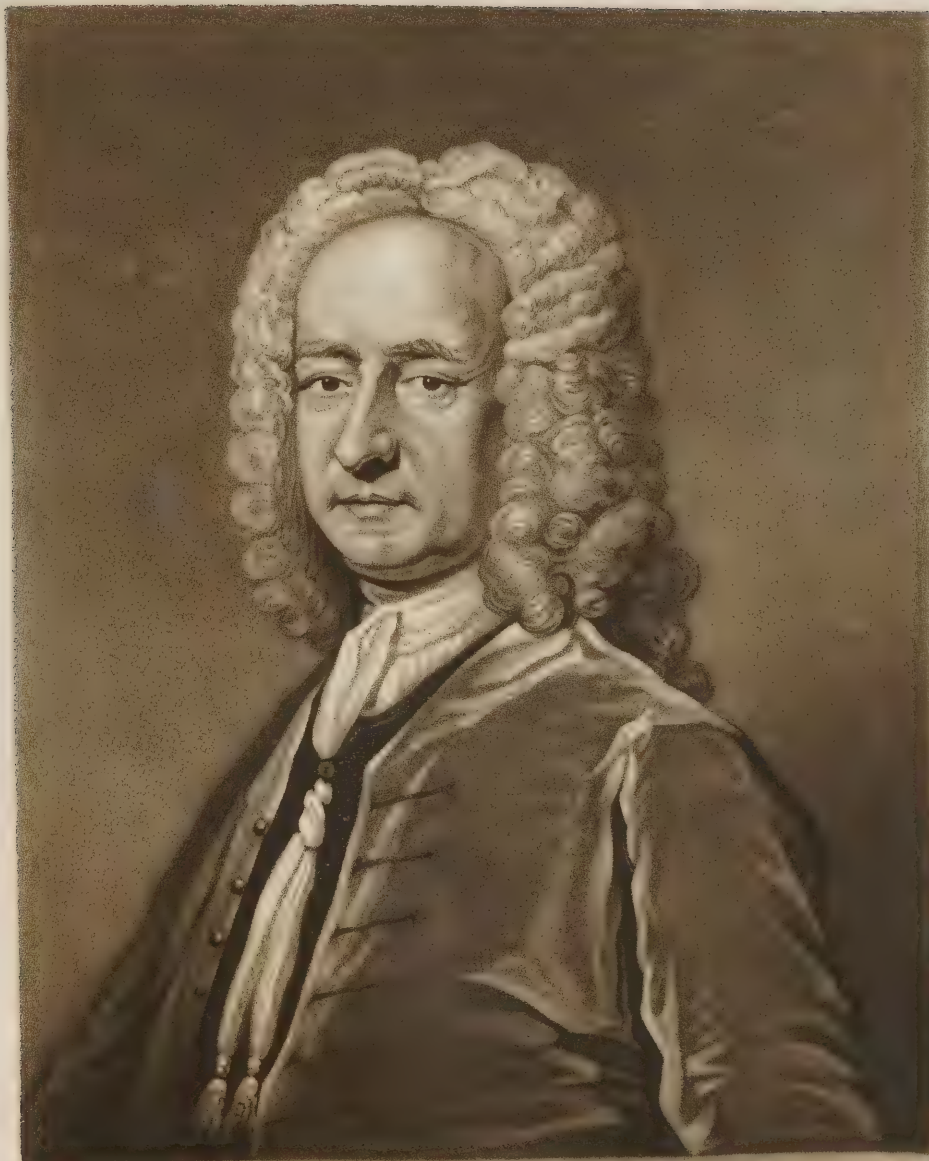
The reader is next presented with a specimen of a different kind; which may serve as a counterpart to that extracted from the English Troy book, (vide p. 26, ante) relating to the Death of Hector by Achilles:

"DEATH OF TURNUS.

Anon, as Æneas heard Turnus speak, he made no tarrying at all, but went as soon as he might towards the field, and left the assault-

ing of the walls and of the towers that they had *envayshed*. Then departed from the assault the one party and the other, for to see the battle of the two barons. Æneas and Turnus were both in the field all alone, well apparelled, and approached each other right hard like two bulls, and drew out their sharp swords. Then was there no sparing: but that every of them smote his enemy so that the shields, wherewith all they covered themselves, were all to hewn and broken all to pieces. The battle was fierce and cruel, for they hated each other right sore. But, at the last, Turnus was overcome; and he cried mercy to Æneas, that he should not slay him. And *wyt* that Æneas should have pardoned him that he had misdona against him, if it had not been the ring and the girdle of Pallas, that Turnus did wear upon him. For when Æneas did see them, the sorrow that he made for the death of Pallas, that Turnus had slain, was renewed in his heart, which redoubled then his great wrath: and [he] said to Turnus, 'Thou shalt *abye* now the gladness that thou had of the death of Pallas—for thou shalt here die for his sake.' And anon, he shoved his sword through the body of him, whereout his soul departed. All thus was conquered all Lombardy and the *pucelle* Lavine by the hand of Æneas."

The immediate original of Caxton's book is supposed to be the French edition published at Lyons in 1483, by Guillaume le Roy, who was both translator and printer;—and to which was joined a French translation of Boetius, by Jehan Le Meun: consult Maittaire, vol. i. 441; and particularly Panzer, i. 535; who talks of another ancient French edition of Virgil with wood cuts; and refers us to Mylii Memorab. p. 355. Dr. Askew's copy of the Lyons edit. of 1483. [Bibl. Askew. n^o. 532] does not appear to have contained the Boetius: It is an exceedingly rare book; but how far it may have been borrowed from the prose translation of the Æneid into the Italian language, by Atanagio Greco, and first printed in quarto, at Vicenza, in 1476;—afterwards at Bologna in 1481, 4to.—it is out of my power to determine; never having seen a copy of either of these two latter works. The first is excessively scarce, if we may credit the



MICHAEL MAITTAIRE

Nat. 1668. Ob. 1747.

elaborate account of it given in the quarto catalogue of the Crevenna library, vol. iii. p. 202—an authority, which might have been noticed by the editor of the recent edition of Haym's *Bibl. Ital.* vol. ii. p. 202, n°. 4. But to return to Caxton :

This translation of Virgil, by our venerable printer, then “well stricken in years,” appears to have excited the indignation and called forth the rival powers of GAWIN DOUGLAS ;* an author, whose name cannot be mentioned without admiration by the inhabitants of either side the Tweed. Douglas, in the prologue to his exquisite Scottish poetical version, thus notices Caxton and his labours :

Thoch Wylliams Caxtoun had no compatioun
Of Virgill in that buk he preyt in prois,
Clepend it Virgill in Eneados,
Quhilk that he sayis of Frensche he did translait,
It has nathing ado therwith, God wate,
Nor na mare like than the Deuil and sanct Austin.
Haue he na thank tharfore, bot lois his pyne ;
So schamefully the storie did peruerte,
I reid his work with harmes at my hert,
That sic ane buk, but sentence or ingyne,
Suld be intitulit eftir the poete diuine.”

Gawin Douglas's *Virgil*. Pref. p. 5.

Whether this criticism, being “noised abroad,” suspended the efforts of any future printer to republish Caxton's version, is now only matter of conjecture : but this one thing is remarkable ; that no reprint of it ever appeared. It was doomed to sink silently into oblivion ; overpowered by the popularity of the versions of Phaer, Twine and Stanyhurst. For these latter works consult Warton's *Hist. Eng. Poet.* vol. iii. p. 398, &c. and the *Censura Literaria*, vol. iv. p. 234.

Caxton's edition has justly received the encomiums of Oldys, in

* The first edition of Douglas's *Virgil* did not appear till the year 1553, in 4to. Vide *Censura Literaria*, vol. iii. p. 286.

regard to its being "more regularly printed than some of his former works; as not running out, but having the lines even at the ends; and large initials at the beginning of every chapter. It has also signatures at the bottom of the pages, [but no catchwords] and besides commas and periods, colons and semicolons, or what might be designed as such, tho' not always placed perhaps to answer the purpose of them." *British Librarian*, p. 127, note *. On the third leaf after sign. L iij [recto] we have the following colophon: "Here finisheth the book of Eneydos, compiled by Virgil, which hath been translated out of Latin in to French, and out of French, &c. (as in the title). On the reverse is Caxton's large device. It contains 84 leaves, or signatures L 7 in octaves; except A, which has only four leaves.

I have seen five copies of this book, which is rarely found complete with the preface: the most beautiful one is that in the public library at Cambridge [A. B. 10: 27]. The King and the Marquis of Blandford each possess a copy, and Lord Spencer has a very fine one, obtained from Mr. Stace the bookseller. A perfect copy is in the British Museum, and another is in the Osterley library. The Bodleian copy wants the preface; See *Bibl. R. Smith*, p. 275, n°. 91: and *Ratcliffe*, nos. 1015; 1214; 1423—from which it would appear that this extraordinary collection contained one imperfect and two perfect copies.

Books printed without Dates.

The preceding number of books, printed by Caxton, comprehends an account of those to which dates have been affixed—either from the express words or numerals in the colophon, or from collateral circumstances, or from the received opinion of bibliographers—and of those, without dates, connected with such as have them—like the ‘Game of Chess,’ and the ‘Golden Legend.’ It now remains to subjoin a list of the books, printed by him, of which, concerning the exact period of their publication, there is no direct evidence to form an accurate conclusion. We will therefore begin with the following :

39. THE BOOK OF THE TALES OF CAUNTYRBURYE. *No place.* Folio. (Type No. 3.)

FIRST EDITION of Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales ; which Ames, with the apparent consent of Tyrwhitt, but without either of them adducing any authority, supposes to have been printed about the year 1475-6. If regularity of presswork, splendor of ink, and excellence of paper be considered (as in many instances they justly may be) a criterion of early typography, the present work would rank among the earliest performances of Caxton. The copy of it in the library of Merton College,* Oxford, which I have carefully examined, is one of the most elegant specimens extant of our printer’s skill—to say nothing of the tastefulness of its illuminations.

* It was presented to the college by one “Alderman Wright.”

According to Herbert, this edition contains 372 leaves 'told over:' it has, I think, nearer 400. There are neither numerals, signatures, nor catchwords. The poetry is printed in single columns, with 29 verses in each page. There is no preface; but the poem begins directly thus:

Whan that Aprill * with his shouris sote
 And † the droughte of Marche hath poid ‡ § rote
 And badid § every veyne in suche licour
 Of whiche vertu engendrid is the flour
 Whanne zepherus eke with his sote breth
 Enspirid hath in every holte and heth
 The tender croppis and the yong sonne
 Hath in the ram half his cours y ronne
 And smale foulis make melodie
 That slepyn al nyght with opyn ye
 So priketh hem nature in her corage||
 Than longyng folk to goe on pilgremage
 And palmers to seche straunge londis ¶
 To serve hallowis couthe in sondry londis
 And specially fro every shiris ende
 Of yngelond to Cauntirbury thy wende
 The holy blissful martir for to seke
 That them hath holpyn when they were seke.

“Chaucer's Tale.

A young man, that called was Mellebeus, the which was mighty and rich, begat a daughter upon his wife that called was Prudence, which daughter called was Sophie. Upon a day befel that he for his disport went him into the fields for to play. His wife and his daughter hath he left with in his house, of which the doors were fast

VARIOUS READINGS from the second edition.

* *Aprill*. † 'And' omitted in the second. ‡ *percyd*. § *bathyd*. || *corages*. ¶ *strondis*. Consult also Dr. Johnson's *History of the English Language*, sign. f.

shut. Three of his old foes have it espied and setten ladders unto the walls of his house, and by the windows ben entered in, and beat his wife, and wounded his daughter with five mortal wounds in five sundry places; that is to say, in her feet, in her hands, in her ears, in her nose, and in her mouth, and left her for dead, and went their way. When Mellebeus returned was in to his house, and saw all this mischief, he like a mad man renting his clothes began to weep and to cry," &c. I have not discovered this in the second edition.

At the end of the Parson's tale—"Explicit Tractatus Galfridi Chaucer de Penitencia ut dicitur pro fabula rectoris." Chaucer's supposed recantation here follows :

"The Prayer, or Retractation.

"Now pray I to them all that hearken this little treatise or read, that if there be any thing that liketh them, that thereof they thank our Lord Jesu Christ of whom proceedeth all wit and goodness : and if there be any thing that displease them, I pray them also that they *arrete* it to the default of mine uncunning, and not to my will, that would fain have said better if that I had had cunning. For our book saith, all that is written is written for our doctrine, and that is mine intent ; wherefore I beseech you meekly for the mercy of God, that ye for me pray that Christ have mercy on me and forgive me my guilts, and namely of my translations and inditings of worldly vanities, the which I revoke in my retractions, as is the book of Troilus, the book also of Fame, the book of xxv Ladies, the book of the Duchess, the book of Saint Valentine's Day, of the Parliament of Birds, the 'Tales of Canterbury though that *sowning* unto sin, the book of the Lion, and many other books if they were in my remembrance, and many a song and many a lecherous lay that Christ of his great mercy forgive me the sin : but of the translation of Boece de Consolacione, and other books, as of legends of saints and homilies, morality and devotion, that thank I of our Lord Jesu Christ, and his blessed mother, and all the saints of heaven, beseeching them that they from henceforth unto my life's end, send me grace, to be-

wail my guilts, that it may stand unto the salvation of my soul, and grant me grace of every repentance, confession and satisfaction to do in this present life, through the benign grace of Him that is King of Kings, and Priest of all Priests, that bought us with the precious blood of his heart, so that I may be one of them at the day of doom that shall be saved. Qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat Deus, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.”*

The whole of this passage is now allowed to be surreptitious: it having been foisted in by the zeal of some pious monk. There is a letter by Hearne upon the subject written to Bagford, among the latter's collections for a history of printing. [Vide Life of Caxton, ante.] In the further description of this volume, it may be only necessary to remark that the paper is stout and good; and that each tale succeeds the other, without blanks or breaks of any kind: which is not the case with the succeeding edition. His Majesty's copy of this edition was formerly Mr. West's [Bibl. West. n°. 2274]; who wrote the following memorandum within: “*This first edition of Chaucer, printed by Caxton, is the only perfect one known in England. [the Merton copy, afterwards examined by Tyrwhitt, was then unknown] The Earls of Pembroke and Oxford told me, after the utmost inquiry, that they never could see one.*

* Mr. Tyrwhitt has inserted this *Retraction* in his excellent Variorum edition of the Canterbury Tales. He “printed it as he found it in a MS. belonging to Dr. Askew, with a few corrections from other MSS;” and in his notes he made the following observations upon it:

“Mr. Hearne, whose greatest weakness was not his incredulity, has declared his suspicion “that the revocation,” meaning this passage, “is not genuine, but that it was made by the monks.” *Appendix to Robert Glouc.* p. 603. I cannot go quite so far. I think, if the monks had set about making a revocation for Chaucer, to be annexed to the Canterbury Tales, they would have made one more in form. The same objection lies to the supposal that it was made by himself. The most probable hypothesis which has occurred to me, for the solution of these difficulties, is to suppose, that the beginning of this passage, except the words “*or reden it*,” and the end, make together the genuine conclusion of the Parson's tale; and that the middle part from “*and namely*,” &c. to “*of my soul*,” is an interpolation.” Mr. Tyrwhitt, however, afterwards allows that they are “very uncertain speculations.” 4to. edit. vol. i. 113. [*Introd.*]: ii. 513. 514—I adhere to the opinion of its being altogether a spurious passage.

Some fragments are in the hands of Sir Peter Thompson, (late Mr. Ames's) Mr. Ratcliffe, and at St. John's Coll. Oxford ; but, united, will not make a perfect copy. J. WEST." [Herbert, p. 72] Mr. West here confounded the second edition with the first, when he spoke of the copy in St. John's College library. It is however certain that the two foregoing copies of this first edition, are the only perfect ones known to be in existence. Yet those, who repine at the want of it, may receive some consolation when they are told, on the authority of Tyrwhitt, that the MS. from which it is taken "happened unluckily to be one of the worst in all respects that Caxton could possibly have met with." Appendix to Preface of Canterbury Tales, 4to. edit. p. iv.

40. THE SAME. Folio. (Type No. 4.) *No place.*

SECOND EDITION. Herbert, in his account of these two editions, has blended them together ; not preserving his usual carefulness and fidelity of description. Of this second edition, printed six years after the first, I am enabled to speak with confidence ; having examined the perfect and beautiful copy of it which is in the library of St. John's College, Oxford. The account transmitted to Lewis by Dr. Waterland, from an imperfect copy in Magdalen College, Cambridge, is here laid before the reader with corrections and additions :

At signature A ij. commences Caxton's Proheme, or Preface, thus : " Great thanks, laud and honour, ought to be given unto the clerks, poets, and historiographs that have written many noble books of wisdom of the lives, passions, and miracles of holy saints, of histories, of noble and famous acts and *faits*, and of the chronicles *sith* the beginning of the creation of the world, unto this present time ; by which we ben daily informed, and have knowledge of many things, of whom we should not have known if they had not left to us their monuments written. Among whom, and in especial to fore all other, we ought to give a singular laud unto that noble and great philo-

sopher GEFERREY CHAUCER, the which for his *ornate* writing in our tóngue, may well have the name of a laureat poet. For to fore that he, by his labour, embellished, *ornated*, and made fair our English, in this *royame* was had rude speech and incongrue, as yet it appeareth by old books, which at this day ought not to have place ne be compared among ne to his beauteous volumes, and *aournate* writings, of whom he made many books and treatises of many a noble history, as well in metre as in rhyme and prose; and them so craftily made, that he comprehended his matters in short, quick, and high sentences, eschewing prolixity; casting away the chaff of superfluity, and shewing the picked grain of sentence, uttered by crafty and sugared eloquence: of whom, among all other of his books, I propose to imprint, by the grace of God, the book of the Tales of Canterbury; in which I find many a noble history, of every estate and degree. First, wherein the conditions, and the array of each of them as properly as possible is to be said. And after their tales, which ben of *noblesse*, wisdom, gentleness, mirth, and also of *veray* holiness and virtue, wherein he finisheth this said book: which book I have diligently overseen and duly examined, to the end that it be made according to his own making. For I find many of the said books which writers have abridged it and many things left out. ¶ And in some place have set certain verses, that he never made ne set in his book; of which books so incorrect was one brought to me vi year passed, which I supposed had been very true and correct, and according to the same I did do imprint a certain number of them, which anon were sold to many and divers gentlemen: of whom one gentleman came to me, and said that this book was not according in many places unto the book that Geoffrey Chaucer had made. To whom I answered, that I had made it according to my copy, and by me was nothing added ne [di]minished. Then he said he knew a book which his father had and much loved, that was very true, and according unto his own first book by him made; and said more, if I would imprint it again, he would get me the same book for a copy. How be it, he

wist well that his father would not gladly depart from it ; to whom I said, in case that he could get me such a book true and correct, that I would once endeavour me to enprint it again, for to satisfy the author : whereas to fore by ignorance I erred in hurting and defaming his book in divers places, in setting in some things that he never said ne made, and leaving out many things that he made which ben requisite to be set in it. And thus we fell at accord ; and he full gently gat me of his father the said book, and delivered it to me ; by which I have corrected my book, as hereafter all along, by the aid of Almighty God, shall follow. Whom I humbly beseech to give me grace and aid to achieve and accomplish, to his laud, honour, and glory ; and that all ye that shall in this book read or hear, will of your charity, among your deeds of mercy, remember the soul of the said Geoffery Chaucer, first author, and maker, of this book. And also that all we that shall see and read therein, may so take and understand the good and virtuous tales, that it may so profit unto the health of our souls, that after this short and transitory life, we may come to everlasting life in heaven. ¶ Amen.

¶ *By William Caxton.*"

This preface occupies a page and half.

The first set of signatures runs six leaves to the letter. The second recommences with the prologue of the " Clerke of Oxenforde" at a j. and runs eight to the letter, as far as ii. vj : when, at " The Tales of Chaucer," a third set recommences, thus ; A. j : which also runs in eights, and concludes at sign. L iiij. The tale of the " Personne" commences on the reverse of sign. G ij. ending on the reverse of sign. L iiij. of the third set. The " Retractation" closes the volume ; which has running titles throughout. A full page contains 38 lines. The following is taken literatim from Lewis's *Life of Caxton*, p. 105 :
 " 1. Prologue. The running title for *sixteen* leaves ; wherein are contained several little prologues relating to the ensuing tales.
 2. The knyghtis Tale. Thirty leaves.

3. The Myller's Prologe. About two pages.
4. The Myller's Tale. Nine leaves.
5. The Reve's Prologe. Two pages.
6. The Reve's Tale. Six leaves, excepting a page.
7. The Cokis Prologe. Somewhat more than a page.
8. The Cokis tale. A page and a half.
9. The man of Lawys Prologe. Three pages.
10. The man of Lawys tale. Sixteen leaves.
11. The Marchante's Prologe. One page.
12. The Marchante's tale. Fifteen leaves and a half.
13. The Prologe of the Squyer. One page.
14. The Squyer's Tale. Nine leaves.

Explicit pars secunda. Incipit pars tertia.

Apollo whirleth up his chare so high
A till that god Mercurius hous the sligh."

—there is no more of the Squyer's tale.

15. The wordes of the Frankeleyns. A page.
16. The Frankeleyns Prologe. Half a page.
17. The Frankeleyns tale. Twelve leaves.
18. The Wyf of Bathe's Prologe. Twelve leaves.
19. The Wyf of Bathe's tale. Five leaves and a half.
20. The Freris Prologe.
21. The Freris tale. Five leaves.
22. The Sompnour's Prologe. A little more than a page.
23. The Sompnour's tale. Eight leaves.

* "Explicit pars secunda.

Apollo whirleth up his chair so high
Till that the god Mercurius house he fle,

¶ There can be found no more of this foresaid tale, which has been sought in diures places. The works of—*Geffèrey Chaucer*, fol. 25. b. Edit. 1602." LEWIS *ut supra*.

24. The Prologe of the Clerke of Oxenford. Two pages.
25. The Clerkis tale of Oxenford. Eighteen leaves.
26. Wordes of the Hoost. Seven lines.
27. Second Nonnys Prologe. Two leaves.
28. The tale of the Nonne. Seven leaves.
29. The prologe of the Chanon's yeman. Two leaves and a half.
30. The tale of the Chanon's yeman. Ten leaves.
31. The tale of the doctour of Phisick. Four leaves.
32. The wordes of the Hoost. Somewhat more than a page.
33. The Pardoners Prologe. Two leaves and one page.
34. The Tale of the Pardoner. Six leaves and a half.
35. The Tale of the shypman. Six leaves.
36. Verba Hospitis. Half a page.
37. The Pryoreses Prologe. One page and half.
38. The Tale of the Pryoresse. Three leaves.
39. The Prologue of Chaucer's tale. One page.
40. The Ryme of—Sir Thopas. Two leaves and half.
41. The wordes of the Hoost. A page and a half; sequitur Chaucer's tale.
42. The tale of Chaucer. Twenty leaves.
43. The Monkes Prologue. Three pages.
44. The tale of the Monke. Twelve leaves.
45. The Prologue of the Nonnys Preest. A page and half.
46. The tale of the Nonnys Preest. Nine leaves.
47. The Mauncyplis Prologue. Two leaves.
48. The tale of the Mauncypyl. Three leaves and a half.
49. The Parsonnys Prologue. Three pages.
50. The tale of the Parson. Prose. Thirty-two leaves.

These tales commence with wood-cuts of the respective characters to which they relate. The following are among the most curious :



The Wyf of Bath.



The Clerke of Oxenforde.

The paper of this second edition is of a more delicate texture than that of the preceding one; and the St. John's copy presents us with a specimen of as beautiful a manufacture as can be found in the Variorum Classics of the 17th and 18th centuries, printed in Holland. I should add that the greater part of the cuts in this copy are injudiciously coloured by an ancient hand. It once belonged to a Mr. William Paddy, formerly of the college.

In regard to its intrinsic worth, the present edition is taken from a better MS. than the preceding one. Mr. Tyrwhitt allows that, notwithstanding the *professed* improvements of Godfray's edition of 1532, its material variations from Caxton's second edition are all, in his opinion, for the worse. It confounds the order of the Squier's and the Frankelein's tales, which Caxton, in his second edition, had set right.* Appx. to Preface, xi-xii. 4to. edit.

An imperfect copy is in the British Museum, and in the libraries of the Royal Society, his Majesty, and Lord Spencer.

41. *INFANCIA SALVATORIS.*† *Hic incipit tractatus qui intitulatur Infancia saluatoris.* 4to. (Type No. 3.)

Of this tract Herbert knew nothing more than what was stated by Ames, whose account is rather meagre and dissatisfactory; but as

* It appears that Caxton's accuracy, as an editor, was far from being despicable; and that Chaucer's works, in the opinion of Lewis, have received an injury from his subsequent editors. "Of this," says he, "I'll give the following instance"—[from the beginning of one of the pieces of n°. 43]—

CAXTON'S Edition.

—For lo rendyng muses of Poets enditen, to me thinges to be writen, and drery vers of wretchidnes weten my face with very teeris"—"yongthe"—"welefull"—"dreynte"—"unagreable"—"welefull."

Ed. 1602. 1721.

—For lo rendyng muses of Poets enditen to me things to be writen, and dreary tears."—"youth"—"welfull"—"drente"—"ungreable"—"welfull."

Life of Caxton, p. 150.

† For the account of the GAME of CHESS, without date, which precedes the above in Herbert, see p. 36, ante. The present article is placed by mistake before "Boetius."

the latter had specified it to be in the Harleian collection [although Herbert was not able to find it in the catalogue], we must take his word for the truth of its existence as a production of Caxton's press. I am unable to give the least additional information.

“Exiit edictum à Cesare Augusto, ut describeretur universus orbis, hec autem descriptio prima facta est preside, Sirie Cirino. Et ibant omnis ut profiterentur singuli in civitatem suam, ascendit Ioseph à Galilea, de civitate Nazareth, in Iudeam, ad civitatem David, que vocatur Bethleem, eo quod esset de domo et familia David, ut profiteretur cum Maria desponsata sibi uxore pregnante. Cum ergo Ioseph et Maria venerunt per viam que ducit ad Bethleem dixit Maria ad Ioseph, duos populos video, unum flentem et alium gaudentem. Cui Ioseph, sede in jumento tuo et noli superflua verba loqui, &c.

It ends with, “Explicit infancia salvatoris,” and these lines :

“Virgo parens vixit sexaginta tribus annis ;
 Quatuor atq; decem fuit in partu bene dicta,
 Triginta que tribus cum nato vixerat annis,
 Sex que decem sola postquam Christus subit astra.
 Ecclesiastici v 11°. si filii tibi sint, erudi
 Illos, et curva illos à puericia illorum ; si filie
 Tibi sint, serva corpus illarum, et non ostendas
 Hilarem faciem tuam ad illas. Gregorii—
 Quamvis quis justus sit, tñ in hac vita non debet
 Esse, securus qā nescit quo fine sit terminandus.”

Ames says that the piece contains eighteen leaves.

“This apocryphal tract,” says Herbert, “according to this extract given by Mr. Ames, differs greatly from the *Evangelium Infantiæ* by Fabricius in *Cod. Apocr. N. Test.* [vol. i. 168] which is reprinted, with an English translation, in Jones's *Method of settling the canonical Authority of the N. Testament*: vol. ii. 210.

42. THE BOKE OF CONSOLACION OF PHILOSOPHIE ;
 whiche that boecius * made for his comferte and con-
 solacion &c Atte requeste of a singuler frend and
 gossib of myne *William Caxton have done my debuoir*
& payne tenprynte it in fourme as is here afore made
&c. Folio. (Type No. 3.) *No place.*

This volume, which has not escaped Bruggemann, in his curious and rare work,† opens with these words ; printed in Caxton's largest character :

“ Carmina qui quondam studio florente peregi
 Flebilis heu mestos cogor inire modos”

* I take this opportunity of supplying a deficiency which appears in the account of some early editions of BOETHIUS, in my *Introduction to the Greek and Latin Classics*, vol. i. 218.

KOEBURGER. Nuremberg. Fol. 1473. *First Edition*, with a German version, and the commentary of Thomas Aquinas : A magnificent and uncommon work. The copy of this book, which I saw in the Bodleian library, ranks among the most sumptuous of those printed in the 15th century. The reader will find the best account of it in Laire's *Ind.* i. 295 : and Santander's *Dict. Bibl. Choisi.* ii. 229. It was unknown to De Bure. Maittaire and Panzer describe an edition of 1479, to which the date of 1470 is erroneously affixed. See the latter's *Annal. Typog.* ii. 381.

BONUS JOHANN. Savonnæ, 4to. 1474. This is the first edition *without the commentary*, and is the more remarkable as being the only book, hitherto known, printed at Savonne in the 15th century. Santander, *Ibid.* It is very rare.

The earliest *French* edition of Boethius, from which it is most probable that Chaucer's supposed version was made, was printed at Bruges by Colard Mansion in 1477, folio. This rare book is said by Marchand, *Dict. Hist. Typog.* vol. ii. 25, to have been printed in 1476 ; but Lambinet and Santander (the latter of whom offers us the most detailed account of it) are decisive as to the date of 1477. The title, which is printed in red ink, informs us that Reynier de St. Trudon was the translator—"un honneste clerc desolé querant sa consolation en la translation de cestui liure." *Dict. Bibl. Choisi*, vol. ii. n°. 318.

There is a very elegant and ancient edition of Boethius, with the Cologne water mark, in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford. It has 26 lines to a full page, and contains 47 leaves, exclusively of the table. At the end : "Gloria Deo Sempiterno"—It has neither printer's name, date, nor place.

† *View of the English Editions, Translations, &c. of the Greek and Latin Authors*, p. 769, Stettin. 1797, 8vo.

“This book, says Ames, is in Latin and English ; the Latin not cited at length, but only a few verses or lines of a period, and then the whole of that period in English ; and so on alternately Latin and English throughout, as in the subsequent editions of Chaucer ; and not the Latin and English side by side, as in Cawood’s edition of this book, 1556.”

Explicit boecius de consolacione philosophic.

“Thus endeth this book which is named the book of Consolation of Philosophy ; which that Boecius made for his comfort and consolation, he being in exile for the common and public weal, having great heaviness and thoughts and in manner of despair : rehearsing in the said book how Philosophy appeared to him, shewing the mutability of this transitory life, and also informing how fortune and hap should be understonden, with the predestination and prescience of God ; as much as may and is possible to be known naturally, as afore is said in this said book. Which Boecius was an excellent author of divers books craftily and curiously made in prose and metre ; and also had translated divers books out of Greek into Latin, and had been senator of that noble and famous city of Rome. And also his two sons senators for their prudence and wisdom. And forasmuch as he withstood to his power the tyranny of Theodoric then emperor, and would have defended the said city and senate from his wicked hands ; whereupon he was convict and put in prison, in which prison he made this foresaid book of Consolation for his singular comfort : and forasmuch as the style of it is hard and *difficile* to be understood of simple persons, therefore the worshipful father and first founder and embellisher of *ornate* eloquence in our English, I mean Master GEOFFREY CHAUCER, hath translated this said work out of Latin in to our usual and mother tongue, following the Latin as nigh as is possible to be understand ; wherein, in mine opinion, he hath deserved a perpetual laud and thank of all this noble *royame* of England, and in especial of them that shall read and understand it. For in the said book they may see what this transitory and mutable world is, and whereto every man, living in it, ought to intend. Then

for as much as this said book so translated is rare and not spread ne known as it is *digne* and worthy. For the erudition and learning of such as ben ignorant and not knowing of it, at request of a singular friend and gossip of mine, I, William Caxton, have done my *devoir* and pain to enprint it in form as is here afore made, in hoping that it shall profit much people to the weal and health of their souls, and for to learn to have and keep the better patience in adversities. And furthermore I desire and require you, that of your charity ye would pray for the soul of the said worshipful man Geoffrey Chaucer, first translator of this said book into English, and embellisher in making the said language *ornate* and fair, which shall endure perpetually, and therefore he ought eternally to be remembered; of whom the body and corps lieth buried in the Abbey of Westminster, beside London, to fore the chapel of Saint Benet, by whose sepulture is written on a table, hanging on a pillar, his epitaph made by a poet laureat, whereof the copy followeth, &c.

“*Epitaphium Galfridi Chaucer, per poetam laureatum Stephanum Surigonum Mediolanensem in decretis licenciatum.*

Beginning: “Pyerides muse si possunt numina fletus;
Fūdere, diuinas atq; rigare genas
Galfridi vatis chaucer crudelia fata
Plangite, &c.

Concluding: Post obitum Caxton voluit te uiuere cura
Willelmi, Chaucer clare poeta tui
Nam tua non solum compressit opuscula formis
Has quoq; sed laudes jussit hic esse tuas”

I subjoin a short specimen from the third book; which will be found nearly conformable to the text given in Urry's edition of Chaucer's Works; p. 378.

“*Omne hominum genus in terris simili surgit ab ortu
Unus enim rerum pater est. unus cuncta ministrat*” etc.

" All the lineage of men that ben in earth ben of semblable birth. One alone is father of things : one alone ministreth all things : he gave to the sun his beams ; he gave to the moon her horns ; he gave the men to the earth ; he gave the stars to the heaven ; he encloseth with members the souls that comen from his high seat. Then comen all mortal folk of noble seed. Why noisen ye or boasten of your elders ? For if ye look your beginning, and God your father, author, and your maker, then is there none forlived wight or ungentle, but if he nourish his courage unto vices, and forelet his proper birth."

If this version be really Chaucer's, it is a specimen of much purer language than will be found in the generality of productions in the 14th century. The present edition has neither signatures, numerals, catchwords, nor capital initials : the leaves are 93 in number. There is a beautiful and perfect copy in the Bodleian library ; another is in Magdalen College library, Oxford ; and a third is in the public library at Cambridge, [A. B. 4: 9.] The British Museum contains a copy, as do also the libraries of his Majesty and Mr. Johnes. Mr. Douce has an imperfect one.

43. A COLLECTION OF CHAUCER'S AND LYDGATE'S MINOR POEMS. 4to. *No place.*

1. Stans puer ad mensam ; or, Lessons of behaviour to the Young.
2. An holy Salve regina in english.*

* " In the ' Hours of the most blessed Virgin Mary,' as the book is termed, is what is there called, *A prose concerning the blessed Virgin Mary* in Latin, which thus begins : ' Salve regina misericordie, vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve.' LEWIS'S *Life of Caxton*, p. 108. Lewis, I apprehend, alludes to those numerous beautiful Missals, in MS. and in print, which adorn the collections of most Protestant and Roman Catholic libraries, under the title of " HORÆ BEATÆ MARIE VIRGINIS." A rich collection of these " HORÆ" will be found in the *Bibl. Paris.* (Lond. 1790) of which the article n°. 14, now in Mr. Johnes's library at Hafod, surpasses any one that I have seen. The paintings, especially " the dead Christ in his Mother's lap," cannot be excelled. Consult also Péignot's *Curiosités Bibliogr.* p. 67.

3. Parvus Catho.
4. Magnus Catho, in four books.
5. Fable of the chorle and the birde.
6. Fable of the horse, the ghoos and the sheep.
7. A list of proper terms or phrases in speaking of beasts, birds, &c.
8. The temple of glas.
9. Scipio's dream ; called, The parliament of birds.
10. A trefyse whiche John Skogan sente unto the lordes and gentilmen of the kynge's hows, exhortyng them to lose no tyme in their yongthe. (*Urry, p. 546.*)
11. The good counceyl of Chaucer. (*Urry, p. 548.*)
12. The book of curtesye.
13. Annelida and Arcyte.
14. Chaucer's complaint to his purse. (*See Urry, p. 549.*)
15. Thenuoye of Chaucer unto the kynge. (*See Urry, ibid.*)

The account of this curious collection of old poetry, given by Lewis, Ames, and Herbert, being in many respects imperfect, the reader is presented with the following ; from a careful examination of the volume containing it, in the public library of Cambridge, alluded to by Herbert as having been described to Lewis by Dr. Middleton. The latter was perfectly right [notwithstanding the indirect manner in which he is contradicted by Herbert] in assigning the entire collection to the press of Caxton. The pieces are uniformly printed with n^o. 3. of the third plate of Caxton's types. The titles, or rather the sub-titles or subdivisions, of the pieces are more numerous than the foregoing detailed by Lewis, Ames, and Herbert ; but the principal are sufficiently set forth. Of the 6th piece, " the horse, ghoos, and sheep," there are two different impressions by Caxton himself ; the orthography often materially varying. [Ritson was not aware of

this ; and supposed that the present volume, or collection, contained pieces printed by Wynkyn De Worde.]

No. 1. is the production of Lydgate ; being a translation from the "*Carmen juvenile de moribus puerorum*" of SULPITIUS ; of which the first edition, an exceedingly rare volume, was probably printed at Aquila, in 1483, 4to. See Panzer, vol. iv. 218. It was frequently reprinted in the beginning of the 16th century. Nos. 3 and 4 are also translated by Lydgate.

Nos. 5 and 6 are generally allowed to be Lydgate's performance [Ritson's Bibl. Poet. 69]. Bale and Pits ascribe also to the same author the Parliament of Birds ; which, by the beginning they have given it, must be a different piece from n°. 9 in this collection, undoubtedly the same with the 'Assemblee of Foules,' by Chaucer ; to whom also the Good Counceyl of Chaucer, and the three following articles, may be attributed. See Herbert, p. 79.

No. 8, The Temple of Glas, written in imitation of Chaucer's Temple of Fame. "There is some uncertainty, says Herbert, both as to the author and printer of this poem. It has been claimed for Hawes and Lydgate. I do not find any MS or printed copy giving the author's name. Mr. Ames indeed has inserted an edition as printed by W. de Worde, 1500, and ascribed it to Stephen Hawes as the author ; but as that part is printed in italic, it may be questioned whether it appears on the face of the book. If it does not, then Hawes's own evidence must decide in favour of Lydgate, notwithstanding what Bale, and Pits after him, have wrote to the contrary. They must be allowed to have taken many things upon trust. Mr. Warton lays the stress of the argument for Hawes on the circumstance of the book being printed with his name, in his own lifetime ; which, if a fact, would be of great force ; but then, why is not the author's name continued in the subsequent edition by Berthelet ?* This edition has nei-

* Whoever consults Warton's note h, vol. ii. 211, as here referred to, will observe how indeterminately he makes up his mind upon the subject ; the authorities being, in his estimation, equally strong in favour of either poet. Ritson does not hesitate to assign

ther titlepage nor colophon; only at the head of the poem “¶ Here begynneth the Temple of Glass;” and at the end is Caxton’s small white-grounded device, without date, or name of either author or printer.” The passage which here follows in Herbert, for the reasons before given, is incorrect and inconclusive.

“Concerning the 10th article, the reader will be pleased to see Mr. Tyrwhitt’s account of it in his edition of the *Canterbury Tales*.”*

The 11th article, as Herbert properly observes, has no connection with the Book of Curtesy, forming the 12th. Accordingly I have placed them separately.

“Mr. T. Thomas, in his preface to Urry, mentions the 12th article, among other small pieces of Chaucer’s, [the account of which he had from Bagford,] under the title of “THE BOKE OF CURTESYE, or *Lytyll John*.” I have seen a fragment, of which the following is an exact copy, and appears by the colophon to be part of the said tract.

“Redeth his werkys full of plesaunce
Clere in sentence in langage excellent
Bryefly to wryte suche was his suffysaunce
What euer to saye he toke in his entente
His langage was so fayr and pertynente

the piece to Lydgate, in his *Bibl. Poet.* p. 59. Mr. G. Ellis (*Spec. E. P.* vol. i. 416) also inclines to the same conclusion; and indeed it is rather surprising that it should have been controverted after the express testimony of Hawes himself in favour of Lydgate. In the former’s *Pastime of Pleasure*, (edit. 1552. ch. xiv.) speaking of the latter, he says—

———And the tyme to passe
Of love he made the bryght TEMPLE OF GLASSE.

as quoted by Warton—*ibid*: to which Warton adds, “this piece is expressly recited in the large catalogue of Lydgate’s works, belonging to W. Thinne, in Speght’s edition of Chaucer, 1602: see fol. 376. Whoever may be the author of it, its intrinsic merits are very great; as the reader will be convinced by a careful perusal of the brilliant extracts given by Warton in the place just referred to.

* Vol. v. p. 19. 8vo. edit.

It semeth unto mannys heeryng
Not only the worde but verely the thyng

Redeth my chylde redeth his bookes alle
Refuseth none they ben expedyente
Sentence or langage or bothe fynde ye shall
Full delectable for that good fader mente
Of all his purpose and his hole entente
How to please in euery audyence
And in our tunge was well of eloquence

Beholde Ocklyf in his translacyon
In goodly langage and sentence passyng wyse
How he gyueth his prynce suche exhortacyon
As to the hiest he coude best deuysen
Of trouthe. pees. mercy. and Justyce
And vertues leetyng for no slouthe
To do his deuoyr & quyte hym of his troth

These three stanzas are on one page, being the recto of sign. b b ;
and the following terms or phrases, on the preceding: these latter
are the same with those in the 7th article of this collection.

a Promesse of tapst̃s	a Trymirtte of cord-
a Scolding of kēpst̃s	waners
a Fighting of beggers	a Bleche of sowters
a Disworship of stottes	a Smere of coryers
a Raskall of boyes	a Pyte of prysoners
a Rafull of knaues	a Glorifyeng of lyers
a Thraue of thresshers	a Lyeng of prdoners
a Lasshe of carters	a Hastynes of cookes

¶ Here endeth a lytyll treatyse called the boke of Curtesye, or
Little John. Enprinted atte Westmoster."

Beneath this is Caxton's small white ground mark, reversed.

"This fragment, on half a sheet of paper, is printed but on one side, and luckily has the papermaker's mark; a star of eight points, the uppermost of which enters into a crown that is over it. The type is n°. 3. of the third plate. Mr. Speght had the use of this book, which was John Stow's, and has quoted another stanza from it, lamenting the death of Gower, Chaucer and Gaufride."* I have examined Herbert's account with a copy of this fragment in Mr. Douce's possession, and find it to be nearly correct.

Tyrwhitt (Appx. to Pref. p. vii. note) gives us, unluckily, no account of these pieces; but refers to the meagre one of Middleton and Lewis (Life of Caxton, p. 104): after justly reprobating the erroneous account in Urry's preface, he leaves the matter as it was communicated to him by Middleton.

The 14th article ends thus: "The envoye of Chaucer unto the kynge."

Whan feyth failleth in prestes sawes
And lordes hestes ar holden for lawes
And robbery is holden purchas
And lechery is holden solas
Than shal the lond of albyon
Be brought to grete confusion.

After which "*et sic est finis.*"

44. THE BOOK OF FAME, made by Gefferey Chaucer.
Emprynted by wylliam Caxton. Folio. No place.
(Type No. 4.)

"This is the title Mr. Caxton has given this poem at the head of the author's prologue; and Pynson, in edit. 1526, entitles it in like manner. Godfray's edit. 1532, is the first that names it 'The House

* See Chaucer's edit. 1598. His Death.

of Fame'; and indeed it is the title by which Chaucer himself describes it in his Legend of Good Women." Herbert, p. 81.

The prologue begins as follows, on signature a ij :

" God torne vs euery dreame to good
For it is wonder thyng by the rood
To my wyt, what causyth sweuenys
On the morowe, or on euenys
And why theeffect foloweth of sōme
And of sōme it shal neuer come
Why that it is a visyon
And why this, a reualacion" &c.

The poem is divided into three books, or parts, and concludes with :

" Thus in dremyng and in game
Endyth thys lytyl book of Fame."

" **Explicit.**

" I find no more of this work to fore said ; for as far as I can understand, this noble man Geoffrey Chaucer finished at the said conclusion of the meeting of *lesyng* and *sothsawe* ; where as yet they ben checked and may not depart. Which work, as me seemeth is craftily made, and *digne* to be written and known : for he toucheth in it right great wisdom and subtle understanding ; and so in all his works he excelleth in mine opinion all other writers in our English ; for he writeth no void words, but all his matter is full of high and quick sentence, to whom ought to be given laud and praising for his noble making and writing. For of him all other have borrowed sith and taken, in all their well saying and writing. And I humbly beseech and pray you, among your prayers to remember his soul, on which and on all christian souls I beseech Almighty God to have mercy. Amen.

Imprinted by William Caxton."

This prologue is extracted in Urry's Chaucer, Pref. note n.

The volume contains 28 leaves, or signature d 5. A copy of it is in the royal library, in that of Earl Spencer, and in the public library at Cambridge [A. B.10: 27] which latter is a remarkably fine one. See Bibl. West. n°. 2281: Ratcliffe, n°. 1014; and White's Catalogue of 1777, n°. 1080 where there is a perfect copy.

45. TROYLUS AND CRESIDE: *Here endeth Troylus as touchyng Creseyde. Explicit per Caxton. Folio. No Place.* (Type No. 4.)

"This," says Herbert, "is one of Chaucer's unquestionable poems, being adopted by himself in the Legend of Good Women.

All the copies of this edition begin thus; on signature a ij.

"The double sorow of Troylus to telle
Kyng Pryamus sone of Troye
Jn louyng, how hys auentures felle
From woo to wele, and after out of Joye
My purpose is, or that J parte froye
Thesiphone thow help me for to endyte
These woful verses, that wepyn as I wryte"

"It is wrote in seven line stanzas, and divided into five books; each of which have a prologue, except the last. It extends to sign. p iiij. in octaves: the last page is blank. The whole concludes with these dedicating stanzas:

"O moral Gower this book J dyrect
To the and to the Phylosophycal Strode
To wuchesauf there nede is to correct
And of youre benygnytees, and zelys goode
And to that sothfast, Crist that starf on roode

With al myn herte of mercy J prey
And to the lorde ryght thus J speke & seye

“Thou one and twoo, and thre eterne a lyue
That regnest ay in thre twoo and one
Incircumscript, & al mayst circumscriue
Vs from vysable and Jnuysyble foon
Defende & to thy mercy euerychone
So make vs Jhesu for thy mercy dygne
For loue of mayden, and moder thyn benynge
“Here endeth Troilus, as touching Creseyde

Explicit per Caxton.

“It is printed in single columns; the leaves are not numbered, nor has it capital initials, or any running title.” Thus far Herbert, p. 82: 3. Ames calls it a quarto; but he is properly corrected by Herbert—who says that it is “as much a folio for size as any of those books he has denominated such.” A copy is in the possession of his Majesty, of Lord Spencer, and in the library of St. John’s College, Oxford. See Bibl. West. 2280: Ratcliffe, n°. 1424.

Lydgate, in his prologue to *Bochas*,* speaking of Chaucer’s Works, says,

“Of whose labour to make mencyon
Where of right, he should cōmended be
Jn youthe he made a translacion
Of a boke, whiche called is Trophe
Jn Lumbarde tonge, as men may rede & see
And in our vulgar, long or that he deyde
Gauē it the name, of TROYLOUS & CRESSEYDE

Whiche for to rede louers them delyte
They haue therin so grete deuocion.”

* Pynson’s edit. 1527.

The reader, who is partial to the productions of Chaucer, will not fail to consult the elegant analysis of this beautiful poem in the xivth section of Warton's 1st vol. of H. E. P. The latter part of this volume, from the xii to the xviii section inclusive, contains the most amusing and animated account of the popular poems of our bard that is any where to be found.

46. A BOOK FOR TRAVELLERS : Folio. (Type No. 4.)

Whereby one may learn French and English.

“ *Frensshe.*

Englisshe.

*OU nom du pere,
Et du filz,
Et du saint esperite,
Veul commencier,
Et ordonner vng livre,
Par la quel on pourra
Reysonnablement entendre
Fransoys et Engloys
Du tant comme cest escript
Pourra contenir et estendre.
Car il ne peult tout comprendre,
Mais ce quon ny trouuera
Declaire ou cestui
Pourra en trouver ailleurs,
En aultre livres.
Mais sachiez pour voir,
Que es lignes de cest aucteur
Soint plus de parolles et de raysons
Comprinses, et de responses
Que en moult daultres liures.
Que ceste liure vouldra aprendre*

*In the name of the fadre,
And of the sonne
And of the holy ghost,
J wyll begynne
And ordeyne this book,
By the whiche men shall mowe
Resonably vnderstande
Frenssh and Englisshe,
Of as moche as this writing
Shall conteyne and stratche.
For he may not alle comprise
But that which cannot be founden
Declared in this
Shall be founde somewhere els,
In other bookes.
But knowe for trouthe,
That in the lynes of this auctour
Ben moo wordes and reasons
Comprised, and of ansuers
Than in many other bookes.
Who this booke shall wylle lerne*

Frensshe.	Englisshe.
<i>Bien vourra entre prendre</i>	May well enterprize or take on hande
<i>Marchandises dun pays a lautre,</i>	Marchandises fro one land to anothir,
<i>Et cognoistre maintes denrees,</i>	And to know many wares,
<i>Que lui seroient bon achetes</i>	Which to hym shal be good to be bouzt
<i>Ou vendues pour riche deuenir.</i>	Or solde, for riche to be come.
<i>Apprendre ce liure diligement,</i>	Lerne this book diligently,
<i>Grand prouffyt y gyst vrayement.</i>	Grete prouffyt lieth therein truly.
<i>OR scaues quil affiert,</i>	Now know what behoueth,
<i>Quil ait du tout vne partie.</i>	That he have alle of a partie.
<i>Quand vous alles par les rues,</i>	Whan ye goo by the streetes,
<i>Et vous encontres aulcuns</i>	And ye mete ony
<i>Que vous cognossies,</i>	That ye knowe,
<i>Ou quilz soyent de votre cognoissance,</i>	Or that they be of your knowelech,
<i>Soyes ysnel et apparailies</i>	Be swyft and redy
<i>De luy ou deux premier saluer.</i>	Hym or hem first to grete.
<i>Sil est ou sils sont hommes de valeur,</i>	Yf he be, or they be men of valure
<i>Ostes vostre chappron.</i>	Doo of your hood
<i>Pour dames et damoyseyllys,</i>	For ladies and damoyseylles,
<i>Se ils ostent leur chaperon,</i>	Yf they doo of their hood,
<i>Sy le remettes de vous mayns</i>	So sette it on agayn with your handis
<i>En telle maniere.</i>	In such manere."

"This whole page is given for a sample of both languages, and the customs of salutation then used. Ames says, Caxton is supposed to have printed the book before 1484, it being without capital initials."

Ames had part of this book in his collection, which I suspect was afterwards in Dr. Farmer's library, and is now in that of Mr. Douce. It is an almost perished fragment of two leaves; containing none of

the preceding matter. In what collection a perfect copy is to be found, I am unable to mention : such a book must be a great curiosity. The obvious utility of the work, at the period of its publication, would render copies of it to be speedily purchased, and in consequence to be now rare—or, as the French bibliographers term it, “*presques introuvables.*”

47. THE LYF OF ST. KATHERINE OF SENE; with the reuelacyons of Saynt Elysabeth the Kynges Doughter of Hungarye. Folio. (Type No. 4.) *No Place nor Name.*

“This book,” says Herbert, “is printed in double columns, and seems to have had no other title than the following one; at the head of the first column on signature a j.

“¶ Here begynneth the lyf of saint katherin of senis the blessid virgin

“¶ Audi filia et vide.

“Here doughter & see fructuos example of vertuous liuinge” &c. A little lower, says Ames : “Here I purpose, by the Lord’s mercy, only in his worship, with trust of his grace, and leve, by help of your prayers, to translate in English tongue the Legend and the blessed Life of an holy maid and virgin, which was and is called Katheryn of Sene.” A fac simile of the ornamental capital initial, H, at the commencement of the prologue, is given in my account of the Life of Caxton, ante. This prologue is by the translator, but who he was, does not appear. We are informed in it that “This legend compiled a worshipful clerk Friar Raymond,* of the order of Saint Dominic, doctor of divinity, and confessor of his holy virgin—which compiled this book in Latin.—divided in three parts, and each

* “In the preface to a little book in 4to. printed at Antwerp, 1603, with the following title, ‘D. Catharinæ Senensis Virginis sanctissimæ Ord. Prædicatorum Vita ac Miracula selectiora, *formis aneis expressa*,’ this Friar Raymund is mentioned as one of the evidences of the facts here represented, and styled ‘B. Raymundus Capuanus Doctor Theologus et

part—in to divers chapters, of which there follows a table of contents.”

The *Life of St. Catharine* concludes with, “Lo, dear friends, now have ye heard the virtue of patience which this holy maid and virgin used, wherefore she is owned and spoused to our reverend Lord Almighty God, sweet Jesu Christ, in the bliss of heaven; and thus I make an end of this recapitulation of this holy book to the honour and worship of our glorious reverend Lord Almighty God all the reverend Trinity. Cui referantur laudes, honor et gloria, in sēla sēlorum Amen.

“¶ Here endeth the *Life of that glorious virgin and martyr Saint Catharine of Sene.*”

“¶ Here begynnen the revelations of Saint Elizabeth, the king’s daughter of Hungary. On a day when Saint Elizabeth was in privy prayer:” &c. These revelations fill 9 pages and about a half, and conclude thus: “All these things before said: Saint Elizabeth, about the ending of her life, the which was in the year of our Lord a m, cc xxxj, affirmed that she had seen and heard as is above written:

Dominicanæ familiæ Magister Generalis. There are two and thirty of these copper cuts. In the last of them it is affirmed, that the very hour in which this Catharine died, Thomas Penna, the apostolical prothonotary, saw the heavens open, and her ascending aloft among quiers of angels; and that a devout widow, named Semia, saw her crowned with a triple crown, and received by Christ, her spouse, sitting on a throne.” Lewis’s *Life of Caxton*, p. 108-9, Text and Note. But consult Butler’s *Lives of the Saints*, vol. iv. 330. ed. 1798.

The author of a *Life of this Saint*, according to the *Cat. de la Valliere*, n°. 4763, was THOMAS of Sienna, a Dominican; who first composed it in the Latin language, and afterwards made a translation of it, for the common people, in the Italian. MARCHONI, of Sienna, a Chartreuse monk, not being aware of this, also made an Italian version of it: his MS. appears to have been sold at the Valliere sale. As to the editions of it in French, Latin, and Italian, printed abroad, they are too numerous to be here specified.

“The other of these tracts,” says Lewis, “seems to have been an English translation of the Legend in the Lombardic history, or Golden Legend. In a book entitled ‘*Liber trium unum et trium spiritualium Virginum*,’ Paris, 1513, are four books of the Visions and Discourses of Elizabeth, a nun of Schonhaug, in Germany, one of her letters, and a sixth of her translation.” *Life of Caxton*, p. 109.

and she said that she had so great certainty of them all, that she would rather suffer death than to doubt any little part of them that they were not true.

“ ¶ Here enden the revelations of Saint Elizabeth the king's daughter of Hungary.” And then Caxton's large mark or cypher, which fills up the front page of the last leaf; the back page blank. See Herbert, p. 85.

From a MS. note in the copy of this book at Cambridge, it appears that “ St. Elizabeth's Life is written by Jacobus Montanus, of Spire. Again, this holy virgin, Hermond, Lantgrave of Thuringe, by especial labour, procured to have married to Lodwick, his son, and in the end obtained it of the king and queen, her parents; by her he had three children, as Herman, their son and heir, and two daughters; the one married to the Duke of Brabant, the other a nun; she lived in 1220, and died 13 Nov. 1231, whom Gregory IX. canonized for a glorious saint.” This is given by Ames, p. 63, n. b.—as “ from a MS. called Andreas, and of Queen Gertrude, his wife.”

“ The leaves are not numbered,” says Herbert, “ but contain 16 signatures or gatherings, viz. a, 8 leaves; b, to i, inclusive, 6 each; k, 4; l, —p, 6 each; and q, 4. As my copy (continues he) is unbound, I have had the satisfaction of examining whether each signature was a single sheet only, or a gathering of more, and find the latter to be the case, in this instance however. The capital initials are similar to those of the second form in the plate prefixed to the ‘ Preliminary Disquisition.’ His Majesty and Earl Spencer each possess a copy of this work, and there is one in the public library at Cambridge, A. B. 8. 46; and in the Roxburgh library. See Mr. Edwards's Catalogues of 1790—(n°. 1119)—1794—(1209). Osborne, in his Cat. of 1748, n°. 954, had marked a copy at the moderate sum of £1. 1.

48. SPECULUM VITE CHRISTI; or the myrroure of the
blessyd Lyf of Jhesu Criste. *Emprynted by Wyl-*
lyam Caxton. Folio. (Type No. 5.)

Compiled from the Latin book of DOCTOUR BONAVENTURE,*
De meditatione vite Cristi, which he wrote to a devout lady, together
with “¶ A short treatise of the highest and most worthy sacrament
of Christ’s blessed body, and the marvels thereof.”

It begins with a table of contents on signature a ij. At the end
of the table; “Sequitur prohemium.” In this prohemie by the trans-
lator we have the following remarkable “Memorandum: that, about
the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and ten, a number
of copies of the original Latin work was brought over to England

* The works of this pious Doctor were first collected and published in a ponderous folio
volume, in Latin, at Strasburgh, in 1482: see *Bibl. Sarazz.* n°. 204, to which both Mait-
taire and Panzer refer—it is there called “Editio rara.” A great number of his tracts were
afterwards published at the same place, and by the same printer (Martin Flach) in 1489,
fol.: of which edition a particular account is given by Seemiller *Incunab. Typog.* Fasc. iii.
147. His “SPECULUM VITE CHRISTI” appears to have been first printed at the same
place, and by the same printer, in 4to. 1478. See Panzer, vol. i. 22—who, however, has
but a slight notification of it. His “MEDITATIONES Vite et passionis Jesu Christi”
were published ten years before (1468); and this book has the singularity of being the first
work printed at Augsбург, to which a date is affixed. Santander calls it “Edition in-
finiment rare.” *Dict. Bibliog. Choisi*, vol. ii. n°. 325—Panzer is copious in his references:
Annal. Typog. vol. i. 99. Bonaventure’s “*Speculum B. Mariæ Virginis*,” was published
in 1476, folio. Consult Santander, ii. n°. 326—where a short biographical sketch is
subjoined: from which we learn that Bonaventure was one of the most accomplished
scholars of the 13th century. He was born in 1221, and died in 1274, “with fatigue in
preparing the business to be transacted at the council of Lyons in 1274.” The completest
list of his works will be found in the 5th vol. p. 103, &c. of Panzer’s *Typographical*
Annals.

His “PSALTER OF THE VIRGIN” published at Constance in 12mo. 1611, is called by
Vogt, “*Liber rarus, temerarius, et ob blasphemam Psalmorum ad laudes Mariæ detorsionem*
summe impius.” Consult the authorities referred to by him. *Catalog. Libror. Rarior.* p.
177-8, edit. 1793. This Psalter is extant in the Strasburgh edition of Bonaventure’s
works, published in 1482.

No 5.



After the tyme
that man was ex-
pelled oute of the
hyght Cyte of hevene by
the right wys manne of al
myghty god souerayne
kyng of heuyn for his tres-
pas and his synns and
so wretchedly lay in pry-
son and was holden in
the handes of that ty-
raunt the denyll of helle
that none myghte come
ageyne to that blesyd
Cyte the space of fyve
thousand yers and more

Alle the blesyd spyrites of heuene desyryng the restorynge of
her compaignie that was falle doune with lucifer hadden grete
compassion of soo long melchyp of man that was mad to
her restorynge and prayden ofte for his restorynge / But she
naly and with more instaunce whan the tyme of grace was
come / what tyme as we maye deuoutly ymagyne alle the
blesyd compaignie of Angells gadred to gydre with one wyll
and souerayne deuotion felleu doune prostrate to fore the Twi-
ne of Almyghty god kyng of heuen and Gabriel to whome
as Seynte Bernard sayth was made specially reuelacyon of
Cristes Incarnacyon in her owne name sayd in this manere
Almyghty lord hit lyked to youre hyght magelle of youre
endles goodnesse to make of nouzt that noble and resonable

A.B.

Prefacio
gabuehs

P. LXXXV. a

*Two simile of the type of the Speculum Vitae Christi
or Life of Christ, printed by Caulton.*

by the compiler of it ; and presented at London to Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, for his inspection and approbation before it was generally circulated : who, after a due inspection, and keeping the book several days, expressed an unqualified commendation of it ; and by his metropolitan authority, commanded that it should be carefully digested and circulated for the edification of the faithful and confutation of the heretics ; otherwise, Lollards.*" Middleton, p. 26.

The proheme concludes thus :

“ ¶ And so for as much as in the book ben contained diverse imaginations of Christ's life, the which life from the beginning in to the ending ever blessed without sin, passing all the lives of all other saints, as for a singular prerogative may worthily be cleped the blessed Life of Jesus Christ. The which also by cause it may not be fully described, as the lives of other saints, but in a manner of likeness as the image of man's face is shewed in the mirror, ¶ therefore as for a pertinent name to this book it may skilfully be cleped, the Mirror of the blessed Life Jesus Christ.”

To this is annexed an abstract of the proheme or dedication of Bonaventure to the lady for whom he writes ; wherein, recommending the frequent reading and meditation on the life of Christ, after the example of St. Cecilia, he acquaints her that he had divided his book into seven parts, for her contemplation on each day of the week, as also on the christian festivals.

This book is adorned with wood cuts ; from which the second of the

* “ Memorādū quod circa annum domini Millesimum quadringentesimum decimū originalis copia hujus libri scilicet speculi vite cristi ī āglicis presentebatur Lōdōn per compilatorum ejusdē N, Reverendissimo in cristo patri & domino Thome Arundell cātuariēsi Archiepiscōpo ad inspiciendum & debite examinādū antequā fuerat libere comūcata. Qui post inspectionē ejusdem per dies aliquot retradens ipsum librum memorato ejusdem libri proprie vocis oraculo in singulis comēdauit, et approbavit, necnon et auctoritate sua metropolitana vt pote Catholicum, publice communicandum decreuit et mandauit ad fidelium edificationem et hereticorum siue Lollardorum confutationem.”

following is a fac simile of one in the 'BIBLIA PAUPERUM,' a work supposed to have been printed between the years 1448:



Descent into Hell.



The Ascension.

On signature S, begins the treatise on the sacrament ; afterwards—
 “ ¶ Here followeth a short devout prayer to Jesus Christ and his blessed body, in the sacrament of the altar, the which ought to be said in presence of that holy sacrament at the mass with inward devotion.” Which concludes with “ Amen, Amen AMEN. ¶ Jesus Lord thy blessed life, help and comfort our wretched life, Amen, so may it be ¶ Jn omni tribulatione, temptacione, necessitate & angustya succurre nobis pijsima virgo maria Amen.”

In the public library of Cambridge [A. B. 10 : 42. 43. 44.] there are two imperfect copies, and one perfect copy, of this work. The large device of Caxton is at the end of the perfect one. A beautiful copy is in the Roxburgh collection ; and his Majesty and Earl Spencer are each in possession of one. See Bibl. Ratcliffe, n^{os}. 1019 : 1424 : 1664 : Mr Payne's Cat. of 1794. n^o. 1193.

49. DIRECTORIUM SACERDOTUM; Siue ordinale secundum usum Sarum &c *Impressum per william Caxton apud Westmonasteriū prope London: Folio. (Type No. 4.)*

“ Siue ordinale secundum usum Sarum, una cum defensorio ejusdem directorii; item tractatus qui dicitur Crede michi.”

The copy which Herbert examined, (belonging to William Bayntun, Esq.) had a frontispiece, the size of a whole page. In the middle part Christ was seen naked, half length, as at a window, with his arms across and his head inclined, as shewing the wounds on his hands and under the right breast; a spear erect on his right hand, and a sponge on the left: over his head is a small tablet with I. N. R. I. On a tablet beneath the window the title appeared evidently to have been printed, but from this copy had been indiscreetly cut out. About this middle part are twenty-eight square divisions, each containing some symbol of the passion, forming a kind of border. The Calendar begins on signature j, each month on a page. Ames says, at the end of this is Caxton's cypher, which Mr. Gough says is put for his mark, 1487;* but in this copy that leaf was wanting. On signature a j, “¶ Incipit Prologus in tractatū sequentem Qui dicitur Directorium sacerdotum.” “ Clamat propheta clamat et baptista evangelista que hortat, dicens Dirige viā dñi inq̄m dñi id ē domini.” It ends thus:

“ Nunc igitur obsecro vos O dñi sacerdotes vt hoc directorium benigne a me suscipere dignemini et secundum illud dirigite viam domini in diuinis Officiis celebrandis et dicendis et cum bene vobis

* *British Topography*, vol. ii. 319, &c. Gough mentions also an edition in the Bodleian library. Antw. 1488, 4to. printed by G. Leeu. See Panzer, vol. i. 9. n°. 44.

fuerit, mementote mei peccatoris scriptoris tocius huius Ordinalis, Clementis Maydeston,* sacerdotis."

Then follows a short rubric of five lines, which; with the foregoing prologue, completes the 2d page; and on the next begins a table of the dominical letters and golden numbers, in 7 parts; each of 5 divisions. This table is the foundation on which the first treatise is built, and the running titles shew the several parts and divisions, thus: "Primum A. xvj. xiiij. v. ij; Secundum A viij xv. x vij;" &c. On signature r 5; "¶ Explicit directorium sacerdotū. Et incipit *Defensorium* ī noīe dñi" at the end of which, "*Impressum ē hoc directoriū cū defensorio eiusdem per william Caxton apud Westmonasteriū prope London.*"

Next follows the little tract, called, *Crede michi*; which begins with "Sequentes articuli ventilati sunt et approbati per canonicos eccl. Sarum; et in primo de octabis Corp. Chr."—At the end, the reason of the appellation of *Crede Michi* is said to be, that, "as no rule is set down in that tract which had not been thoroughly debated and approved by the Canons of Sarum and other skilful men, and confirmed by their hands and seals, whoever shall observe those rules shall scarcely err in the service of God." See Rowe Mores's Dissertation as cited below,† Middleton's Dissert. p. 28, note y, and Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 111, where the original Latin is given.

* Of whom see *Bibl. Tanneri*, p. 500.

† The eccentric and ingenious Rowe Mores, in his observations on the *Pica* letter, thus speaks of the present work. "For greater satisfaction we must refer the inquisitive to the 'DIRECTORIUM SACERDOTUM' quem [librum] picā Sarum vulgo vocitat clerus; a book containing all these niceties, and more than once printed by our Engl. printers; as by Caxton without a date, by Pynson in 1498, and again in 1508. Of Mr. Caxton's edit. we may almost say as Buxtorf, or Reland, or somebody else, says of the *Mactation-book* of the Jews, worded in Dutch, but printed in Masket—'legat qui vult aut qui potest.' We mean no more than to intimate that it abounds with abbreviations peculiar to the subject; and that if we remember rightly, it requires some skill in *Pica* to read it with fluency."

"This book was compiled, though not originally, by Clem. de Maydeston, a briggitine friar, but a brother, as Bishop Tanner says, (*Bibl. Brit.* 500) of the house at Houndeslow, which was a house of Trinitarians; and this seeming contradiction we cannot immediately reconcile. The book was intrusted by the Ch. of Sarum to Wm. Clarke precentor

“¶ Quia vero in hoc opere non scribitur aliqua regula nisi sit vera secundum ordinale Sarū & bene ventilata, ac peritorū virorū testimonio ac sigillis confirmata. Jdeo. presens opusculū vocatur Crede michi. Nā qui predictas regulas memoriter tenet vix poterit errare in seruicio diuino, Deo gratias.

Caxton me fieri fecit.

The Bodleian copy of this book is a beautiful and perfect one, with the exception of the frontispiece noticed by Herbert. The Calendar (of eight leaves) does not begin on any signature: but Caxton's large device is at the end.

50. THE WERKE (OR COURT) OF SAPIENCE. Composed
by John Lydgate. Folio. (Type No. 4.)

The work commences with the following pompous prohome; on sign. a ij.

“ The laboreous and the most merueylous werkes
Of Sapience syn firste regned nature
My purpose is to tell as writen clerkes
And specyally her moost notable cure
In my fyrst book I wyl preche and depure
It is so plesaunt unto eche persone
That it a book shal occupye alone

Sone after this I shal wysedom descryve
Her blessyd howshold and her wonnyng place

in the King's Coll. Cambridge, to be corrected and made conformable to the true original of that church; and this correction was occasioned by a dispute, warm at that time, whether the Festival of Corpus Christi with an octave should be celebrated *cum regimine chori* or *sine regimine*; the former of which was the practice of the church of Sarum.” *Dissert. upon English Typog. Founders and Founderies*, p. 24-5, note.

And than retourne unto her actes blyve
 As she them wrought by time, processe and space
 Al this mater she taught me of her grace
 I spak with her, as ye may here and rede
 For in my dreame I mette her in a mede

O Clio lady moost facundious
 O Ravysshynge delyte of Eloquence
 O gylted goddes gay and glorious
 Enspyred with the Percyng influence
 Of delycate heavenly complacence
 Within my mouth late dystylle of thy showres
 And forge my tonge to glad myn audytours.

Myn ignoraunce, whome clouded hath ecclippes
 With thy pure bemes illuyme al about
 Thy blessyd breth lete refleyr in my lypes,
 And with the dewe of heuen thou them degoute,
 So that my mouthe maye blowe and encense oute
 The redolent dulcour aromatyke
 Of thy depured lusty rethoryck.

J know my self moost naked in al artes,
 My comune ne vulgare eke moost interupte,
 And J conuersaunte and born in the partes
 Where my natyfe langage is moost corrupt,
 And with most sundry tonges myxt and rupte.
 O, lady myn, wherfor J thee byseche,
 My muse amende, dress, forge, my nesse and eche.

For to al makers here J me excuse,
 That J ne can delycately endyte ;
 Rude is the speche of force, which J must vse ;
 Such infortune my natyfe byrth may wyte :

But, O ye lordes, whiche haue your delyte
In termes gay, and ben moost eloquent,
This book to you no plesaunce may present.

But netheles, as tasted bytternesse
Al swete thyng maketh be more precious,
So shal my book, extende the godelynesse
Of other auctours, whiche ben glorious,
And make theyr wrytyng delycyous ;
J symple shal extolle theyr soueraynte,
And my rudenes shall shew theyr subtyltye.

Gower Chaucer's, erthely goddes two,
Of thyrst of eloquent delycacye,
With al youre successours fewe or moe,
Fragraunt in speche, experte in poetrye,
You ne yet theym in no poynt J enuye.
Exyled as fer J am from youre glorye,
As nyght from day, or deth from victorye.

I you honoure, blysse, loue, and gloryfye ;
And to whos presence my book shall atteyne,
His hastyf dome J pray hym modefye
And not detraye, ne haue it in disdayne ;
For J purpoose no making for to dystayne.
Meke herte, good tonge, & spyryte pacyent,
Who hath these thre, my book I him present.

And as hym lyst lete hym detray, or adde ;
For syth J am constreyned for to wryte
By my souerayne, and haue a mater glad,
And can not please paynte enourne, ne endyte,
Late ignoraunce and chyldhode haue the wyte :

J ask no more, but God of his mercy
My book conferme from sklaunder and enuy.

Explicit Prohemium."

The poem embraces a variety of subjects. At signature b. iij. we have the conclusion of the first, and the commencement of the second, *Hierarchy*: on the third leaf after signature b. iiij, is the fourth hierarchy, or the conclusion of the first book. "Explicit liber primus de curia sapientie qualiter misericordia et veritas obuiauerunt sibi, Iusticia et pax osculate sunt." Then commences the proheme of the second book; which is devoted to natural and moral philosophy. The descriptions of Stones, Rivers, Fishes, Flowers, Trees, Birds, and Animals, are sometimes rather vigorously executed; and it is not very improbable that some of these stanzas, especially those relating to Flowers, Trees, and Birds, might have supplied Milton with materials for his description of the Garden of Eden.

On the conclusion of these subjects of natural history, commences the description of the Residence of Wisdom; of which the following is rather an interesting specimen:

Upon a rock it was groundd and set
And every buttras ful of ymagery:
Each pynacle, corner, towre and towret
With gold and perle and stones curiously
Depaynted was, and pondred lustely.
And on the gate illumyned with al blysse
With gold lettres thus y wryte ywys.

' This is the weye to vertu and to grace,
To connyng, knowlege, wyt, and al wysdome
This is the wey unto the hevenly place;
Ther, scorne, ne thirst, syn, vyce, ne evil may come;
This the wey to that solempne kyngedome

Where rest, pees, blysse, and comfort seceth never.
Come in who wyl, and ryght welcome for ever!

The first six leaves of this second book are devoted to a description of the first, second, and third *Processes of the Court of Sapience*. Then follows an account of Grammar, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music* (which is very curious), Astronomy, and Faith.

On the reverse of sign. a iiij is "Explicit Tractatus de fide et Cantus famule sue." Then follows, on the two last leaves, a table of "things" which "every Crysten man and woman is holde and bounde to lerne, and to conne to theyr power in waye of theyr salvation." This table, printed in two columns, consists of certain scriptural and moral short sentences; comprehending the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, the Creed, and Ten Commandments.

The volume contains 37 leaves. The author of the poem was suspected by Ames to have been Caxton; "probably," says Herbert, "from the 5th and 6th stanzas of the preface; and no wonder,

* It commences thus:

A lytel besyde within a place of blys
Dame Musyk sat, and with her ladyes thre:
The fyrst hyght dame *Armonyca* ywys,
The second *Rethenica* a lady free,
The thyrd hyght *Metrica* ful of beaute,
The song she prycked, she numbered notes newe:
Theyr melodye formed an heven newe.

The *fyrst* delyted her in tunes mete,
The *second* mesured dyte with the note,
The *thyrd* numbered her songe with certeyne fete
And whiche be her boundes ryght wel she wote.
And with them were good clerkis that thus wrote
And sayd, that 'Musk was the pure connyng,
And veray wey of trewe parfyte syngynge.'

As Warton has not presented us with any extracts from this work of Lydgate, the above may be the more acceptable to the reader. Herbert has given the proHEME only.

as even Mr. Warton himself at first hastily suspected, but on mature deliberation has given suff^t. reason to conclude it was wrote by Lydgate. And Step. Hawes [Grand Amoure Ch. xiiii. Stanza. 9.] mentions ‘the Court of Sapience’ among the works of his Master Lydgate.” p. 90. I subjoin the following account of this book from the Bibl. Harl. vol. iii. n°. 3313. “Though neither the author’s nor printer’s name appears to this poem, it was visibly enough printed by Caxton, and composed by Lidgate, had we not the authority of John Stow for it, in the catalogue of his writings. The author tells us, it was written at the command of his sovereign (perhaps King Henry V.) and it seems to be one of the scarcest of his pieces extant. It is not mentioned either by Dr. Middleton, or Mr. Lewis. There seems to be more invention in it, and variety of matter, than in most other poems of his composition; displaying, after a copious debate between Mercy and Truth, Justice and Peace, a distinct survey throughout the palace and domains of Sapience, of all the products of nature, in distinct chapters, and of arts and sciences; with his further reference, at the end of each, to the authors who have written on them.”

There is a copy of this book in the library of St. John’s College, Oxford; another in that of his Majesty; and a third in Earl Spencer’s collection.

51. A BOKE OF DIVERS GHOSTLY MATERS. *Emprynted at Westmynstre. Folio.*

“These ben the chapters of this treatise of the seven points of true love and everlasting wisdom, drawn out of the book that is written in Latin and cleped *Orologium Sapencie*.” Then follow the heads of seven chapters, commencing at sign. A. i. We gather from the opening and colophon, that “this book was lately translated out of French by a person that is imperfect in such work, wherefore he humbly beseeches the learned readers with prayers to correct it, and of their charity to pray for the soul of the translator.” It obtained

the above title because, according to the prohome, "the matter thereof was shewn to the author that wrote it in a vision, under the figure and likeness of a wonder fair Orologe, setted and arrayed with passing fair roses and with cymbals sweet sounding."

This first treatise ends on the reverse of the fourth leaf after signature *m* iiij. "Thus endeth the treatise of the vij points of true love and everlasting wisdom, drawn of the book that is written in Latin, named 'Orologiū Sapiēcie.' Emprinted at Westminster.

"Qui leget emendet, pressorem non reprehendat
Wyllelmū Caxton, cui Deus alta tradat."

The second "ghostly matter" treats of the 'XII PROFITS OF TRIBULATION,' and begins thus;

"Here beginneth a little short treatise that telleth how there were seven masters assembled together, every one asked [the] other what thing they might best speak of that might please God, and were most profitable to the people: and all they were accorded to speak of tribulation." This treatise begins on a fresh signature *A j*; and ends on the fourth leaf after sign. *D* iiij: "Thus endeth this treatyse shewynge the vii profittes of tribulacyon." On the reverse of the last leaf is Caxton's large device.

The third treatise (beginning on a a immediately following) relates to the holy rule of Saint Benet: "Here followeth a compendious abstract translate into English out of the holy rule of Saint Benet, for men and women of the habit thereof the which understand little Latin or none, [to] the intent that they may often read, execute the whole rule, and the better keep it than it is, according to the habit, and their strait profession, so that the weal of their souls and better ensample of that holy religion may be the sooner had and known." This begins on sign. *a a*. At the bottom of the recto of the last leaf, "Of your charity pray for the translator of this said treatise"—on the reverse "Thus endeth this present book, composed of divers

fruytful ghostly matters," &c. being a summary of the titles of the three books. "Enprinted at Westminster by desiring of certain worshipful persons." This book has a wood cut at the end, of the mocking of Christ; and contains 148 leaves, including the whole treatises.

The preceding is, perhaps, the most correct description of this rare book which has yet appeared: it is taken from a careful inspection of the Cambridge copy. (numbered A. B. 4. 64.) Dr. Middleton has confusedly mentioned it under two different heads; viz. "A Book containing many godly treatises"—and "A boke composed of divers ghostly matters"—see his Dissert. p. 26-8. His account was copied by Lewis, and Ames; and Herbert has literally transcribed the language of Ames.

* Dr. Middleton adds to the above account of the contents of the *first* treatise, that it "sheweth another treatise prouffitable for reformacyon of soules defoyled wyth ony of the vii dedely sins. *Item*: Anyther shewynge the signes of goostly love. *Item*: A treatise of the vertues and of the branches of the appul tree whiche is expounded morally. Also is declared wherby men maye seke the love of our Lord. And the *last* treatise spekyth to exhorte the persone to eschewe and have in contempte alle vyll thoughts—which boke was lately translated out of Frenshe, 1493, by a ryght well dysposed persone, for because he thoughte it necessary to al devoute peple to rede or here it rede. And also caused the sayd boke to be enprynted." P. 27, note.

Herbert, in corroboration of this, observes, at page 90, "that he had seen a paper in Mr. Ames's handwriting, though probably of Mr. West's inditing, with this: 'N. B. This book I humbly think was printed after Mr. Caxton's death; because the following words are at the end, viz. Qui legit,' &c. as above. 'I humbly am of opinion that the word *tradat* is false spelt, which is only for the sake of rhyme, instead of *tradit*, and the English of the Latin: let him that reads this treatise correct it, and not condemn the printer, whom God hath taken to himself. This book is printed with Caxton's types, about 1496, and is at Wimpole.' These verses however absolutely declare Caxton to be the printer."

52. THE CURIAL made by Maystre ALAIN CHARRETIER.
Translated in Englysshe by Wyllyam Caxton. Folio.
(Type No. 4.)

On signature j, "Here followeth the copy of a letter which Master Alayn Charetier wrote to his brother, which desired to come dwell in court, in which he rehearseth many miseries and wretchednesses therein used. For to advise him not to enter in to it, lest he after repent, like as here after follow; and late translated out of French in to English: which copy was delivered to me by a noble and virtuous Earl. At whose instance and request I have reduced it in to English."

"This piece," says Herbert, "is so full of good reasoning, to dissuade his brother from taking on him a courtier's life, that I could scarce refrain from printing the whole of it, which I think it very well deserves. However it begins:

"Right well beloved brother and person Eloquent, thou admonishest and exhortest me to prepare and make ready place and entry for thee unto the Life Curial, which thou desirest; and that by my help and request thou mightest have therein office," &c. And then concludes:

"Finably I pray thee, counsel and warn thee, that if thou hast taken any holy and honest life, that thou will not go and lose it, and that thou take away that thought, and despise al thy will for to come to court, and be content to withdraw thee within the inclose of thy privy house; and if thou have not in time passed known that thou hast ben *ewrous* and happy, then learn now to know it from hence forth; and to God command thee by this writing which give thee his grace. Amen.

*"Thus endeth the Curial made by maystre Alain Charretier
Translated thus in Englisshe by Wyllyam Caxton."*

And on the last page are the following lines :

Ther ne is dangyer, but of a vylayn
 Ne pryde, but of a poure man enryched
 Ne so sure a way, as is the playn
 Ne socour, but of a trewe frende
 Ne despayre, but of jalousye
 Ne hye corage, but of one amoureuse
 Ne pestylence ; but in grete seynorye
 Ne chyere, but of a man joyous.
 Ne servyse lyke to the kyng soverayn
 Ne fowle name but of a man shamed
 Ne mete, but when a man hath hungre
 Ne enterpryse, but of a man hardy
 Ne poverty lyke unto maladye
 Ne to haunte, but the good and wyse
 Ne howse, but yf it be wel garnysshed
 Ne chyere, but of a man joyous
 Ne ther is no rychesshe but in helthe
 Ne love so good as mercy
 Ne than the death nothing more certayn
 Ne none better chastysd, than of hym self
 Ne tresour, lyke vnto wysedym
 Ne anguysshe, but of an harte coueytous
 Ne puyssaunce, but ther men haue envye
 Ne chyere, but of a man Joyous
 What wylle ye that J saye
 Ther is no speche, but it be curtoys
 Ne preysng of men, but after theyr lyf
 Ne cheyr, but of a man Joyous

Caxton."

This volume contains only six leaves, and has neither capital ini-

tials, nor are the leaves numbered. A copy of it is in his Majesty's library.

ALAIN CHARTIER, a Norman, was one of the most distinguished French poets, historians, and orators of his time; and successively Secretary to Charles V, VI, and VII. He flourished towards the middle of the 15th century. His minor works, under the titles of "*Faicts—Dictes, and Ballades*"—were published at Paris by Pierre Le Caron, without date, in folio; supposed to be in the year 1484: consult De Bure, n°. 2999: Mr. Edwards's Cat. 1794, n°. 1261: and Bibl. Paris, n°. 240. All these authorities specify a magnificent copy printed upon VELLUM; and the animated description subjoined to the latter copy, seems to justify the price of £31. 10. for which it was sold. Another edition was published by Caron at Paris in 1489, of which Mr. Heber has an elegant copy. "*Les Paraboles de Maître Alain Chartier, en vers,*" with a commentary, were printed by Verard in his usually splendid manner, at Paris, in 1492, Fol.;—of which edition De Bure notices a copy ON VELLUM in the then royal library. The *complete works* of the same author were first collected by Galliot du Pré, and printed by him, at Paris, in 1526-9, 8vo.; these editions are rare. They were again published by Corrozet in 1583, under the superintendence of Daniel Chartier, a descendant of Alain. At length Andrew Duchesne put forth a critical edition of them in 1617, 4to. which however does not contain some pieces* mentioned in the list of Chartier's Works from a fine MS. of the 15th century in the

* These pieces are "*Le debat du cuer et de lueil—La Belle Dame ou Mercy—Le proces et condempnacion de la belle sans mercy—Rondeaux—Balades—l'épytaphe de Charles le bien servy et tres victorieux Roy de France septiesme de ce nom.*" The CURIAL, which Caxton printed, was composed in the year 1437: it is confounded in all the editions with L'ESPERANCE—works essentially different. "*L'Hôpital d'Amour*" is not the work of Chartier, but of a young monk of Tournay. The Epitaph on Charles VII is also not the production of his pen; as this monarch survived him. Concerning the "*Breviaire des Nobles*" published as the work of M. d'Allance, Gentilhomme Angevin, consult De La Monnoye's note in the *Bibliothèque Francoise* of Du Verdier, vol. i. 11. Many of Chartier's pieces were translated and imitated by the English writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Cat. de la Valliere, n°. 2790. According to Fresnoy, Chartier was not the author of the Histories of Charles the VI and VII, incorporated in this Volume ; nor was De Berry, as Duchesne conjectured ; but Gilles de Bouvier. See Fresnoy's *Methode pour etudier L'Histoire*, vol. vi. 61. 4to. edit.

53. THE LYF OF OUR LADY made by dan John lydgate
&c. Folio. *No Place.* (Type No. 4.)

“ Which book was compiled by Dan John Lydgate, Monk of Bury, at the excitation and stirring of the noble and victorious prince, King Harry the Fifth ; in the honour, glory, and reverence of the birth of our most blessed Lady, maid, wife, and mother of our Lord, Jesus Christ ; chaptered as followeth by this table.”

The following table, says Herbert, is collected from the heads of the several chapters, not having been able to procure a copy of the table itself.

	Capitulo.
The nativity of our Lady	primo
How our Lady was offered in to the temple (<i>secundo</i>)	tercio
Of the conversation of our Lady in the temple (<i>tertio</i>)	
How our Lady received the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost (<i>quarto</i>)	quinto
How our Lady prayed to God for seven petitions	quinto
How Joseph used the craft of a carpenter	ix
How our Lady is set for an ensample of virginity	decimo
How mercy and peace, righteousness and truth, disputed for the redemption of mankind	vndecimo
How mercy and peace brought in this plea before the High Judge	xij
How God the Father of Heaven answered to mercy and peace	xiiij
How the Father of Heaven accorded the four <i>systren</i>	xiiij
How his Son should take mankind	xv

How Gabriel, the angel, was sent to our Lady	Capitulo. xvj
A lamentation of St. Bernard	xvij
A recapitulation of Gabriel to our Lady how holy men by divine likenesses wrote of our Lady in commendation of her	xviiij
A commendation of our Lady	xix
Authentic conclusions against unbelievful men that saiden that Christ might not be born of a maid	xx
How our Lady went to Saint John Baptist mother	xxj
How our Lady made magnificate	xxij
How our Lady after the birth of Saint John Baptist [re]turned to Nazareth	xxiiij
How the maidens that were attendant to our Lady com- forteden Joseph	xxiiiij
How the angel warned Joseph to abide with our Lady	xxvj
How the bishop did do summon Joseph for our Lady was with child	xxvij
How our Lady's friends wailed and mourned when the bi- shops made so strong a proof of her virginity	xxxj
How our Lady prayed to God to shew her virginity	xxxij
How the bishop and the people dreaded them of the assay that was made to our Lady	xxxiiij
A commendation of Chaucer's	xxxiiiij
How Christ was born after the making of the world five thou- sand an hundred four score and xix year	xxxv
How Joseph and our Lady went to Bethlem to pay tribute	xxxvj
How Joseph went to seek a midwife to our Lady	xxxvij
A devout prayer that our Lady made when Christ was born	xxxviiij
How the midwife durst not enter with Joseph in to the house for a great light appeared within	xxxix
How Balaam prophesied the star that shewed Christ's birth	xl
How our Lady received the midwives	xlj
How the hand of Salom waxed dry	xlij

How the angels appeared to the shepherds and told the birth of Christ	Capitulo. xliij
How the shepherds founden Christ with our Lady	xliiij.
How God would not be born but of a maid, mother, and wife	xl v
How Isaac prophecied the birth of Christ by touching of the clothes of his son Jacob	xlvj.
How the garnet apple is likened to our Lady	xlviij
How Joseph figured the birth of Christ	xlviij
How nature obeyeth to virginity	xl ix
A question assoyled which is worthiest of a king wine or woman	lvij"

(N. B. This article is repeated at the top of the next page, which
begins a fresh signature.)

How our Lady ought worthily to be recommended and wor- shipped for the birth of Christ	lviiij
Of likenesses of our Lady in commendation of her	lix.
How Christ was circumcised	lx
How in four manner of wises Christ was circumcised	lxj
How Christ suffered circumcision in his chosen people	lxij.
How the people of God that Duke Josue had in governance were saved by the stedfast belief of the name Jesus	lxiiij
How prophets and martyrs suffred death for the name of Jesus	
How Christ was both prophet, priest, king, and mighty champion	lxvj
How by the prophecy of Balaam watch was made upon an hill	lxviij
How the three kings perceived the star	lxix
How King Herod sent for the three kings	lxx
Of the joy that the kings had when they found Christ	lxxij
Of [the] virtuous poverty and meekness of our Lady	lxxiiij

How the angel warned the three kings to pass not by Herod's	Capitulo,
but by another way	lxxiiij
A declaration of the three kings of their three gifts	lxxv
How we should do this offering ghostly	lxxvj
How our Lady was purified	lxxvij
How Simon received Christ of our Lady in the temple	lxxviiij
How where and when Simon made Nunc dimittis seruum tuum	
dñe secundum verbum tuum in pace	lxxix
Of the joy that Anna the daughter of Phanes had when Christ	
was offered in to the temple	lxxx
A profitable declaration of the properties of the turtle, and	
the dove	lxxxvj
How Candlemass took first the name	lxxxij

This poem begins with a preface or introduction of nine stanzas ;
the first of which is as follows :

“ o Thoughtful herte plungyd in distresse
With slöbre of slouth this long wynters nyght
Out of the slepe of mortal heuynesse
Awake anone & loke vpon the light
Of thylke sterre that with her bemys bryght
And wyth the shynyng of his stremes merye
Is wont to glade al our emysperye”

The last,

“ And the lycoure of thy grace shede
Jn to my penne to enlumyne this dytee
Thorow thy supporte that J may procede
Somwhat to say in laude & praysyng of the
And first J thynke of thy natyuyte
So that thyn helpe from me not twynne
Begnyne lady anone to begynne”

“ The division of this poem into chapters appears to have been

made very arbitrarily, at the pleasure of the copier, as I find by comparing this printed edition with a MS. copy of the same, which is divided into 36 chapters only ; and some of them commence with intermediate stanzas of the printed edition ; *et vice versa*. Also some of the chapters which begin with the same stanza in both are differently entitled. Another thing which attracts our notice in this printed edition, is the omission of several numbers in the regular progression, although no deficiency appears in the poem, compared with my MS. This therefore must be attributed to carelessness, which Mr. Caxton himself ingenuously acknowledges in one of the concluding stanzas."

" Here endeth the book of the Life of our Lady made by Dan John Lydgate Monk of Bury, at the instance of the most christian king, King Harry the Fifth.

" Goo lityl book and submytte the
Vnto al them, that the shal rede
Or here, prayeng hem for charite
To pardon me of the rudehede
Of myn enpryntyng, not takyng hede
And yf ought be doon to theyr plesyng
Say they thyse balades folowyng

" Sancte & Jndiuidue trinitati, Jhesu cristi crucifixi humanitati
glorioso beate marie virgini, sit sempiterna gloria, ab omni creatura,
per Jnfinita seculorum secula. Amen

" Vnto the holy and vndeuyded trynyte
Thre persones in one veray godhede
To Jhesu crist crucefied humanyte
And to our blessyd ladyes maydenhede
Be geuyn laude and glorye in veray dede
Of euery creature, what someuer he be
World withouten ende. amen say al we

“Benedictum sit dulcissime nomen Jhesu cristi, & gloriosissime marie matris ejus in eternum & vltra Nos cum prole pia benedicat virgo maria Amen

“Blessid be the swettest name of our lord
Jhesu Crist, and most glorious marie
His blessyd moder, with eternal accord
More than euer, tendure in glorye
And with hir meke sone for memorye
Blesse vs marie, the most holy virgyne
That we regne in heuen with the orders nyne

Imprinted by Wyllyam Caxton.”

Herbert has added so much to Ames’s account of this book, that nothing remains for me to subjoin. It is a small folio, with the leaves unnumbered, and contains signatures, ending at m 5 in eights. In the Royal library, and in the collections of Earl Spencer and Dr. Hunter. See Bibl. West. n°. 1862 : Ratcliffe, n°. 1218.

54. THE LYF of the holy and blessid vyrgyn SAYNT
WENEFRYDE, &c *Reduced in to Englysshe by me Wil-*
liam Caxton. Folio. (Type No. 4.)

I am not able to add any thing to Ames’s description of this book, which is rare, and to be found in few libraries. It is among the Caxtons, without date, noticed by Palmer on the authority of Maunsell ; in whose catalogue (pt. i. p. 67) it is slightly mentioned as being “printed in fol.” According to Herbert it begins thus, on signature a ii : “Here beginneth the Life of the holy and blessed virgin Saint Wenefrid. In the west end of Great Britain, which now is called England, is a province which is named Wales,” &c. At the conclusion of her life “Thus endeth the decollacion, the life after, and the translation of Saint Wenefrid, virgin and martyr, which was raised

after that her head had been smitten off the space of xv year, reduced into English, by me William Caxton." This is followed by a Latin mass for the repose of her soul.*

Herbert, as usual, in consequence of the work beginning on signature a ij, supposed it had a title page with a cut, "for the sake of which so many of these books had been rendered deficient;" but, for the reasons so often before advanced, this supposition does not seem to be well grounded. The volume contains 15 leaves, and has neither numerals nor initials. A copy of it is in the Royal library. According to Ames, the account of this Saint's life, here given, differs from that in the Golden Legend.† See Osborne's Cat. of 1748, n°. 963: Bibl. West. n°, 1864: Ratchliffe, n°, 1422.

* THE LIFE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, which follows the above in Ames and Herbert, has never yet been seen or described. Lewis mentions it "as added by some to Caxton's work;" but neither he nor Ames nor even Maunsell appear to have known it. The latter notices Wynkyn De Worde's edition of 1533, which however makes no mention of Caxton's. It is true that a slight notice of it, merely as to its title, is taken by Pits and Bagford, who appear to have only copied Bale—where it is noticed as containing one book "Of the glorious and god-beloved king Edward." *Descript. Brit. Cent. Oct.* n°. XLIII: but this authority, as has been before observed in the account of Caxton's Life, is too capricious to be trusted.

† For an account of the GOLDEN LEGEND, vide ante, p. 186-193.

The Life of St. Wenefrid has been frequently written. The most recent and copious one is that by the learned Bishop Fleetwood, in 8vo. 1713; which was preceded by two publications in 1635 and 1712: the former written by a Jesuit, the latter by F. Metcalf, S. I. Ranulph Higden and Giraldus Cambrensis made frequent mention of this Saint and her holy well. Fleetwood, notwithstanding the activity of his researches, did not know of a MS. sermon "on St. Wenefride, preached, as it seems by the rest of the book, at Derby, whilst her festival was kept on the 22d June"—This was in the collection of the Festival belonging to "the curious library of Mr. Martin of Palgrave, in Suffolk." See Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, vol. ii. p. 73, note, edit. 1799. From this latter authority we learn that St. Wenefrid is supposed to have lived about the close of the seventh century. Her father's name was Thevith, a rich man, and a leading character among the nobility of his time. The name, in the English Saxon tongue, signifies "Winner or Procurer of Peace;" but in the British, "Fair Countenance." Camden's *Remains*, p. 104. "The English Saxons in West Sex seem to have borrowed it from the neighbouring Britons; for St. Wenefrid changed her name in foreign countries into *Boniface*; a Latin word of the same import." Butler. *Idem*, p. 71. note a.

55. A LYTEL TRETISE, intytuled or named, THE LUCIDARYE. Good and proufitable for euery well disposed person. 4to.

This work is most probably a translation from the French ; which, in turn, is borrowed from the *Lucidarium* : an original Latin composition, in three books, and attributed by Gerberon, in the Paris edition of St. Anselm's works, 1721, to the pen of the archbishop. It may, however, be doubted as St. Anselm's performance. A MS. of this treatise, under the appellation of " un beau petit traictie nomme Lucidaire"—and another called " ly liures de lucydaires"—were in the Valliere collection, n^{os}. 732, 1244 : a third and more ancient MS. entitled " Chest li lusidaires" will be found at n^o. 2709 of the same collection ; commencing as below.* The latter is a translation of the third book of the *Lucidarium*, and contains 3639 verses. Caxton's work seems to have been an edition of this third book ; being " but a thin small quarto." It was translated into English by Andrew Chertsey, according to the testimony of " Robert Copland's prologue in verse, prefixed to another of Chertsey's translations entitled ' The Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ,' printed by Wynkyn De Worde, A. D. 1520." Herbert's reference to Warton I have not been able to make out.

* Seignour oies cheste raison
Que diex vous fache vrai pardon
De vos pechies a icel iour
Que toute riens iert en dolour . . .

A la fin,

Li vn en sont lie et ioiant
Et li autre triste et dolant

Explicit.

Chi defenist li romans du lucidaire."

The Lucidary seems to have been a popular work abroad. It was published at Bologna by Salvestro in 1482, 4to. under the title of a "Spiritual dialogue between a Master and his Scholar." Haym. Bibl. Ital. vol. iv. p. 210. n°. 3: afterwards by Francesco de Libri, at Florence, towards the end of the 15th century; and again at Milan in 1499, 4to. Consult Cat. de la Valliere, vol. i. n°. 1335-6-7. I am not able to refer the reader to any collection which contains a copy of this remarkably scarce book printed by Caxton.

56. REVERENDISSIMI viri dni. GULIELMI LYNDEWODI, LLD. et epī Asaphensis constitutiones provinciales ecclesiæ Anglicanæ *Impressū per Willm Caxtonum*, sine commentariis, 24mo.

Morris Johnson, Esq. assured Mr. Ames that he had this book printed by Caxton. I have an edition of it, says Herbert, with Caxton's mark only at the end, after which is a table of contents, with W. de Worde's colophon, and the same mark at the end of it, 12°.*

* THE HISTORY OF LOMBARDY.

"Bale and Pits both mention concerning Caxton, that he translated into English, partly from the French and partly from the Latin; and then give a list of such books, but without distinguishing which were from the French, and which from the Latin. Each list contains the same books, though not in the same order, and Pits adds the Siege of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Boloyn, from the French. It does not appear that Mr. Caxton translated any book entirely from the Latin; and as this book was in French, as well as in Latin, no doubt but he translated from the language he understood best."

"I take this History of Lombardy to be no other than 'the gestis of the Lombardes and of Machomet wyth other cronycles,' added to the Life of St. Pelagien in the Golden Legend, and printed separately for the use of the commonality, who could not purchase so large a folio." HERBERT, p. 98.

ILLUSTRATIONES ARMORUM CHRISTIANI.

"There is the same necessity and authority for my inserting this as there was for the former article, being mentioned in like manner by Bale and Pits, in their lists of Cax-

I strongly suspect that W. de Worde's edition has been mistaken for Caxton's.

ton's translations. I have not met with the book either in Latin, French, or English: and how far it might be conducive to Erasmus's *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, I know not." HERBERT, *ibid.*

To these doubtful pieces of Caxton may be added the following; from LEWIS's *Life of him*, p. 115-6.

ST. AUSTIN the Monk raising two dead persons, 4to.

"In the Cottonian library is a manuscript with this title: '*Narratio mirabilis de sententia excommunicationis, B. Augustini Anglorum Apostoli, et qualiter resuscitavit duos mortuos.*' This seems to have been the same book which is said to have been printed in the Abbey of St. Austin's near Canterbury, about 1525. 4°. with the following title: '*A goodly Narration how S. Augustine the Apostle of England raysed two dead bodies at Long Compton, [Warwickshire] collected out of divers authors, translated by Jhon Lydgate Monk of Bury.*' Perhaps this was reprinted from Mr. Caxton's copy, or printed from Lydgate's manuscript. The story is told at length by Sir William Dugdale [Hist. of Warwickshire. See Dean Prideaux Original, &c. of Tithes, p. 165] and Mr. Selden [Hist. of Tithes, Ch. ix, x. Ed. m dc.xviii. Hist. of Tithes. Bp. Kennet's Paroch. Ant.] from John Tinemuth's or Anglicus Hist. Aurea MS. to this purpose: That, about A. D. 504, Austin came to Long-Compton, in his way to the place where he went, to confer with the British Bishops, called from thence Austin's-Ac, or Oak; that on his coming thither the parish priest met him, and complained to him of the Lord of the Mannor refusing to pay him his just tithes. On which Austin convened the knight, and finding him obstinate, threatened to excommunicate him, and accordingly went immediately to the altar and said, '*I command, that no excommunicate person be present at mass.*' On this a former patron of the church, and like offender, who lay buried at the entrance into the church, immediately arose out of his grave, and went out of the church. Austin having notice of it, as soon as he had done saying mass, went out of the church to him; and finding, on his examination, that he had been excommunicated by the parish priest for not paying his tithes, enquired where that priest lay buried, and immediately went to his grave, where he had lain above 150 years, and bid him '*Arise, for that he had need of him, to confront him with his patron.*' Which accordingly he did.—But it's very well observed, that if all the circumstances of this relation were true, it would prove Christianity and the discipline of the church to have flourished here among the Britains very early, and to have continued in good order till this visit of Austin, and, in particular, that the establishment of the payment of tithes was ancients than King Offa, the first author of it, by above 460 years; or however 290." [Selden p. 170: Kennet's Paroch. Antiq.]

57. THE HYSTORYE OF KYNGE BLANCHARDYNE AND
 QUEEN EGLANTYNE his Wyfe. Folio. (Type No. 3.)
Imperfect.

This very scarce book, formerly in the possession of George Mason, Esq. and now in the Roxburgh collection, is dedicated

“Unto the right noble puissant and excellent princess, my redoubted lady, my Lady Margaret Duchess of Somerset, mother unto our natural and sovereign Lord and most christian King Henry the Seventh, by the grace of God King of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, &c. I, William Caxton, his most *indign* humble subject and little servant, present this little book I late received in French from her good grace, and her commandment with all, for to reduce and translate it in to our maternal and English tongue: which book I had long to fore sold to my said lady, and knew well that the story of it was honest and joyful to all virtuous young noble gentlemen and women, for to read therein, as for their pastime. For under correction, in my judgment, histories of noble feats and valiant acts of arms and war, which have ben atchieved in old time of many noble princes, lords, and knights, as well for to see and know their valiantness for to stand in the special grace and love of their ladies, and in like wise for gentle young ladies and *damoiselles* for to learn to be

THE SPOUSAGE OF A VIRGIN, 4°.

Herbert regrets that he did not introduce this piece under the date of 1486, in which year, according to Warton's *Hist. E. P.* vol. ii. 249, note k, it was printed as one of Bishop Alcock's pieces. The reader need only consult Warton's note, and he will see how vaguely the book is mentioned. At any rate, not *as printed* in the year 1486. In other respects, Warton's account of Bishop Alcock is curious and amusing.

THE BOOK OF ARTS AND SCIENCES. Fol.

This work is also in Palmer's list of books printed by Caxton without date, p. 342: on the authority of Maunsell, but incorrectly.

DE FIDE ET CANTU FAMULE SUE.

This work is confounded with one of the treatises in Lydgate's "*Court of Sapience*:" see p. 329, ante.

stedfast and constant in their part to them, that they once have promised and agreed to such as have put their lives oft in jeopardy for to please them to stand in grace, as it is to occupy the *yen* and study over much in books of contemplation. Wherefore, at the instance and request of my said lady, which I repute as for a commandment, I have reduced this said book out of French in to English: which book specifieth of the noble acts and feats of war atchieved by a noble and victorious prince named Blanchardin, son unto the King of Ffryse, for the love of a noble princess called Eglantine, other wise named in French, *Lorguylleuse Damours*, which is as much to say in English, as the proud lady of love—Queen of Tormaday: and of the great adventures, labourous anguishes, and many other great diseases of them both to fore they might attain for to come to the final conclusion of their desired love; as a long, by the grace of God, it shall be shewed in the history of this present book. Beseeching my said lady's bounteous grace to receive this little book in *gree* of me her humble servant; and to pardon me of the rude and common English, where as shall be found fault, for I confess me not learned ne knowing the art of rhetoric, ne of such gay terms as now be said in these days and used; but I hope that it shall be understonden of the readers and hearers: and that shall suffice. ¶ Beseeching Almighty God to grant to her most noble good grace, long life, and the accomplishment of her high, noble, and joyous desires in this present life: ¶ And after this short and transitory life, everlasting life in heaven Amen."

After the dedication:

"Here beginneth the table of the victorious Prince Blanchardin, son of the noble King of Ffryse, and of Eglantine Queen of Tormady, otherwise called *Lorguylleuse Damours*; which is to say, the proud lady in love."

I submit the following specimen, descriptive of the jealousies and pang of a lover, [although in some parts obscurely written] to the reader's attention:

"The proud *Pucelle* in amours was in her castle, leaning upon one

of her chamber windows that had sight within the town, and heard the noise and the feast that was adjoining in the provost's house for love of Blanchardin and for to do him worship and honour, whereof she was advertised already. And how be it that, as ye have heard, anon she had given herself in her heart to the said Blanchardin, always at the same hour was taken the final and fast conclusion and altogether was of her determined to make of Blanchardin her lover and her special; that a little before that, for one kiss only, was so far from her good grace and in danger of his life—if the goddess of love that is so mighty of her grace had not purveyed better for him. At the beginning of this new alliance, *amoures* or love served her with a mess sharp and sour enough till her last; that is to wit, of a lovely care, that is as much worth as a suspicious jealousy, of the daughters of the provost and her special Blanchardin. But she thought in herself that she should purvey thereto of a remedy meet and good to the cause, which thing she did, as ye shall hear hereafter, Love that departeth with her goods where as it seemeth her best employed, forgat not her new servant, but, at her first coming, made her to be visited and waited upon by a servant of hers named *Care*, that well sore moved and troubled her spirits. And she that was not learned to receive such gestures, sore hard was his acquaintance to her. And yet, within a little while after, love smote her again with a dart to the quick till [to] the heart of her; so that the fair *Pucelle* wist not her behaving, nor how to maintain herself, and also had no power to drink nor eat, nor could not sleep ne take no manner of rest, but held her heart so *esprised* and so over pressed with love that she had to Blanchardin, that she might no longer hide her fall. Then came to her *Maistres* and said to her in this manner: alas! who shall more recover health to this patient sore sick, that suffereth with good will of heart both great thirst, hunger, and shaketh for cold caused through a heat intolerable?! The *Maistres* perceived anon by her words and manner, that she had been in the *chapiter* of the god of love, and by his grace men should have good account of the pride that over long a time had ruled her dismeasurable heart. She thought that she had

been taken with *King Alymodes*, and sith said unto her: Madam, ye ought to yield great graces and thanks to the mighty god of love, seeing the unknowledge that ye have had always here before of his virtues, that hath deigned to visit you, and to alter and change your courage. I believe now, that for cause of this sudden mutation, ye be sick and sore passioned of one accident, that nameth himself the *sore of love*.^{*} ‘Alas!’ said the *Pucelle*, ‘the sore of love is right *anguysous* and heavy for to bear, as me seemeth.’—‘Madam,’ said her *Maistres*, ‘men must suffer for better to have: this evil shall be cause of your perfection; and [ac]knowledge that love is that thing that most embellisheth and *decureth* the noble courages. And I cannot think that ever man and woman, having *bruit* or name of some good virtues passing other, have come or caught thereunto, without that they were, or had been, in the service of love.’ The proud maiden in amours harkened her *Maistres*, but the fever that love had taken her, for to pluck out the root of pride from her heart, letted her sore; and at the end of a while [she] began to say: ‘Alas, *Amours*! I have long defended myself against the hard assaults and impetuous excitations that oftentimes thy messengers made unto me: now I have no other power nor will to defend me any more—unto thee I yield!’

Cap. xx. fol. 29 and 30.

This book is divided into liij chapters. It has printed initials, like those of the second form in the plate prefixed to the ‘Preliminary Disquisition.’ One of the paper-marks is a katherine wheel; another, the unicorn. The Roxburgh copy is supposed to be unique.* “One leaf in the 9th chapter, and all except the beginning of the 54th (or last) chapter, are wanting. But there is no imperfection at the *beginning* of any chapter. Consequently this copy has all the contents, and no other copy of this Caxton is known to exist.’ Bibl. Mason: p^t. iv. n^o. 261.

* In Herbert is the following: “The Exposition of the Lord’s Praier, Beleefe, Commandementes, Seven Sacraments, Seven Vertues, Seven Deadly Sinnes. Item, the generall sentence, (or sentence of cursing) *modus fulminandi sententiam*, the beades on sonday,” &c. “Printed at Westminster. Mentioned by Maunsell, p. 31, where it evidently appears to be the same with the ‘QUATUOR SERMONES.’ See p. 170-6, ante.

58. THE SIEGE of the noble and inuynceyble CYTEE OF RHODES. Folio. *No Printer's Name, Place, or Date.*

Although, says Herbert, no date appears to this book—it being imperfect at the end, where these early printed books are usually dated—yet it being dedicated to King Edward IV. shews it must have been written, and perhaps might have been printed, before 1483; but this copy, by the colon used in it, does not appear to have been printed till about 1490.

This history* was “translated out of Latin into English by JOHN KAY, poet laureat to King Edward the Fourth,” whose preface or dedication is as follows :

“To the most excellent, most redoubted, and most christian king, King Edward the Fourth, John Kay, his humble poet laureat, and most lowly servant, kneeling unto the ground, saith—salute ! It is not out of your knowledge and hearty pity, most prudent prince, how that, these forty years passed, the Turks have vexed the christian parties and have prevailed, and had of the christian men the overhand : in so much that, now late, against all right and reason [they] were possessors in Italy, in the dominion and ground of the most constant King Ferrand of Arragon, King of Naples : in prejudice and horrible terror to the court apostolic and to all Christendom. For by that the great Turk, late named Mahomet, proposed and ordained great might and strength to undo and subvert the holy city of Rome, and put Italy to his subjection, and after lightly to overcome and oppress the residue of Christendom. But Jesus Christ, our Redeemer, would not his christian people to be put into longer pain, or

* Herbert notices a work previously to the present one, under the title of “*DE FIDE ET CANTU FAMULE SUE* ;” which is correctly considered by him as one of the articles under the “*WERK OF SAPIENCE* ;” vide ante, p. 329. Ames had supposed it to have been a distinct publication. Vide also p. 346 at bottom.

to more tribulation: he hath *retrait* and withdrawn his rod as a kind father to his dear children, content with great menaces and little punishment. Certes, the sin of the christian people, as I think, and little regard to our Saviour Jesus, moved and caused the right wise God to warn us to have him better in mind by the flagel of this great and mighty enemy. But after repentance, and prayers of our holy father the Pope, Cardinals, christian Princes, and all christian people, and with so great pardons of the court of Saints Peter and Paul, through the grace of the blessed Jesu, this great Turk, in his most pride, and his most hope, hath made by sudden death an end of his life: and is the cruel generation of the Turks for ever more, with God's grace, deject and cast out of Italy; and all the Turks among themself in great wars: which thing is token to all christian princes hereafter to recover the parties christian. Certain it is, most gracious prince, that he, few days afore his death, laid siege to the noble City of Rhodes: which is the key and gate of all Christendom. But there he was put to his worse and to shame; and because that I have seen and read in Italy of the oppressing and captivity by the said Turk of the worshipful city sometime of Constantinople, and also not many years passed of the unfortunate loss of the strong city of Negropont—for the Cardinal Greek of Micene made and wrote in Latin the lamentable captivity of Constantinople to the Pope—and Balthasar Perusin wrote in the language Italian of Negropont to the Lord of Urbino, for to move the christian people to prayers and provision—I have thought more better labour and more commendable purpose if I, in the reverence of Jesu Christ, and in the worship of your good grace, should put with diligence out of Latin in English, and to the understanding of your people, the delectable news and tidings of the glorious victory of the Rhodians against the Turks; whereof they reading shall have joy and consolation, and shall alway better know, by daily miracles and God's works, the inestimable power and certainty of our christian faith. And in so much more to your highness I make a gift of my labour, that your

good grace aboundeth with all virtues : alsomuch as in a most christian king longeth to be : and also I am of this opinion, that all the common weal and common good cometh through God and the kings to their people. Wherefore whatsoever fruit or pleasure your people shall in this my study find, they shall yield glory to God and grace and thankings to your highness ; the which God Almighty keep ever and prosper with all your noble desires."

The history commences on the recto of the following leaf, thus : " Since that I have applied me to declare and publish to all christian people the Siege of the noble and invincible city of Rhodes : First I purpose to tell and open the causes that moved the cruel tyrant Mahomet great Turk and insatiable enemy to our christian faith, that he with so great might and so great strength vext the Rhodians : &c.

It ends in the following manner :

" Wherefore the Rhodians all with one voice thanked God, and magnified with great praisings our holy father the [Pope] Sixt the fourth—the which tidings went anon to the host of the Turks and feared them sore. Wherefore they the sooner departed from Rhodes, where they had been at the siege three months save a day ; and turned again to the country of Lycia, and arrived to the great town Physcum, where they tarried and refreshed them near hand xi days : and afterwards turned to their country with their great shame, their hurt, and great mischief.

Deo gracias."

This volume, which may be considered in every respect a curiosity, contains twenty-four leaves, including Kay's Dedication. It has neither signatures, numerals, catchwords, nor a running title ; and the typography is so rude as to induce me to suppose that the book was not printed by Caxton. The oblique dash for the comma is very coarse ; and the adoption of the colon and period, as well as the comparatively wide distances between the lines, are circumstances

which, as they are not to be found in Caxton's acknowledged publications, strongly confirm this supposition. The watermark of the paper is the heifer's head and a star above. Although the page is well made up, or, as printers term it, the registering neat and exact, and the margin large, yet the letters are much more rude and battered than are those which Caxton used; and resemble closely the types of the first edition of Littleton's *Tenures*, by Lettou and Machlinia. A careful examination of Lord Spencer's copy (formerly in the Macartney collection; Bibl. Macart. n°. 248.) has enabled me to make the foregoing remarks; from which the reader will draw his own conclusion. Herbert calls this book "the ancientest gazette in our language;" and adds that, "in Q. Elizabeth's time we frequently meet with articles of foreign news published in like manner by way of pamphlet." He supposes "it must have been written, and perhaps might have been printed, before 1483; but this copy, by the colon used in it, does not appear to have been printed till about 1490." This however is, in a great degree, conjectural. For an account of the translator, and the supposed original of the work, consult the note below.*

* "It is extraordinary," says Warton, "that he [John Kay] should have left no pieces of poetry to prove his pretensions in some degree to this office [Poet Laureate], with which he is said to have been invested by the king, at his return from Italy. The only composition he has transmitted to posterity is the above." *Hist. Engl. Poetry*, vol. ii. 128. As neither the collections of Byshe, Hayward, Mrs. Cooper, Mr. G. Ellis, nor the recent edition of Philip's *Theat. Poetarum*, nor Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica*, throw the least light on the compositions or character of this poet, I am unable to gratify the reader with a more extended detail. Wood and Tanner, as well as Nicolson, pass him by "sub silentio."

In regard to the original latin composition of Kay's performance, it was, most probably, as Warton conjectured, the "*Obsidionis Rhodiæ Urbis Descriptio*" of "GULIELMUS CAORSINUS, or CAOURISIN," Vice-chancellor, for forty years, of the Knights of Malta, who died in 1501; and who has described the unsuccessful siege of the city by Mahomet II, in 1480. Caorsinus's works were collected and published at Ulm, in 1496, folio; containing ten distinct pieces according to Fabricius, but only nine according to Clement and Panzer. The Siege of Rhodes stands the first. Fabricius, Clement, and Laire speak of the scarcity of this volume, and of the numerous and curious wood-cuts with which it is

59. STATUTA ap'd westmonasteriū edita Anno primo Regis Ricardi tercij. Folio.

"In old French, which begins on signature a ii, with a blank leaf before it, having the paper-mark:" from which, Herbert at last acknowledges that the title is not always wanting, when a book begins on the second leaf. The volume contains 16 leaves: it has no initials, nor numbers to the leaves; neither printer's name, nor date. A copy of it is in the Royal library. But vide the note below.*

60. STATUTES. Made in the first, second, and third parliaments of Henry VII. Folio. (Type No. 3.)

Under this title I shall introduce to the reader's notice a fragment of Caxton's printing of some Statutes passed in the early parliaments of Henry the VIIth, which are slightly mentioned by Herbert at p. 101. This publication may serve to settle a controverted point about the early printing of the Statutes in the English language. The leaves which were in Herbert's possession, are now in mine, and formerly

adorned. According to these authorities, it would appear that a wood-cut portrait of the author is on the first and last leaf. Maittaire has incorrectly mentioned two editions of 1495-7. De Bure, n°. 1033, and the *Cat. de Gaignat*, n°. 777, are less copious than the preceding authorities. Consult Panzer's *Annal. Typog.* vol. iii. p. 539: Clement's *Bibliothèque Curieuse*, &c. vol. vi. 206-9: Laire's *Index*, &c. vol. ii. p. 211: and Fabricius's *Bibl. Lat. et Med. Inf. Ætat.* (8vo. edit. 1734) vol. iii. 417-8; from which latter authority Warton seems to have gleaned all his information—without acknowledgment.

An English edition of this work, of the date of 1506, is mentioned by Warton as having been in the library of Henry Worsley—this is noticed by Herbert, vol. iii. p. 1530: but entirely upon the authority of Warton. Qu. whether it exists?

* For an account of these "Statutes in the first year of Richard the Third," consult Machlinia's impression of it [vol. ii.]; as the edition evidently belongs to this printer.

belonged to Ames : * they relate to the Articles—" Murder. Coroner. Appeal. Chevysance. Usury. Exchange, and Rechange." They begin with the first chapter of 3 Henry VII ; a part of which is as follows : " The King our Sovereign Lord, by the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the said parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, will that every Coroner exercise and do his office according to the law as is afore rehearsed. And that if any be slain or murdered, and thereof the slayers, murderers, abettors, maintainers and consorters of the same, be indicted—that the same slayers and murderers, and all other accessories of the same, be arraigned and determined of the same felony and murder at any time at the king's suit, within the year after the same felony and murder done, and not tarry. The year and day for any appeal to be taken for the same felony or murder." Sign. b iij : rect.

61. THE ACCIDENCE.

Herbert says that he had never seen this ; but was informed that it was in the catalogue of the late Thomas Martin, Esq. of Palgrave, in Suffolk, n°. 71.

* Ames had supposed these two leaves to have been printed by Machlinia, as appears by a MS. memorandum thus addressed to some one : " Sir, if these two leaves compleat your book of Richard the 3d's Statutes, please to accept it [them] ; if not, return it to your friend J. Ames." On the margin of the same there is a memorandum by Herbert, stating that these leaves appear to belong to Caxton : and another observation in the handwriting of Mr. Tutet—" The whole is very rare to meet with."

62. THE Prouffitable boke for mānes soule, and right comfortable to the body, and specyally in adversite and tribulacyon; whiche boke is called THE CHASTYSING of GODDES CHYLDERN. Folio. (Type No 3.)

This title is printed in nearly the centre of the recto of the first leaf; on the reverse begins the epistle of the authoress of the work to her sister—"In dread of Almighty God, religious sister, a short epistle I send you of the matter of temptations; which epistle as me thinketh may reasonably be cleped 'THE CHASTISING OF GODDES CHILDREN,' &c. On the second leaf begins the table. On sign. A. j. begins "That holy men and good men," &c. with a capital initial preceding ["Vigilate et orate"] like the second of those in the plate prefixed to the 'Preliminary Disquisition,' ante. The work or epistle ends on the recto of the first leaf after sign. G. iij—"Of this epistle now I make an end with thankings to God; and if I have erred in my simple writing for ignorance, or for default of feeling, I commend me to your prayers, and lowly submit me to other men's correction," &c. &c. "*Explicit hic liber castigationis puerorum dei.*"

On a separate sign. A. j. "THIS TRETISE IS OF LOVE, &c. The colophon is on the 3d leaf after sign. H. iij—"Thus endeth this present book; which treateth first of the glorious passion of our Saviour and of the compassion that his blessed mother had thereof, and also wherefore we ought to love our Saviour more than any other thing." Six treatises are then named—"Which book was lately translated out of French into English by a right well disposed person; for by cause the said person thought it necessary to all devout people to read or to hear it read, and also caused the said book to be translated."

The description of this book, or these treatises, is taken from an inspection of the original editions in the public library of Cambridge. [A. B. 10. 27.] The articles are confusedly described by Herbert. In

regard to the declaration of its not being translated by Caxton, from "the person being unperfight in such work," it may be remarked that this is quite consonant with the known modesty of the printer, and similar confessions may be found in various of his publications. In regard to the date of the translation, which is said by Herbert to be that of M cccclxxxiiij, (but which I do not now recollect having seen in the work), I have no doubt but that the last x is put for a v; or that there is an x too much—similar to the date of the 'Confessio Amantis:' vide p. 177, ante. The conclusion of there being two editions of the first book, does not appear to be warranted from the nature of the authority stated. The two treatises form one book: that of 'Love' being a kind of supplemental tract. See Bibl. R. Smith, p. 275: n°. 90: Ratcliffe, n°. 1663: Osborne's Cat. 1753: n°. 714. There is a copy of this book in his Majesty's, and the Roxburgh, collection; and another in that of Mr. Johnes.

The following article occurs in the New Harleian Catalogue of Manuscripts, vol. iii. n°. 6615.

"An octavo upon vellum, written in a very old hand, intituled 'THE CHASTISYNGS OF GODDIS CHILDRYN.'

The leaves of this book are numbered to 301, beginning at 150. On a blank leaf at the beginning, this is written:

"This booke is printed, and I suppose it to be by Caxton; but this M.S. seems older wrote than the print, and varies the English in some sort. Here is more in this book than in Caxton, and something added to Caxton that is not in this book. The Caxton lies in Syon College. *Tho. Granger.*"

63. HORÆ &c 12mo. (Type No. 4.)

Of this fragment, formerly in the possession of Dr. Farmer and now in that of Mr. Douce, the reader is presented with the whole that remains; the first twelve lines being a fac-simile of the setting up of the first page—

—sue salutarem consequatur
effectū

Beatus nicholaus ad
huc puerulus multo ieiunio
macerabat corpus
Ora pro nobis beate nicho-
lae Ut digni efficiamur
permissione xpristi Oremus
eius qui beatū nicho-
laum pontificē tuū ī
numeris decorasti miracu-
lis tribue nobis quesumus

ut eius meritis et precibus a gehenne incendiis liberemur. *P.* Maria ergo unxit pedes ihesu et extersit capillis capitis sui et domus impleta est ex odore unguenti Dimissa sunt ei peccata multa quam dilexit multum Oremus. Largire nobis clementissime pater que sic beata Maria Magdalena unigenitum tuum super omnia diligendo suorum obtinuit veniam peccaminū ita nobis apud misericordiam tuam sempiternā impetret beatitudinem. [O] Virgo sancta Katherīa grecie gēma urbe alexādria costi regis erat filia Ora pro nobis beata Katherina Ut digni efficiamur permissione xpi Oremus. [O] mps sempiŕne deus qui corpus gloriose virginis et martiris tue katherine corpus in montem sinay ab āgelis deferri iussisti cōcede ppicius ut

eius obtentu nos ad artem virtutū provehi ubi visionis tue claritatem mereamur intueri P̄. Erat autem margareta annorum quīdecim ubi patris, ubi nati, tui et amoris sacri, frui meriamur gloria ā vidimus stellam eius in oriente Et venimus cū muneribus adorare dñm Oremus. [D]eus qui tres magos orientales Jaspar Melchior et Balthasar ad tua cunabula ut te mysticis venerarentur muneribus sine impedimento stella duce duxisti, concede p̄cipius ut per horum triū regum p̄as intercessionem et merita commemoracioni nobis famulis tuis tribuas, ut itinere quo ituri sumus, celebritate, leticia, gracia, et pace te ip̄o sole vero vera stella, vera lumīs luce ad loca destiata ī pace et salute et negocio bene pacto cū omī p̄speritate salui et sani redire valeamus, Qui omnia seculaseculorum ā vivis et regnas deus Per. O pulcra precipuum rosa dās odorē florēs imp̄petuū ante creatorē occupavit speciē tuā rex celorum p̄duc nos ad requiē barbara polorum Ora pro nobis beata ūgo barbara, Ut digni efficiamur p̄missione P̄ oremus. [I]ntercessio quesūmus beate barbare virginis et martiris tue gloriosa nos p̄tegat ut per eius interventum gloriosissimi corporis et sanguinis domini nostri ihesu xp̄isti sacramentum ante vite nostre exitum cum vera fide et confessione accipere mereamur per dñm ā Benedicamus dño Deo g̃.”

The entire fragment consists of 8 pages; and is curious as being probably the only duodecimo volume ever printed by Caxton.

64. BALLAD (Fragment of). (Type No. 3.)

For this curious piece of Caxtonian typography I am indebted to my friend Mr. Henry Ellis, of the British Museum; whose communication is as follows:

CAXTON.

“ In one of the volumes of Old Ballads preserved in the printed library of the British Museum there is a small fragment of an un-

known work printed by WILLIAM CAXTON. All that remains I
here transcribe :

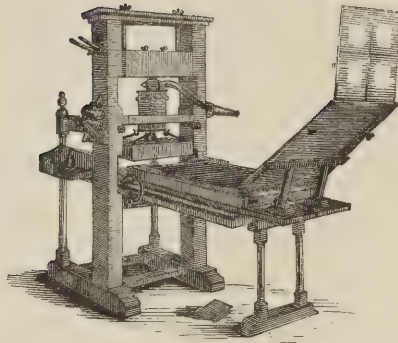
“ From her childhoode I fynde that she fled
 “ Office of Womman and to wode she went
 “ And many a wilde hertis blood she shed
 “ With arowis brood that she to hem sent
 “ She was so swift that she anon hem hent
 “ And whanne that she was elder she wold kylle
 “ Liouns liberdis and hem alto rent
 “ And in her armys welde hem at her wille
 “ She durste wilde bestis dennys seke
 “ And renne in the mounteyn al the nyght
 “ And slepe vnder abussh and she coude eke”

.
 “ Se how he nappeth se for cokkis bonys
 “ How he wol falle from his hors attonys
 “ Is that a cook of london with myschaunce
 “ Do hym comfort he knoweth his penaunce
 “ For he shall telle a tale be my fey
 “ Al though it be not worth a botel hey
 “ . . . ke thou cook qd he god yeue the sorow
 “ . . . lith the to slepe be the morow
 “nd fleen al night or art thou dronk
 “al night with som quene y swonke
 “ist not holde up thy hed
 “as ful paal & ne.”

With this article I conclude my account of the books printed by Caxton: those which follow in Ames's and Herbert's lists being professedly the production of Wynkyn de Worde. Accordingly the "INTRODUCTORIUM LINGUE LATINE," "LIFE OF ST. JEROM," "LYNDEWODE'S CONSTITUTIONES PROVINCIALES," and all the other articles, specified by Herbert under the title of "BOOKS PRINTED IN CAXTON'S HOUSE," will be found regularly classed among the books of Wynkyn De Worde.

Herbert's introductory observations concerning the books printed in Caxton's house, do not appear to me to convey any conclusive argument. The question is not, as I submit, whether Caxton's large cypher be a proof of the books having been printed by Caxton, or in his life time; but whether the body of the work be executed with any of those Caxtonian types to which the reader has already had such frequent references. Nor is it material to ascertain "whether such as were in hand at the time of Mr. Caxton's death might not be finished for the account of his executors—and if so, how they were distinguished—whether by having Caxton's cypher only; or if those were printed in his lifetime, as before hinted, by mentioning particularly their being printed in his house?" These quæres are of no consequence. In an history of printing, the main object seems to be, to class every book according to the printer by whom that book was *absolutely* printed: the mention of its being printed in his predecessor's office is a subordinate consideration. What a bibliographer wants is, the *identification* of books. It is of them, as of pictures: we wish to know which were executed by the Master, and which by the Scholar. A painting by Raphael "in the house" of Perugino, or by Rembrandt in that of Zwanenburg or Pinas, has no more right to be classed with Perugino's or Zwanenburg's productions, than a book printed by Wynkyn De Worde, "in the house" of Caxton, has with those expressly executed by the latter. To illustrate the subject by a more forcible example. In the "Annals of the Aldine Press" published by Renouard, we find every thing cor-

rectly arranged: and although all the books therein specified were printed "*in the house,*" or *office, of Aldus*, yet as many of them were executed by different printers, they are accordingly classed under the heads of Aldus, Paul Manutius, Andrea D'Asola, Turrisanus, &c. Such a plan, which is here implicitly adopted, seems in every respect to be the most judicious one.





*The simile of a unique print supposed to be executed by Thomaso Tenuquerra
in the possession of Mr. Woodburn Junr.*

Published as the Act directs Dec^r 1800.

Supplement.

ON EARLY COPPER-PLATE ENGRAVING, &c. p. ii.

AT page iv, it has been asserted, on the authority of Huber, that there is no engraving extant with the name of FINIGUERRA inscribed upon it. In a conversation with Mr. Woodburn, jun. of St. Martin's Lane [whose choice collection of early engravings and antiquarian knowledge of the art are equally conspicuous], and mentioning to him this dictum of Huber, I was not a little delighted, as well as surprised, by his shewing me the original engraving of which the opposite plate is a fac-simile; reduced to the exact proportion of one half. Mr. Woodburn conjectures, with good reason, that the reversed initials ITT were intended for '*Thomaso Finiguerra Incidebat,*' or '*Incisit.*' I need hardly inform the reader of the singular value of the original, which is, in all probability, unique; nor of the spirit and expression of the composition itself—considering the very early period of the art in which it was executed. Although such an ornament may be considered somewhat misplaced in a work which treats principally of Typography and Literature, I could not resist the temptation of gratifying the public with so important an acquisition to the History of Engraving.

MIRROR OF THE WORLD, p. 104: 109.

The French translator of this work, of whom neither Caxton nor Warton [vol. ii. 109.] make mention, was probably GAUTIER DE METZ. The following is the colophon of his poetical version of it:

Ci fenist l'*Image dou Monde*
 En l'an de l'Incarnation,
 Ot on à l'Aparition
 Mil deus centz XLV ans,
 Eu primiers troveiz cist Romans,
 Et en escriis cis livres drois
 Qant li miliaires corroit,
 L'an M. cc. sixante et cinc.

Roquefort's *Glossaire de la Langue Romane*, edit.
 1808. vol. ii. 761.

See the *Archæologia*, vol. viii. p. 248, respecting the antiquity of the engravings in Caxton's edition of this work: where the same sentiments are advanced as at p. 109, ante.

REYNARD THE FOX. p. 118.

After the quotation from Mr. Douce's '*Illustrations of Shakspeare and Ancient Manners*,' with reference to the antiquity of the original of this romance, add the following interesting particulars relating to the same; from the '*Notices et Extraits Des Manuscrits de la Bibliotheque Nationale*,' tom. v. p. 294 to 357.

'Towards the end of the ninth century, there lived a man in Austria of the name of *Reginaldus* or *Reinardus*, who was a Counsellor of Zuentibold, and whose cunning and crooked policy afterwards rendered him very famous. This man was banished by the King; and shutting himself up in a fortress, he became formidable from his courage and intrepidity; and more so from his arming, in his own cause, a number of Frenchmen and Germans to fight against the sovereign. A tissue of intrigues, artifices, and crimes, rendered his name detestable. The age in which he lived abounded with satirical verses, and pasquinades, against him; and his name, in consequence, became proverbial for treachery and artifice. The word *Goupil* being the genuine French word for a *Fox*.

‘At the beginning of the 13th century, an allusion is made to the popularity of a poem celebrating the artifices of *Renard*, by Coinsi, in his ‘*Miracles de la Vierge*,’ A. D. 1233. Isingrin and his wife, very prominent characters in this poem, are thus alluded to by Coinsi :

En leur moustiers ne font pas faire
Si tost l’image Nostre-Dame ;
Com font *Isangrin* et sa femme,
En lour chambres où ils reponnent :

Hence it would appear that the profane vulgar were more attached to the ornamenting of their rooms with representations of the ‘*Dramatis Personæ*’ in the poem of Reynard, than with pictures of the blessed Virgin. The first author of the poem was PERROT DE SAINT-CLOOT [Pierre de Saint-Cloud] ; who, being of a lively turn of mind, conceived the idea of executing a burlesque poem, and of making *Renard* the hero of it. His poem consisted of about 2000 verses. [Monsr. Legrand D’Aussy, the author of this memoir, here gives an amusing analysis of Perrot’s ancient production ; and of the variations in four MSS. of it.]

‘The success of Perrot induced one JACQUEMARS GELEE, at the close of the thirteenth century, to imitate, and to attempt to rival, his predecessor in the composition of a similar poem, which Legrand D’Aussy analyses under the title of ‘*Le Nouveau Renard*.’ Although, upon the whole, Gelée be inferior to Perrot, the French critic speaks of him as being ‘clair et coulant : il conte bien : il a le mérite d’une ordonnance sage et d’une marche assez bien entendue.’

‘A third poem on the same subject, and executed about the same period by one Rutebeuf, was entitled ‘*Renard Le Bestourné* ;’ but this latter seems to be but a miserable production. Perrot’s composition has undergone a variety of translations ; in the Low-Saxon, Dutch, English, and German languages. In the 16th century a new German translation of it was made ; another in Latin,

and a third in French, verse; under the title of '*Renard, or the Process of Beasts*,' which was reprinted in 1739. This latter was again reprinted in 1788, under the title of '*Intrigues of the Cabinet of Rats*.' The editor, exclaims Legrand D'Aussy, supposes the original to be a German, instead of a French, production!—'et voilà comme faute de connoître notre ancienne littérature, on fait honneur aux étrangers de ce qui nous appartient'!

"The '*New Renard*' of Gelée was converted into prose under the name of J. *Ténessax*. This version, however, although frequently reprinted, has had little success, and is scarcely known out of France." See also Barbazan's '*Dissertation sur l'Origine de la Langue Française*,' in the new edition of his *Fabliaux*; vol. i. p. 25. Those who have neither of the foregoing works may receive considerable amusement in regard to the '*ROMAN DU RENARD*' by perusing the excellent account of an ancient MS. of it in the collection of the Duke de la Valliere. *Cat. de la Valliere*, vol. ii. n°. 2717: and n°. 2718.

A copy of Caxton's edition is said to be in the Pepysian collection at Cambridge, and another in the library of Lincoln Cathedral.

ORDER OF CHIVALRY. p. 221, 238.

Notwithstanding the great length of the article, under this title, I hope to escape the censure of the reader if I venture upon a further extension of it, by introducing some interesting information, as well as an apposite embellishment, from one of the most elegant and instructive works which have ever graced the annals of ROMANCE LITERATURE. I allude to the new edition of Barbazan's '*Fabliaux et Contes*,' 4 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1808.

The original from which Caxton translated this work, was the '*Ordene de Chevalerie*' of HUE, or HUGON DE TABARIE; which contains an exact and circumstantial detail of all the ceremonies performed in the dubbing of a Knight; as well as an enumeration of the duties and privileges of the same person.

HUGUES Chastelain of St. Omer, was one of the followers of Godfrey of Boulogne in his enterprise to recover the Holy Land. This romantic adventurer made himself master of the city of Jerusalem on the 15th day of July 1099; and was elected king. But he waived the ceremony of coronation; alledging that it did not become him, who had fought to establish Christianity, to wear a *diadem* in that place, in which his Redeemer had worn a *crown of thorns*, and had suffered an ignominious death. Godfrey reigned only one year, and died without issue. Baudoin, his brother, succeeded him; whose first care, on ascending the throne, was, to recompense those French Noblemen who had followed his brother Godfrey, and assisted in the conquest of the city. To HUE or HUGON de St. Omer, he gave the Principality of Galilee, and the Lordship of the Tiberiad; and it is from this latter title, by a corruption of the name, that he was surnamed TABARIE. This Nobleman wrote a poem upon the *Order of Chivalry*; from which we learn that he was made prisoner by the troops of the Emperor Saladin, who exacted from him the performance of a promise to make him (the Emperor) a Knight; which was accordingly done.

The title of this poem, consisting of 508 verses, [which is printed in the new edition of the *Fabliaux*] is as follows; ‘Chi commenche l’Ordene de Chevalerie, ensi ke li Quens (*Comte*) Hues de Tabarie l’ensigna au Soudan Salehadin.’ At the end

‘**Explicit li Ordres de Chevalerie.**’

It is most probable that Caxton executed his translation from a prose copy, as we shall presently see. Meanwhile, the reader may have no objection to be made acquainted with the manner in which the author, and hero, of the poem is led to expatiate, before the Sultan Saladin, upon the uses and applications of the several exercises and arms attached to a Knight. [vide p. 234, ante.]

—— li Rois l’a par le main pris
Et en sa cambre l’en mena,

Et mout douchement li proia :
 HUES, fet il, par chele foi
 Que tu doiz au Dieu de ta Loi,
 Fai moi sage, quar j'ai talent
 80 De savoir trestout l'errement ;
 Et jel' saroie volentiers
 Coument l'en fet les Chevaliers.
 Biaux Sire, dist il, &c. v. 74 to 83.

[The celebrated scriptural passage of 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard,' &c. (1 Cor. ch. 2. ver. 9.) is thus rendered :

Car lange ne porroit conter,
 Oreil oïr, ne cuer penser
 Ch'est li biautés de paradis,
 Que Diex otroie à ses amis. v. 243-6.]

Mention has been made of a prose transcript of this poem, from which it is probable that Caxton might have executed his own translation. The following is a literal version of a part of an original French prose transcript, which has been subjoined to the poem by Barbazan ; 'in order (says he) that the reader may make a comparison with it.' It is taken from a 'Manuscript of N. Dame, M. 7:' and is entitled

L'Ordene de Chevalerie.

" In the reign of the Emperor Saladin, there was a prince in Galilee named HUES DE TABARIE—One day, in a battle with the Turks, it pleased God that the Christians were defeated ; and Messire Hues and many other brave men were made prisoners. In the evening he was brought before Saladin, who knew him well, and was much rejoiced, and said to him : ' Hues you are a prisoner.' ' Sire,' said he, ' I am sorry for it.' ' By my law, Hues, you have reason to be so,

for you must ransom yourself or die.' 'Sire, I would rather pay my ransom than die, if I am able to pay what you will accept.' 'Very well,' said the King—'Sire,' said Messire Hues, 'what shall I give you for my ransom?' 'You shall give me,' said the King, 'an hundred thousand besants.' 'Sire, that would be too great a ransom for a man of my estate.' 'Hues,' said the King, 'you are so good a Knight and so valiant, that there are none who hear of your imprisonment, or the terms of your ransom, but will send and pay it.' 'Sire,' said he, 'from what you say, I promise it; in how many months will you require it?' 'Hues,' said the King, 'I will require it in a year, upon your faith: if within a year you can pay it, I will take it; and if not, return, and I will willingly receive you.' 'Sire, I promise it to you for certain. Now give me a passport that I may return in safety to my own country, as a knight.' 'Hues I want also to speak to you.' 'Sire, and I am willing to speak to you; but where?' 'In yonder tent.' They entered it, and the King requested to be informed by Sir Hues how Knights were made according to the Christian law; and that he would explain the manner of making them. 'Sire to whom?' 'To myself,' said the King. 'Sire, God forbid that I should lay so high a thing, and such high power, on the body of so great a man as you are.' 'Why,' said the King? 'Sire, you are deficient in some points.' 'In what, Hues?' 'Sire, you should be a christian, and receive baptism.' 'Hues,' said he, 'do not find fault with me; you are my prisoner; if you do what I require, and return to the country where your faith is professed, you will find no one who shall blame you; and I would rather receive it from your hand, than that of any other knight; for, from a better Knight than you, I could not receive it.' 'Sire,' said he, 'from what you say, I will explain it to you; but if you were a christian, knight-hood would be worthily bestowed on you.' 'Hues,' said he, 'that can by no means be at present.' Sir Hues caused every thing, befitting a Knight, to be got ready. And set his [Saladin's] hair and beard in better order than it was without shaving; and put him in a bath, and asked him; 'Sire, do you know what you are first to un-

derstand by this bath?' 'No, Hues,' said he. 'Sire,' said Sir Hues, you ought to come out of this *bath*, as free from wickedness, and the pollution of sin, as a child from the baptismal font.' 'By my law, Hues, this is a very good beginning. It is true, that what is received from a good man, is a gift from God.' He then led him to a new bed, and laid him in it, and said, 'Sire, this *bed*, is a type of the great bed of Paradise, which you are to obtain by your Chivalry.' And when he had lain in it, Sir Hues raised him up, and clothed him in a white robe of linen or silk, and said; 'Sire, this *white robe*, with which I clothe you, gives you, in the first place, to understand the great purity in which you are to keep your body.' He then put on him a *red robe* of silk, and said; 'Sire, this red robe signifies the blood you are to shed in the service of God, and in the support and defence of his holy church.' He then turned his legs out of the bed, and put on him a pair of brown hose; and said, 'Sire, these *hose* signify to you the earth on which you are to dwell: for whatever advantages God may allow you to enjoy, you must remember what you are, and where you live.' He then made him stand up, and girded him with a white belt, and said to him; 'Sire, this *white belt* gives you virginity in your loins; for when a man becomes a Knight, he should take great care not to sin vilely in his body. He then brought him golden or gilt spurs, and fastened them on, and said; 'Sire, these *spurs* denote, that as prompt as you would wish your horse to be, at the touch of your spur, so ready should you be to obey the commandments of God, and to defend the holy church.' A sword was then brought, and he asked him: 'Sire, do you know that this *sword* endows you with three things?' 'What are they?' 'Uprightness, safety; and loyalty. The *cross* which is on the sword gives you safety; for after a good Knight has girded on his sword, he neither can, nor ought to, be afraid of the devil. Next, Sire, the two edges of the sword endow you with uprightness and loyalty to defend the weak against the strong, and the poor against the rich, uprightly and loyally.'"

Here ends the Manuscript.

I cannot, perhaps, better close this curious note than by adding a fac-simile of the engraving prefixed to the first volume of the new edition of the *Fabliaux* : representing the ceremony of ordaining a Knight of Chivalry.



CHARACTER OF A KNIGHT OF CHIVALRY. See p. 264.

“ Onkes ne trouva en sa vie
Son pareil de Chevalerie,
Les uns par armes sorprendoit,
Les autres par dons qu’il donnoit,

Les autres par beles paroles,
 C'est un ars ki maint home afole.
 As pauvres gens qui le doutoient,
 Et qui à lui sougiet estoient,
 Estoit si dous et debonere,
 Com s'il nul mal ne séust fere ;
 Plus fu lor pere que lor Sire,
 Ce puis-je bien par raison dire.

Roman de Dolopatos.

“ He who should literally translate this fragment (says Barbazan) would say ;—‘ This Knight never found in his life his equal in valour : some he gained by dint of arms, some by presents, and others by fine speeches ; an art which subdues many people. He was so gentle and kind, that he seemed as if he could never do an injury to the poor, who feared him, and were in subjection to him. I can truly say that he was rather their father than their master.’ But this translation (continues Barbazan) is a feeble explanation of the spirit of ‘ CHIVALRY :’ A Knight of this order was a man who possessed every political and moral virtue ; a warrior ; in short, was every thing which the laws of Chivalry exact. The word ‘ *afoler*,’ is poorly rendered by ‘ *subdues* :’ it means here, that the distinguished qualities—the goodness of heart—of Dolopatos had so completely won the affections of his subjects that they were quite beside themselves : the word ‘ *debonere*’ can only be rendered by the same ; ‘ *debonnair*.’ ”

Fabliaux et Contes. edit. 1808, vol. i. vj.

KNIGHT OF THE TOWER, p. 207.

The author of this work has the merit of having been the first in France who wrote a system of domestic education. That he composed a treatise for the education of young *men*, as well as the present one for that of young women, seems to be admitted by Le Grand D'Aussy ; who, however, informs us that, in rummaging an

immense number of MSS. for three successive years, he was not able to discover such a composition. The same critic, who seems to have been born for the restoration of old French Romance literature, is severe in the extreme in his strictures upon La Tour's work: accusing it of being a compilation of dull divinity, and unpardonable indelicacy. His analysis of three MSS. of it, affords a melancholy confirmation of his strictures. For the credit of Caxton we may hope that he has omitted such grossly offensive passages.

Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, vol. v. 158—166.

MESSIRE HENRY BOLOMYER.

In the Life of Caxton, p. lxxxi, it has been supposed, from the prologue of the same printer's 'Life of Charles the Great,' that he was acquainted with the above character; but I conceive that the expressions, from which this conclusion has been drawn, are, in fact, those of the French copyist of the MS. from which Caxton's translation was made. In the *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Geneve*, p. 453, there is a notice of a French MS. of the Life of Charles the Great, or Charlemagne, from the 'Speculum Historiale' of Vincent Beauvais, by a native of Savoy; who excuses himself on account of his language being 'gros et rude;' and says, moreover, 'quil a esté souvent excité de la part de Venerable homme MESSIRE HENRY BOLOMIER Chanoine de Lausane pour reduire à son plaisir aulcune hystoire tant en Latin qu'en Rouman et en autres façons.' The xxi vol. of the 'Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions,' is here referred to.

It was, probably, from a transcript of this French copy that Caxton published his own work.

LIFE OF CHRIST, p. 322.

See a copy of Caxton's edition in *Bibl. Allen*, n°. 1407.

ACCIDENCE, p. 355.

Herbert afterwards had a copy of this work, which he mentions in his Appendix at page 1771, and at page 205 in the body of his work as being printed 'Jn Caxton's hous by wynkyn de worde.' 'No doubt,' says he, in the Appendix, 'but it had been printed by Caxton; and frequently: the consumption of such books must have been very great, and of course they were consigned to the press as soon as well might be after the invention of printing became public.' Notwithstanding this remark, there may be strong doubts about its ever having been printed by Caxton; from whose press no grammatical work is yet known to have issued. Wynkyn De Worde, on the contrary, seems to have been distinguished for printing in this department of literature.

* * * The WOOD CUT OF THE PRESS, at page 362, was lent me by Mr McCreery; it being the same which was used in his Poem of 'The Press.'

LIST OF AUTHORS

CONSULTED AND REFERRED TO.

N. B. Those figures which are followed by an *asterisk*, denote that the reference is made to the *first set* of arabic numerals which precedes the Preliminary Disquisition : the arabic figures, which have not this distinction, refer to the *second set*, after the Life of Caxton. The references, in the roman numerals, will be verified between these two sets of the arabic.

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